COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR.

COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR

OF THE

SANSCRIT, ZEND,

GREEK, LATIN, LITHUANIAN, GOTHIC, GERMAN,

AND SCLAVONIC LANGUAGES.

BY

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TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN

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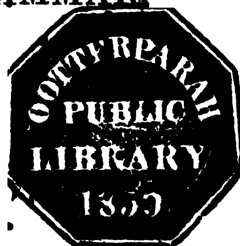
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COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR.



PART II.

PRONOUNS.

FIRST AND SECOND PERSONS.

326. In these pronouns the genders are not distinguished in any of the Indo-European languages; and all the sister dialects agree with one another surprisingly in this point, that the nominative singular first person is from a different base from that from which the oblique cases come. It is, Sanscrit अहम् *aham*, Zend 𐬀𐬰𐬆𐬨 *azĕm*, Greek ἐγώ, Latin *ego*, Gothic *ik*, Lithuanian *asz*, Old Sclavonic *az*. The *am* of अहम् *aham* is a termination like that in *tvam*, "thou," *ayam*, "this," and *svayam*, "self;" and in the plural, *vayam*, "we," *yûyam*, "ye." The Æolic ἐγών answers better than ἐγώ to *aham*; but I would prefer ἐγόν, in order to explain the lengthening of the vowel in ἐγώ as a compensation for the loss of the nasal. The abbreviated ἐγώ may, however, have reacted on the more complete ἐγών, and may have imparted to it the length of its vowel. In the other European languages, except the Latin, the entire termination has disappeared, as is also the case in Greek and Latin in σύ, τύ, *tu*, answering to the Sanscrit-Zend *tvam* (from *tu-am*), 𐬙𐬏𐬨 *tûm* (§. 42.). To the latter, however, answers the Bœot. τούν, and the η of the Doric and Lacon. τύνη, τουνή is, perhaps, an unorganic addition, as, in Gothic, the *a* in pronominal accusatives (*tha-na* for *than*, from

tham, (§. 149.): if not, νη must be regarded as an annexed particle. The oblique cases, in Sanscrit, have in the first person *ma*, and in the second *tva*, as theme, which is lengthened, however, in some cases, by the admixture of an *i* (compare §. 158.); hence *mê*, *tvê*. On the other hand, *tva*, in the dative, abbreviates itself to *tu* (*tu-bhyam*), from which, also, the nominative *tv-am*: in the genitive *tav-a* the *u* of *tu* receives the Guna, or the *a* of *tva* is transposed. To the base *ma* answers the Greek MO, which forms the base of the genitive μοῦ, and dative μοι. The ε of 'EMO rests on the prevailing disposition of the Greek to prefix a vowel to forms beginning with a consonant, as ὄνομα, ὀδρύς, ὀφρύς, ἐλαχύς, answering to *nâma*, *dantas*, *bhrû-s*, *laghu-s*, "light." The ο of MO, 'EMO is interchanged with ε (see §. 3.); hence ἐμεῖο, ἐμέθεν for ἐμοῖο, ἐμό-θεν (compare πόθεν, ἄλλο-θεν, and others); ἐμεό for ἐμόο;*, ἐμεῦ, μεῦ for ἐμοῦ, μοῦ. In the Æolic-Doric forms ἐμεῦς, ἐμοῦς, as in τεῦς, τεοῦς, the Σ is a later addition, introduced by the necessity for a Σ as a genitive character, after the old genitive Σ—which, according to §. 189., in the ο declension did not stand at the end but in the middle—had been long lost. Compare, in this respect, the regained genitive sibilants in New German forms like *Herzens* (p. 187.). In the uninflected accusative μέ, ἐμέ, the case parallel with that of a final ε for ο, which latter might have been expected, as in §. 204., with the ε of the vocative λύκε. As to the dispensing with the accusative nasal, however, it is important to remark, that, in Sanscrit, for *mâm*, "me," and *tvâm*, "thee," are also used *mâ*, *tvâ*, without the sign of the case; and the rejection of the *m* has, perhaps, next, given occasion to the lengthening of the *a*; so that here that would hold good with regard to *mâm* and *tvâm* that was

* The form λυκοῖο would have, according to the usual rules of contraction, to be compared with λύκου, after loss of the ι through an intervening λυκεο.

conjectured above of ἐγών for ἐγού.* The Latin supports in like manner, by its accusatives *mē* and *tē*, the ancient loss of the inflexion.

327. The theme of the second person *tva* divides itself in Greek, after the vowel or semi-vowel has been lost, into the forms ΣΥ and ΣΟ, for ΣϜΟ, and the *o* is exchanged with ε, as in the first person, σεῖο, σέθεν, &c. Il. VIII. 37. the ε of τεοῖο—τεο-(σ)ιο—stands, as it appears, as a melting of the ϝ or thinning of the υ (as πήχε-ως for πήχυ-ος) and a pre-supposed τϝοσιο or τυοσιο would correspond excellently to the Zend *thwa-hyê*; to which a Sanscrit *tvasya* would answer, in case *thwahyâ*, which formerly appeared to me to be an instrumental, is really a genitive, as, according to p. 280, Rem. 3., can scarcely be doubted. The Gothic has weakened the *a* of the base *ma* to *i*, and contracted the termination *va* of the 2d person to *u*; hence *MI*, *THU*, dative *mi-s*, *thu-s*, accusative *mi-k*, *thu-k*. The genitive is, in Sanscrit, in departure from all other genitives, *mama*, *tava*. The former appears to have arisen by reduplication; the Zend, however, substitutes for it *mana*; and, in the Gothic, *na* has assumed so much the character of an inflexion, that it has made its way also into the 2d person and the 3d person, which is void of gender; *mei-na*, *thei-na*, *sei-na*. *Theina* I regard as an abbreviation of *thvei-na*, as *sei-na* from *svei-na*, for *thuna* must have sprung from *THU*. As, however, *ma* has, in Gothic, become *MI*, and from this has been formed, by lengthening it, *MEI*; so might also *tva* become *THVI* and *THVEI*. According to this, the genitive *theina*—as the abbreviation of *thveina*—in respect to its base, has the same relation to *thu*, that, in Greek, σοῦ (from σϝοῦ) has to σύ, or that τεύ (from τϝεύ) has to τύ.

* The reason of the lengthening might be looked for, also, in the words being monosyllabic; which, however, takes place also in the ablative *mât*, *tvât*.

328. In Latin, as in Gothic, the *a* of the Indian *ma* has been weakened to *i*, and this, in a measure, has changed the declension of the pronoun from the second, which, according to §. 116., was to have been expected, into the third: dative *mi-hi* for मह्यम् *ma-hyam* (§. 215.); accusative *me* for *mem* (as *hoste-m* from *HOSTI*), not *mu* for *mum*; ablative *me* from *med*, not *mo* from *mod* = Sanscrit मत् *mat*. The genitive *mei* rests, according to §. 200., on the locative मयि *may-i* (euphonic for *mê-i*), and belongs, therefore, to the lengthened theme मे *mê*. In the second person, according to the analogy of *mei*, the form *tvei* might have been expected from त्वयि *tvay-i*, which may originally have existed, but in the actual condition of the language is impossible, for *v* cannot consist with a preceding consonant, but in this position is either resolved into *u*, and at times, indeed, with the sacrifice of the vowel following, as in *sud-o*, answering to स्विद् *svid*, "to sweat"; or has itself disappeared, as in *canis*, answering to *śvan*, "a dog," *sonus* for *svonus*, answering to *svana-s*, "a tone";* or has dislodged the preceding consonant, as above (p. 424), in *bis*, as a hardening of *vis*, from *dvis*. We should hence have to expect for *tui*, together with some other forms, also *tei* (for *tvei*), as also *ti-bi* may be taken as an abbreviation of *tvi-bi*: for although the dative in Sanscrit is *tu-bhyam*, and the transition from *u* to *i* in Latin is not unusual (fourth declension *i-bus* for *u-bus*), still the Sanscrit contraction of *tva-bhyam* to *tu-bhyam* is scarcely of so old a date as to serve for a point of departure for the Latin *ti-bi*; and I therefore prefer considering *tibi, sibi*, as abbreviations of *tvi-bi, svi-bi*, than as corruptions of *tu-bi, su-bi*.

329. In Sanscrit, *mê, tê*, exist as co-forms for the genitive and dative (*mama, tava, mahyam, tubhyam*): *tê*, how-

* The Greek φωνή is, probably, an analogous word, and would, accordingly, stand for σφωνή.

ever, is clearly an abbreviation of *tvê*, and I have found this opinion, which I have expressed before, supported by Rosen's Vêda-specimen (p. 26), and by the Zend. The latter gives 𐬚𐬡𐬋𐬌 *thwôi* for the Vêda *tvê;* but at the same time, also, the abbreviated forms 𐬙𐬋𐬌 *tôi* and 𐬙𐬉 *tê;* by which, as it were, the way of corruption is pointed out to the Latin *ti-bi* and Gothic *thei-na*. Although, according to §. 326., मे *mê* and त्वे *tvê* lie at the bottom of several cases as the theme, still, perhaps, these forms, together with the abbreviated *tê*, where they appear as genitives or datives, are not to be regarded as naked bases, as it is contrary to the genius of the language to introduce such a theme as the one spoken of;* but they may be explained as locatives, according to the principle of the common *a* bases (§. 196.), as, in Sanscrit, the locative very frequently supplies the place of the dative, and the dative relation is expressed by the genitive even more commonly than by the dative. But if मे *mê* and ते *tê*, त्वे *tvê*, and the corresponding Zend forms, are really locatives, they are then, according to §. 196., identical with the Greek datives μοί, σοί, or τοί, which, however, must be compared with the actual locatives मयि *mayi*, त्वयि *tvayi*, by casting out the semi-vowel, if मे *mê* and ते *tê* should pass as uninflected themes, extended only mechanically.

330. The genitives मम *mama*, 𐬨𐬀𐬥𐬀 *mana*, and *tava*, serve the Lithuanian, and, with the exception of the ablative and genitive, also the Old Sclavonic, as the groundwork of the oblique singular cases. They are recognised with a weakening of the final *a* to *i* most distinctly in the Lithuanian instrumental and locative *manimi*, *maniye*, *tawimi*, *tawiye*. The genitive, dative, and accusative are anoma-

* The case is different when a word, by rubbing off the termination, sinks back again into the condition of a theme; besides, only neuters exhibit the pure theme in the nominative, ablative and vocative singular.

lous—*manens, tawèns, man, tan, manen, twen,*—but have, in like manner, proceeded from the old genitive. In Old Sclavonic, the accusative *mya, tya,* still remains upon the old footing, and answers to मा *mâ,* "me," त्वा *tvâ,* "thee," according to §. 255. *n.*, with loss of the *v* in the second person. The genitive *mene,* "of me," answers exactly to the Zend *mana* (see §. 255. *a.*) and *tebe,* "of thee," to the Indo-Zend *tava.* Considered from a Sclavonic point of view, however, *MEN, TEB* must be regarded as themes, and *e* for *es* as the common genitive termination (§. 269.). *MNO, TEBO,* and *TOBO,* clearly lie as themes at the bottom of the dative-locative *muye, tebye.*

331. The plural in the pronoun first person is, in most of the Indo-European languages, distinct in base from the singular. I have already elsewhere endeavoured to explain this* on the ground that "I" is properly incapable of a plural, for there is but one "I"; and the notion "we" comprehends "me" and an indefinite number of other individuals, each of which may even belong to a different species; while by *leones* a plurality of individuals is represented, of which each is a lion. And the case is similar with the plurals of all other substantives, adjectives, and pronouns; for "they" is a multiplying of "he," and "ye" may be rather regarded as the plural of "thou," than "we" as the plural of "I." Where, however, the idea "we" is expressed by the plural of "I," it there happens on account of the preponderating feeling of our own personality, in which the "not I" is drowned, and is left unnoticed, or is supplied by the custom of the language. Hence one might seek to adjust the Sanscrit nominative वयम् *vayam* (from *vê* + *am*) by the frequent interchange of *m* and *v* (§. 63.) with the lengthened singular base मे *mê*

* Hist. Phil. Trans. of the Ac. of Litt. for the year 1824. p. 134.

(p. 456), an interchange which must, however, be very old, since the German, scarcely by accident, partakes in it, and which may be favoured by the circumstance that there exists actually an internal motive for a difference in the base-syllable.

332. In the Vêdas occurs also *a-smé* for *vayam*; and this *asmé* is, according to §. 228., formed from the theme *asma*, from which also, in the common Sanscrit, all the oblique cases proceed, and to which the Greek attaches itself in the nominative; for the most genuine Æolic form ἄμμες stands, by assimilation, for ἄσμες (see §. 170.), as ἐμμί from ἐσμί, Sanscrit *asmi*, "I am." For ἄμμες, however, ἄμμοι ought to be the corresponding word to the Vêda *asmé*; as the theme *asma*, according to §. 116., would, in the Greek, sound ΑΣΜΟ: however, by dropping the final vowel, the Greek form has wandered into the department of another declension. The same is the case with ὔμμες, answering to the Vêda *yushmé* (euphonic for *yusmé*). On the other hand, ἡμεῖς, ὑμεῖς, presuppose a theme 'ΗΜΙ, 'ΥΜΙ, the ι of which is to be taken as a weakening of the Indian *a* of *asma*, *yushma*; as, in Gothic, *UNSI*, *IZVI* (§. 167.) with *UNSA*, *IZVA*. The genitives ἀμμέ-ων, ὑμμέ-ων, also—for ἀμμί-ων, ὑμμί-ων, and in the common language ἡμῶν, ὑμῶν—shew that they are deduced from bases in ι: just so the datives ἡμῖν, ὑμῖν, for ἡμι-ιν, ὑμι-ιν, with ιν for the Indian termination *bhyam* in *asmabhyam*, *yushmabhyam* (§. 222). The accusatives ἡμᾶς, ὑμᾶς are contractions of an unusual kind from ἡμι-ἄς, ὑμι-ἄς, for which might be expected ἡμῖς, ὑμῖς, or ἡμεῖς, ὑμεῖς. The Æolic forms ἄμμε, ὔμμε are uninflected, as in the singular μέ, σέ; and in case they are, in respect to their termination, older than ἡμᾶς, ὑμᾶς, they admit of derivation as direct from the Sanscrit *asmân*, *yushmân* (for *asma-ns*, *yushma-ns*, §. 236.), by abrasion of the case suffix, without intervention of a theme 'ΑΜΜΙ, 'ΥΜΜΙ.

333. In *asmé*, ἄμμες, the simple vowel *a* is the character-

istic element of the first person, for the rest occurs also in the second person,—युष्मे *yushmé*, ὑμμες. If, then, this *a* is also connected with the singular base *ma*, it would be requisite to assume an aphæresis of the *m*, which, however, would appear to be very old, from the coincidence of the Sanscrit, Zend, &c. with the Greek and German; for the Gothic base *UNSA* or *UNSI* has been regarded by us, in §. 166., as a transposition of *asma*—Pali and Prakrit *amha*; the *u* for *a* is to be explained by the influence of the transposed nasal (§. 66.). But if the *a* of अस्म *asma* is an abbreviation of *ma*, in the opposite case it would be identical with the demonstrative base *a*; and if, therefore, in this plural base, the "I" is actually formally expressed, I would then place great stress on the fact, that, in Sanscrit and Greek, the appended pronoun *sma*, or that which it has become in Greek, in the pronouns of the 1st and 2d person only occurs in the plural. For as *sma*, which also occurs isolated,* can be nothing else than a pronoun of the third person,† so would *a-smé*, as a copulative compound (Gramm. Crit. §. 658.), signify "I" and "they"; but *yushmé*, "thou" and "they"; so that the singular "I" and "thou" would be expressed by *a* and *yu*; the plural "they," by *smé*. and this would be the most natural as well as the clearest and most perfect designation of the compound ideas "we" and "ye." The ingress of the appended pronoun into the singular of the first and second persons, in Zend,

* Either with imperceptible meaning, or referring the action of the present to the further side of the past.

† Pott may be right in explaining (Berl. Ann. 1833, Vol. I. p. 324) *sma* from *sama*. I should, however, then hold "the same" to be the ancient meaning of *sama*, and the idea of similarity as a derived one; and also no longer explain *sama*, as in my Glossary, from *má*, "to mow," but regard it as the combination of the pronominal bases *sa* and *ma* (compare *ima*, "this," from *i* + *ma*).

Pali, Prakrit, and German (§. 174.), must then be ascribed to an abuse of later introduction. In the pronouns of the third person, however, the analogy of which may have had an effect on the abuse cited in the declension of the two first persons, the union of two, nay, even of three pronouns of the same person into one whole is extraordinarily frequent, and originally, it seems, betokened only increase of emphasis.

331. The syllable यु *yu* of युष्मे *yushmé*, "ye," is probably a softening of *tu*, which extends itself also to the dual, to which *yuva* serves as the theme.* The Greek σφώ (σφῶι), however, is more complete; and represents the Sanscrit singular base *tva*, with σ for *t*, and φ for *v*. In the latter respect, compare also σφεῖς and σφός with the Sanscrit *sva-yam*, "self," and *sva-s*, *suus*, regarding which hereafter.† The Prakrit and Pali, and several other Indian dialects, have retained the *t* in the plural unaltered, or restored; hence, Pali-Prakrit तुम्हे *tumhé* for *tusmé*. In Gothic, however, by rejecting the *u*, and exchanging the *m* for *v*, *yu-sma* has become *I-ZVA*, and by weakening the *a* to *i*, *I-ZVI* (§. 167.). The Lithuanian gives *YU* as the theme of the majority of cases in the dual and plural, and in the first person *MU*, to which, however, the nominative *més* does not correspond. The appended pronoun स्म *sma* has been distinctly retained only in the genitive dual and locative plural—although it

* From *yu* + *a*, with change of the *u* into *uv*, according to a universal euphonic law (Gramm. Crit. §. 51.).

† As I formerly took the σ, in forms like ὄχεσφι (see §. 218.), for a euphonic addition, I thought also (Hist. Phil. Trans. of the Ac. of Litt. for the year 1825. p. 196) that I might explain σφώ, answering to the Latin *vos* and Sanscrit *vám*, *vas*, as corrupted by prefixing a σ allied to the φ. This opinion, however, stands in no further need of support, from the information which I have since then gained regarding the σ of forms in σ-φι; and I accede so much the more willingly to the abovementioned opinion, which was first expressed by Max. Schmidt (De Pron. Greek et Latin, p. 8).

is originally foreign to the dual,—but, in the former case, to which the numeral is annexed, the *s*, and in the latter case the *m*, has fallen out; hence *mu-mû dwieyû*, "of us two"; *yu-mû dwieyû*, "of you two"*; *mu-sûse*, "in us"; *yusûse*, "in you."

335. It is, however, also very probable that the *s* in the Lithuanian nominative *més*, "we," *yûs*, "ye," as well as the *s* of the Gothic *veis*, *yus*, is not the sign of the nominative, as it appears to be in the actual condition of the language, but the abbreviation of the syllable *sma*. This conjecture is raised almost to certainty by the Zend, in which, together with the ϛƺεb𐬌 *yûshĕm* (see §. 59.), which rests on the Sanscrit यूयम् *yûyam* (from *yû* + *am*, with euphonic *y*, §. 43.), occurs also ꞕ𐬌 *yûs*; the *s* of which is represented by Burnouf (Yasna, Notes, p. 121), in which he is clearly right, as identical with the Sanscrit ष् *sh* of युष्मत् *yushmat* (ablative, and, in the beginning of compounds, representing the theme, see p. 112.). ꞕ𐬌 *yûs*, therefore, is an abbreviation of the Vêda युष्मे *yushmê*; and the *s* can in nowise pass for the sign of the nominative; as from a theme *yu*, according to the usual declension in the nominative vocative plural, must come either *yavô* or *yvô*. According to the pronominal declension, however, we have already seen ϛƺεb𐬌 *yûshĕm* developed from the Sanscrit यूयम् *yûyam*. In Lithuanian, *més*, if *s* were the sign of case, would stand completely isolated as the masculine plural nominative†; and as to the German, that language has, from the earliest period, lost the sign of the case in the nominative plural;

* According to Mielcke, also *mamû dwiêyû* and *yumma dwieyû*, the latter with doubled *m*; the first of which is to be explained by assimilation of the *s*, as in the Æolic, ὔμμες.

† Although in this pronoun there is no obvious distinction of gender, still the Sanscrit declension forms, viz. *asmê*, *asmân*, are masculine.

while the *r* of *wir*, *ihr*, which corresponds to the Gothic *s* of *veis*, *yus*, has remained to this day, which, with other weighty reasons, awards to this *r* likewise a destination other than that of denoting the relation of case.

336. According to the principle of the Zend-Lithuanian-Gothic *yûs*, *yus*, I explain also the Sanscrit नस् *nas*, वस् *vas*, which are used as co-forms in the accusative, dative, and genitive of the two first persons; the *s* of which, however, could not find any legitimate place in such different cases, if, by its origin, it was destined to denote a case' conflection. In the same way, however, that the Zend *yûs* is the abbreviation of *yûsmê*, so may नस् *nas* and वस् *vas* be deduced the accusative, from *nasmân*, *vasmân*, in the dative and genitive, from *nasmabhyam*, *nasmâkam*, *vasmabhyam*, *vasmâkam*; and the *s* therefore suits all the three cases, exactly because it expresses none of them. There remains, after the dissolution of the rest of the appended pronoun, *na* and *va*, as the chief elements of personal definition, from which have proceeded the dual secondary forms *nâu* and *vâm* (for *vâu*). The *n* of *na*, however, is a weakening of the *m*, the high antiquity of which may be traced from the coincidence of the Greek, Latin, and Sclavonic: *va*, however, is an abbreviation of *tva*, as, *vinśati*, "twenty," from *dvinśati*.

337. The bases न *na*, व *va* would lead us to expect in Latin *NU*, *VU* (*nŏ*, *vŏ*, §. 116.), as themes; *ni*, *vi*, as plural nominatives; and *nos*, *vos*, as accusatives. The circumstance, however, that *nos*, *vos*, stand in the nominative, and that the final *s* is retained also in the possessives *nos-ter*, *ves-ter* (for *vos-ter*), must cause the *os* of *nos*, *vos*, in the accusative, to appear to us in an entirely different light from that of *lupos*; and the explanation which we have given of the *s* of the indisputably kindred Sanscrit forms नस् *nas*, वस् *vas*, must therefore extend also to that of *no-s*, *vo-s*, objectionable as it may appear from the point of view

of the self-restricted Latin Grammar, when we seek in *nos* and *vos* a remnant of the appended pronoun *sma*, treated of in §. 166. &c., which we also recognise robbed of its *s* * in the appended syllable *met* (*egomet, memet, tumet, nosmet*, and others), which refers itself most closely to the Sanscrit plural ablative *a-smat, yu-śmat*, which is also employed by the language instead of the theme for all cases and numbers (§. 112.), on which account the like free use of the Latin *met* cannot appear surprising. Moreover, I have elsewhere endeavoured to explain the Latin *immo* by assimilation from *i-smo*, and so to apportion the first part to the demonstrative base *i*, and the last to our *sma*.

338. We now turn to the Old Sclavonic, where *nas* and *vas* as genitive and locative, are completely identical with the नस् and वस् *vas* of Sanscrit, which in that language are, indeed, excluded from the locative, but still hold the place of genitives. The monosyllabic nature of these forms has, in Sclavonic, protected the old *a* as well as the final *s* (§. 255. *a. l.*); but here, also, this *s* cannot be looked upon as a case character, as, without exception, the terminations साम् *sâm* and सु *su* have, in Old Sclavonic, become *kh* (p. 355. 6.). The concurrent disinclination of so many languages to consider the *s*, in the common forms under discussion, as a sign of case, strengthens the evidence for each single individual language. As to the Sanscrit, however, applying in the dual the forms *nâu, vâm* (for *vâu*, p. 472, Rem. 1.), in cases to which *âu* does not belong as the inflexion, in this point it is not supported by any of the European sister languages: we might still, however, admit the conjecture, that here, also, the *âu* is not a case-termination, but is derived from a different origin, and, in fact, to be so regarded, as that *nâu, vâu* (corrupted to *vâm*) are exten-

* Comp. *memor* for *mesmor* with Sanscrit *smar*: so, too, Pott (l. c.) explains the Latin *met*.

sions of the plural *nas, vas,* by lengthening the *a*, and by resolving the *s* to *u*, according to the analogy of §. 206. For if a case termination *ás* has become औ *áu*—and in Zend every final *ás*, without distinction, has become *ao*—it cannot be surprising that *nás*, also, has become *náu*; and then in *náu* a dual case termination is just as little contained as in *nas* a plural. The dual, however, loves broader forms than the plural (compare §. 206.); and to this inclination may the lengthening of the *a* of *nas, vas*, be ascribed. But *náu* may, however—and this I much prefer—be regarded as a copulative compound from *na-s*; so that it would stand in the accusative for *ná-smáu*, in the genitive for *ná-smayós*, according to the principle of the Vêda *pitarâ-mâtarâu*,* "father and mother," *verbatim* "two fathers, two mothers." According to this, *náu* would properly mean, as accusative, "me and him," as above (§. 333.) *asmé*, for *masmé*, "I and they"; and *vám*, for *váu*—Zend ﻭﺍﻭ *vâo*—would denote, as accusative, "thee and him." According to this principle of copulative composition is probably, also, *â-vâm* (for *â-vâu*), "we two," to be regarded; so that, with a more retiring designation of the third person, it would literally mean "he and I"; for *a* is a demonstrative base, which is here lengthened to the dual form *â* (§. 208.), and *vâm* (genitive and locative *vayós*) answers, in respect to its base, to *vayam*, "we" p. 462).†

339. At the base of the two first persons of the Greek dual lie ΝΩ, ΣΦΩ, as themes, which support the opinion, that in नौ *náu*, वाम् *vám* (for *váu*), to which they bear the same relation that ὀκτώ does to *ashtáu*, the *áu* is not a case termi-

* See pp. 228, 229, and shorter Sanscrit Grammar §. 589. Rem.

† I formerly thought (l. c. §. 274) the *â* of *âvâm* might be regarded as a strengthening prefix, as in the middle of the 2d and 3d dual person. But the above view answers better to the analysis which was given, § 333, of the plural.

nation. For if ΝΩ, ΣΦΩ were the themes in Greek, the genitive and dative would necessarily be *νῶιν*, *σφῶιν*, as it would be unnatural that the long vowel, which, in the nominative and accusative, would be explicable according to the analogy of *λύκω*, from ΛΥΚΟ, should be retained before the termination *ιν*. It would, it seems, be rightly assumed, that in the nominative and accusative, *νῶϊ*, *σφῶϊ*, are the original forms, and *νώ*, *σφώ* (for *νῳ*, *σφῳ*), abbreviations of them. From *νῶϊ*, *σφῶϊ* spring, also, the possessives *νωΐτερος*, *σφωΐτερος*. But how stands it with the very isolated Greek dual form *νῶϊ*, *σφῶϊ*? Max. Schmidt (l. c. p. 94) supposes therein a remnant of the Sanscrit neuter dual termination *î* (§. 212.). It would not be necessary, if this be so, to assume that in *νῶϊ*, *σφῶϊ*, a masculine and neuter dual termination are united, as ΝΩ and ΣΦΩ have already been made to pass as themes, from which *νῶϊ*, *σφῶϊ* would be very satisfactorily explained by the addition of a single termination. Observe, however, that the pronouns of the first and second persons do not originally distinguish any genders, and occur in Sanscrit only with masculine terminations; that therefore a remnant of the lost neuter termination is less to be expected in these very pronouns in Greek than in any other word whatever. Hence I prefer recognising in the *ι* of *νῶϊ*, *σφῶϊ*, a weakening of the dual-ending *a*, which originally pertained to the masculine and feminine, and which, in the common declension, has become *ε* (§. 209.). According to this, the *ι* has the same relation to this *ε* and the Zend *â* that the Æolic *πίσυρες* has to *τέσσαρες* and *chathwârô*. This opinion finds particular support from the fact that *νῶε* actually occurs for *νῶϊ*, as in the third person *σφωέ*, not *σφῶϊ*; and in the second person, also, the Grammarians assume *σφῶε* together with *σφῶϊ* (Buttmann's Lex. I. 52).

340. We give here a connected general view of the declension of the pronouns of the two first persons, with the remark that the compared languages do not everywhere

agree with one another in regard of inflexion. We select from the Greek, where it is desirable for the sake of comparison, the dialect forms which come nearest to the Sanscrit or the Zend.

SINGULAR.

	SANSCRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	GOTHIC.	LITH.	OLD SCLAV.
Nom.	*aham,*	*azĕm,*	*ἐγών,*	*ego,*	*ik,*	*asz,*	*az.*
	tvam,	*tûm,*	*τούν,*	*tu,*	*thu,*	*tù,*	*ty.*
Acc.	*mâm, mâ,*	*mанm, mâ,*	*μέ,*	*mē,*	*mik,*[1]	*manen,*	*mya.*
	tvâm, tvâ,	*thwanm, thwâ,*	*τέ,*	*tē,*	*thuk,*	*tawen,*	*tya.*
Inst.	*mayâ,*	....	....	...	...	*manimi,*	*mnoyû.*
	tvayâ,	....	....	...	...	*tawimi*	*toboyû.*
Dat.	*mahyam,*	....	*ἐμίν,*[2]	*mihi,*	*mis,*[3]	*man,*	*mnye, mi.*
	mê,	*mê, môi,*	*μοί,*[1]	...	...	...	....
	tubhyam,	....	*τεΐν,*[2]	*tibi,*	*thus,*[3]	*taw,*	*tebye, ti.*
	tvê, tê,	*thwôi, tê, tôi,*	*τοί,*[1]	...	...	...	....
Abl.	*mat,*	....	....	*me(d)*	...	...	....
	mattas,[5]	....	*ἐμέθεν*	...	...	...	....
	tvat,	*thwat,*	....	*te(d)*	...	...	....
	tvattas,[5]	....	*σέθεν,*	...	...	...	....
Gen.	*mama,*	*mana,*	*μοῦ,*	*mei,*	*meina,*	*maneis,*	*mene.*
	mê,	*mê, môi*	....	...	...	...	....
	tava,	*tava,*	*τεῦ,*	*tui,*	*theina,*	*taweis,*	*tebe.*
	tvê, tê,	*thwôi, tê, tôi,*	....	...	...	...	....
Loc.	*mayi,*	....	....	*mei,*[6]	...	*maniyè,*	*mnye.*
	tvayi,	*thwahmi,*[7]	....	*tui,*[6]	...	*tawiyè,*	*tebye.*

[1] See §§. 175. 174. [2] See §. 222. [3] See §. 174. [4] See §. 329. [5] At the base of the forms *mattas*, *tvattas*, lies the proper ablative *mat*, *tvat*, as theme (compare Gramm. Crit. §. 289.), to which has been added the suffix *tas*, which signifies the same as the ablative termination *t*, and is also formally connected with it, and to which the Greek *θεν* corresponds. [6] See §. 200. [7] See §. 174.

DUAL.

	SANSCRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	GOTHIC.	LITH.	OLD SCLAV.
Nom.	*âvâm,*[1]	....	*νῶϊ,*[2]	*vit,*[3]	*muddu,*[4]	m. *va*, f. *vye.*[5]
	yuvam,[1]	...	*σφῶϊ,*[2]	....	*yudu,*[6]	....
Accus.	*âvam,*[1]	...	...	*ugkis,*[7]	*mudu,*	m. *va*, f. *vye.*[5]
	nau,	...	*νωϊ,*[4]	....	....	
	yuvâm,[1]	...	...	*igqvis,*[7]	*yudu*	
	vâm,[1]	*vao,*	*σφῶ*			

	SANSCRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	GOTHIC.	LITH.	OLD SCLAV.
Inst.	âvâbhyâm,[1]	...	...	...	...	nama,
	yuvâbhyâm,	...	...	...	...	vama,
Dat.	âvâbhyâm,	...	νῶϊν,[8]	ugkis,	mum dwiem,	namu,[8]
	nâu,	...	νῶϊ,[8]	...	...	nama,[8]
	yuvâbhyâm,	...	σφῶϊν,[8]	igqvis,	yum dwiem,	vama,[8]
	vâm,	vâo,	σφῶϊν[8]	...	...	vama,[8]
Abl.	âvâbhyâm	...	...	...	...	...
	yuvâbhyâm	...	...	...	...	...
Gen.	âvayôs,	...	...	ugkara,	mumû dwieyû,	nayû,[8]
	nâu,	...	νῶϊν	...	yumû dwieyû,	nayû,[8]
	yuvayôs,	...	...	igqvara,	...	vayû,[8]
	vâm,	vâo,	σφῶϊν,	...	...	vayû,[8]
Loc.	âvayôs,	...	...	...	...	vayu,
	yuvayôs,	...	...	...	...	vayû,

[1] I regard the termination *âm* as a hardening of the common dual termination *âu* (before vowels *âv*); and I would call attention to the frequent interchange of *v* and *m* (§. 63., compare p. 114). This hardening has not, in the 1st person, extended into the secondary form; and in the 2d person the Zend *vâo* speaks for an older Sanscrit form *vâu* for *vâm*. The Zend form *vâo* occurs in the 34th chapter of the Izeshne, and appears, also, to stand as nominative. However, the Zend is not wanting in an analogous form to the Sanscrit dual base *yuva*; for that which Anquetil, in his Glossary, writes *ieouâkem*, and renders by *vous deux*, ought probably to be [Zend] *yavâkĕm*, and is clearly an analogous dual genitive (p. 473 Rem.) to the plural gen. [Zend] *yûsmâkĕm*, which Anquetil likewise considers as nominative. [2] See §. 339. [3] The *t* clearly belongs to the number two (theme *TVA*), which, in Lithuanian, is retained through all the cases. [4] Feminine *mudwi*. [5] The distinction of the genders has been introduced, contrary to the original principle, through the analogy of the common dual (see §. 273.), as the Old Sclavonic, too, in the dual personal terminations, which, in Sanscrit, Zend, and Greek, mark the genders just as little as the other numbers distinguish the feminine from the masculine by the termination *ye* (=ए *ê*, §. 155. *e.*). [6] Feminine *yudwi*. [7] See §. 169. [8] The comparison with the Sanscrit principal form regards the case termination; that with the secondary form the theme.

PLURAL.

	SANSCRIT.	ZEND	GREEK.	LATIN.	GOTHIC.	LITH.	OLD SCLAV.
Nom.	*vayam,*	*vaêm.*	. . .	. . . .	*veis,*[2]	. . .	. .
	asmê,[1]	. . . .	ἄμμες,	*nos,*[3]	*veis,*[1]	*mês,*[1]	*my.*
	yûyam,	*yûshĕm*	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
	yushmê,[1]	*yûs,*	ὔμμες,[1]	*vos,*[3]	*yus,*[1]	*yûs,*[4]	*vy.*
Accus.	*asmân,*	. . .	ἄμμε,	. . .	*unsis,*[1]	*mûs,*	*ny*
	nas,	*nô,*	. . .	*nos,*[3]	. .	. . .	. . .
	yushmân,	. . . .	ὔμμε,	. . .	*izvis,*[5]	*yûs,*	*vy.*
	vas,	*vô,*	. . .	*vos,*[3]	. . .	. . .	. . .
Inst.	*asmâbhis,*	. . . .	. . .	*nobis,*	. .	*mumis,*	*nami,*
	yushmâbhis,	. . . .	. . .	*vobis,*	. . .	*yumis.*	*vami.*
Dat.	*asmabhyam,*	. . . .	ἄμμι(ν),	. . .	*unsis,*	*mumus,*	*nam.*
	nas,	*nô,*	. . .	*nobis,*	. .	. . .	*nam.*
	yushmabhyam,	*yusmaêibya,*	ὔμμι(ν),	. . .	*izvis,*	*yumus,*	*vam.*
	vas,	. . . .	. . .	*vobis,*	. . .	. . .	*vam.*
Abl.	*asmat,*	. . . .	. . .	*nobis,*	. .	. .	. . .
	yushmat,	*yûsmat,*	. . .	*vobis,*	. .	. . .	. .
Gen.	*asmâkam,*[6]	*ahmâkĕm,*	ἀμμέων,	. .	*unsara,*	*músû,*	.
	nas,	*nô,*	. . .	*nostri,*	. . .	. . .	*nas*
	yushmâkam,	*yûsmâkĕm,*	ὑμμέων,	. .	*izvara,*	*yúsû,*	. .
	vas,	*vô,*	. .	*vestri,*	. . .	. .	*vas*
Loc.	*asmâsu,*	. . .	. .			*musûse,*	*nas*
	yushmâsu,	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	*yusûse,*	*vas*

[1] See §. 332. [2] See §. 170. [3] See §. 337. [4] See §. 335.
[5] See §. 174.

"Remark.—Max Schmidt rightly takes the forms *asmâkam, yûshmâkam,* for possessives; and Rosen has since confirmed his view (Journal of Education, July—Oct. 1834, p. 348) by the Vêda dialect युष्माकाभिर् ऊतिभिः *yûshmâkâbhir ûtibhis,* '*vestris auxiliis*'). We must therefore regard *asmâkam, yushmâkam* as singular neuters, which are, as it were, petrified, and have thus lost the power of being governed according to the gender, number, and case of their substantive. In the two first respects they may be compared with numeral expressions like पञ्च *pancha,* 'five' which, in the Greek πέντε and Latin *quinque,* has become completely indeclinable, and

therefore exactly like *asmâkam, yushmâkam*, Zend *ǵhmâkĕm, yûsmâkĕm*, and the dual form mentioned at p. 472, Rem. 1., *yavâkĕm.* It is clear that the Latin forms, also, *nostri, nostrum, vestri, vestrum*, belong to the possessive; and for *nostrum, vestrum*, are used also *nostrorum, vestrorum* (Schmidt, p. 10.) As, then, *unsara, izvara*, stand altogether isolated in Gothic as genitives, it is, in my opinion, much more natural to derive them from the possessive bases of the same sound—which form, in the nominative singular masculine *unsar, izvar* (see §. 292. Rem.)—than, on the contrary, to deduce the possessives from the unexplained genitives of the personal pronoun, so that they would be without any derivative suffix whatever, which is opposed to the common laws for the derivation of words. I most prefer regarding *unsara, izvara*, and the analogous dual forms as singular and dual neuters, like the Sanscrit *asmâkam, yushmâkam*, and with an antiquated retention of the *a* of the base, which in *daur'* for *daura* (§. 153.) has disappeared. Ought, also, the singular genitives to be viewed in this light? for *meina, theina, seina*, are possessive bases as well as the genitives of the personal pronouns; and if the former had proceeded from the latter, the addition of a suffix might have been expected. Perhaps even in Sanscrit the expressions *mama, tava*, which are far removed from all the forms of genitives, are originally possessives, from which, after they were no longer recognised as such, sprang the secondary forms *mâmaka, tâvaka*, as *bâlaka* comes, without alteration of meaning, from *bâla*, "a boy." Observe, also, the surprising accordance between the Greek possessive base ΤΕΟ, from ΤΕϜΟ, and the Sanscrit genitive *tava*. The form σό-ς, however, has scarcely proceeded from σοῦ, but from the more entire τεό-ς, by syncope and exchange of the τ with σ. In regard to the replacing of the genitive of pronouns without gender by the corresponding possessives, it deserves further to be remarked, that, in Hindústáni, the forms, which

are represented in both numbers of all declinable words as genitives, are shewn to be unmistakeable possessives, by being governed by the gender of the following substantive. The pronouns of the first and second person have in the masculine *rá*, in the feminine *rí*, as the possessive suffix; other words, in the masculine *ká*, feminine *kí*; and the latter answers to the Sanscrit *ka* in *asmâka, yushmâka, mâmaka, tâvaka*. In Hindústáni, therefore, *mêrî mâ, têrî mâ*, is literally, not '*mei mater*,' '*tui mater*,' but '*mea mater*,' '*tua mater*;' and the feminine termination *î* answers to the Sanscrit feminine formation (§. 119.). In the masculine the possessives under discussion are sounded *mêrâ, têrâ*, plural *hamârâ, tumhârâ*. In this it is remarkable that the formative suffix *râ* agrees with the Gothic *ra* of *unsara, izwara*, dual *ugkara igqvara*. In respect, also, to the transposition of the nasal, *tumhârâ* for *tuhmârâ*, from *tusmârâ*, is similar to the Gothic *ugkara, unsara, igqvara*.

PRONOUNS OF THE THIRD PERSON.

341. The Sanscrit is deficient in a simple substantive pronoun of the third person, devoid of gender: that it, however, originally possessed such a pronoun is proved, not only by the unanimous evidence of the European cognate languages, but especially by the circumstance that, in Zend, 𐬵𐬉 *hê* and 𐬵𐬋𐬌 *hôi* (also 𐬯𐬉 *sê*, according to §. 55.), and, in Prakrit, से *sê*, are used as the genitive and dative of the third person in all genders,* and indeed in the direct sense, and in form analogous to the secondary forms of

* In Zend I remember only examples of the kind where the pronoun mentioned refers to masculines; but in Prakrit से *sê* is often found feminine; *e.g.* Urvasi by Lenz, pp. 46. 55 twice. Still I have not yet met with examples for *sê* as dative, numerous as the examples of the genitive are. In Zend both cases occur, and the dative, indeed, more frequently than the genitive.

the first and second person; Sanscrit मे *mê*, ते *tê*, त्वे *tvê*, Zend *mê* or *môi*, *tê* or *tôi*, *thwôi* (§. 329.) In Sanscrit *sva*, lengthened to *svê*, must be considered as the theme of this pronoun, as, according to §. 326., *ma*, *mê*, *tva*, *tvê*, are the singular bases of the two first persons. From स्वे *svê*, in combination with the nominative termination *am*, (§. 326.) comes स्वयम् *svayam*, which means "self," and in the present state of the language is indeclinable in all cases, numbers, and genders. The form *sva* prevails as the possessive, but is used not only for *suus*, but for *meus* and *tuus*, in which it is to be observed, that in the majority of the European cognate languages the possessive of the third person may be also used for the two first, and the Doric σφός corresponds as exactly as possible with the Sanscrit *sva-s*, while ΣΦΙ lies as theme at the base of the plural of the personal pronoun (σφεῖς, σφί-σι), with the old *a* weakend to *i*, as in the plural of the two first persons (§. 332.). The apparent agreement of the base with the second person in the dual is, then, to be explained thus, that in the latter the σ has proceeded from an older *τ*, but in the third person is primitive. In οὗ, οἷ, ἕ, for σφοῦ, σφοί, σφέ—of which only the latter has been retained—from σϝοῦ, &c., the digamma, which may remain after σ in the form of φι, has been necessarily suppressed after the σ has become a rough breathing. Thus οἷ is similar to the Zend *hôi* and *hê* (for *hvôi*, *hvê*), and the Prakrit से *sê* for *svê*. A similar rejection of the *v*, together with a weakening of the old *a* to *i*, shews itself in the Gothic *sei-na*, *si-s*, *si-k*, for *svei-na*, *svi-s*, *svi-k* (see §. 327.). On the other hand, the *v* has remained in the adverb *svê*, as mentioned at §. 150., which evidently belongs to a theme *SVA*, as *hvê* from *HVA*, *thê* from *THA*. As *ê*, according to §. 69., stands sometimes for the long *a*, so these forms are, l. c., explained as instrumentals. They might, however, be regarded as locatives, which have been pointed out at §. 294. Rem. 2., with

an *ê* termination. The Lithuanian and Old Sclavonic in this pronoun follow exactly the analogy of the second person, and distinguish it from the latter only by the initial *s* for *t*; but, like the Latin, Greek, and German, dispense with the nominative as they are only used reflectively, and use the singular, also, instead of the plural. From the Latin, besides *sui, suus,* perhaps also *spontis, sponte,* from *SPONT,* are to be adduced here, since, according to all probability, the meaning "self," or "the self, selfness," is the primitive: *sp,* however, may be regarded as the modification of *sv* (comp. §. 50.), as *spiro,* in my opinion, is connected with *svas,* "to breathe." The Doric ψίν, for σφίν, and the Latin *pse,* of *i-pse,* which should be declined *ejus-psius, ei-psi,* &c., for *ipsius, ipsi,* are formed, in like manner, by transposition. As regards the termination *nt* of *SPONT* it might be carried back to the Sanscrit suffix *vant,* regarding which see §. 321. It may here be further remarked that, in Prakrit, the pronoun of the second person occurs, amongst other forms, in that of पइ *pai* and पनि *pani* (Urvasi, pp. 61. 69), so that the *t* of *tva* is suppressed, but the *v* hardened to *p*. Compare, in the former respect, the Doric φίν for σφίν, *vas, vos,* for *tvas, tvos* (§. 336); and, in both respects, the Latin *porta,* which in this way may be compared with द्वार् *dvâr,* "a door" (θύρα).

342. We here give a connected view of the declension of the pronoun of the third person, devoid of gender, in the singular, which, excepting in the case of the Greek, supplies also the place of the plural.

	PRAK.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LAT.	GOTH.	LITH.	OLD SCLAV.
Accusative,	..	....	σφέ, ἕ,	*se,*	*sik,*	*sawen,*[1]	*sya,*
Instrument.	..	....	....	..	...	*sawimi,*[1]	*soboyu.*[1]
Dative,	*sê,*	*hê, hôi,*	οἷ,	*sibi,*	*sis,*	*sau,*[1]	*sebye, si.*[1]
Genitive,	*sê,*	*hê, hôi,*	οὗ,	*sui,*	*seina,*	*saweis,*[1]	*sebe.*[1]
Locative,	..	....	....	..	...	*sawiye,*[1]	*sebye.*[1]

1 Compare §. 330. It is not, however, necessary to assume, that, in the

second person, the Lithuanian theme *taw* and the Sclavonic *teb* have arisen from the Sanscrit genitive *tava*; but these forms may be regarded as transpositions of the base त्व *tva*. Both explanations agree in the main, as the syllable *tav* belongs to the base in the Indian genitive तव *tava* also, whether we derive it by Guna from *tu*, whence तुभ्यम् *tu-bhyam*, "to thee," or regard it as the transposed form of त्व *tva*. In the reflective forms given above, *saw* and *seb* are based on the same principle as the *taw* and *teb* just mentioned, and hence they may be derived, by transposition, from the Indian base *sva*; or we may suppose a genitive *sava* to have existed in Sanscrit also, which language, it may be concluded, originally possessed a complete declension of this pronoun. The Gothic *sibya*, "kinsman," theme *sibyan*, Old High German, *sippëa*, "relationship," "kith," agrees, in a striking manner, with the Sclavonic base *seb*; and it would not be surprising if the "kinsman" has been designated as "the man belonging to him," "his;" and that, therefore, the original *v* of these Gothic forms has been hardened, as in Sclavonic, to *b*. The Gothic *svês*, theme *svêsa*, "property," is also a derivative from this pronoun.

343. The base त *ta*, feminine ता *tâ*, signifies, in Sanscrit, "he," "this," and "that." The Zend form is identical with the Sanscrit: the medial, however, frequently occurs instead of the tenuis, as in the accusative singular masculine, in which the place of [Zend] *têm* is commonly supplied by *dêm*, or, still more frequently, by *dim*. In Greek and German this pronoun has assumed the functions of the article, which is not found in the Sanscrit and Zend, nor in the Latin, Lithuanian, and Sclavonic. The bases TO, Gothic *THA* (§. 87.), feminine TA, TH Gothic *THÔ* (§. 69.), correspond regularly with the Sanscrit-Zend *ta*, *tâ*, with which the Lithuanian demonstrative base *TA*, nominative masculine *tas*, "this," feminine *tá*, is completely identical. The Old Sclavonic base is, as in Greek, in the masculine and neuter *to*, in the feminine *ta* (§. 255. *a.*), but in the nominative masculine drops the vowel; hence *t*, *ta*, *to*, "this." This pronoun does not occur, in its simple state, in Latin, with the exception of the adverbial accusative forms *tum*, *tunc* (like *hunc*), *tam*, *tan-dem*, and *tamen*. The latter resembles surprisingly the Sanscrit locative तस्मिन् *ta-smin*.

"in this" (§. 201.), only that the *s* is dropped, as in the Lithuanian *tamé* (p. 176); on which account I am inclined to replace the derivation I formerly gave of it by transposition from the Greek *μέντοι*, by that which I now offer, and which is less remote. Moreover, in Latin, the derivative forms *talis, tantus, tot, totidem, toties, totus*, spring from this pronoun, and will be treated of hereafter. It appears, however, to be declined in the compound *iste*, of which the first member *is* is either to be regarded as a petrified nominative masculine, the case-sign of which, unconscious of its derivation, is retained in the oblique cases —*istius* for *ejustius*; compare our *jedermann's*—or, which seems to me less probable, the *s* is a pure phonetic affix, adopted on account of the favourite combination of *s* with *t* (compare §§. 95. 190.).

344. In the same way that *iste* is compounded in Latin, so, also, in Sanscrit and Zend, the base *ta* combines with another pronoun prefixed to it, in fact, with *ê*, and thus forms एत *êta*, "this," "that," Zend [Zend] *aêta* (§. 28.). The nominative singular is, in Sanscrit, एष *êsha*, एषा *êshâ*, एतत् *êtat*; in Zend [Zend] *aêshô*, [Zend] *aêsha*, [Zend] *aêtat*. In Greek *αὐτός* is a similar compound, the first syllable of which, *αὐ*, will subsequently be remarked upon. This *αὐτός* is again combined with the article as a prefix to it, and forms *οὗτος, αὕτη, τοῦτό*, for *ὁ-αυ-τος, ἡ-αυ-τη, το-αυ-το*. There are several ways in which *οὗτος, τοῦτο* may be supposed to have arisen; in the first place as *h'-οὗτος, τ'-οὗτο*, by suppressing the vowel of the article and weakening the *α* of the diphthong *αυ* to *ο*, both changes being made to prevent the whole word from being too ponderous, for *α* is the heaviest of the three representatives of the Indian अ *a* (*α, ε, ο*); and for this reason *αυ* appears to be especially the representative of the Vriddhi diphthong औ *âu*,* while for ओ *ô* $= a + u$, is

* See Vocalismus, Rem. 2. p. 193, &c.

found either ευ or ου. In the feminine form αὕτη, if we distribute it thus, ἡ-αύτη, the diphthong remains unweakened, as in ταὐτό. But αὕτη may also be derived from ἁ-ύτη, and the loss of the first element of the diphthong may be assumed; the gender would then be expressed in both members of the compound, and a better distinction would be made from the masculine and neuter base τοῦτο. But if, as appears to me preferable, we make the latter accord with the explanation, which has just been given of the feminine form, the ο of ου will then be ascribed to the article, and we shall likewise assume that the α of αυ is dropped; thus, ὁ-ῦτος, το-ῦτο. Max. Schmidt (*De Pronomine Gr. et Lat.* p. 38) sees in οὗτος only the article compounded with itself, and assumes that υ is inserted; thus οὗτος for ὅτος, αὕτη for ἅτη. He adduces, in support of his view, ὁσοῦτος, τοιοῦτος, τηλικοῦτος, which he supposes to have admitted a similar insertion. I am of opinion, on the contrary, that these forms do not contain the simple base of the article TO as the last element of their composition, but ΑΥΤΟ; for why should not this pronoun, though itself already a compound, admit, just as well as the article, of being combined with words preceding it? I do not agree with Max. Schmidt in explaining the adverbs ἐνταῦθα, ἐντεῦθεν, for ἐνθαῦθα, ἐνθεῦθεν, Ionic ἐνθαῦτα, ἐνθεῦτεν, by the simple duplication of the suffixes θα, θεν, but I consider them to be compounded of two adverbs of similar formation. Though αὖθα, αὖθεν, from the pronominal base ΑΥ, of which more hereafter, have not been retained in use by themselves, still I look upon ἐνταῦθα as the combination of ἐνθ' + αὖθα, and ἐντεῦθεν as that of ἔνθεν + αὖθεν. In order to avoid the concurrence of two breathings in the two syllables which meet one another, the breathing of the former syllable is suppressed, or, as in the Ionic dialect, that of the latter is dropped. It may remain a question, whether the ε of ευθεν is the thin sound of the α of αὖθεν, in which case the preceding adverb has lost

not only its *ν*, but its *ε* also, or whether *αὖθεν* has been weakened by the loss of its *α*. In the latter case *ἐνταῦθα* may be divided into *ἐντα-ῦθα*. It is at least more natural to suppose the combination of two adverbs, and the weakening of the latter, on account of the ponderous nature of the compound, than to assume the mere doubling of the formative suffix and the insertion of a redundant *ν*, for neither part of this assumption can be supported by analogous phenomena elsewhere.

315. In the nominative singular masculine and feminine the Sanscrit substitutes—and in this the Gothic remarkably coincides with it—for the T sound of the pronoun under discussion an *s*, which in Zend, according to §. 53., becomes ꬵ *h*, and in Greek the rough breathing, hence Sanscrit *sa*, *sâ*, *tat*, Gothic *sa*, *sô*, *thata*, Zend *hô*, *hâ*, *tat*, Greek ὁ, ἁ, το. The Old Latin has introduced into the accusative this originally purely subjective pronominal base: *sum* for *eum*, and *sam* for *eam*, also *sapsa* as nominative for *sa-ipsa*.* As this *s* is excluded from the neuter, we have found in it (§. 134) a satisfactory explanation of the nominative sign, the *s* of which is likewise foreign to the neuter. A remnant of the old *s* of the base is still preserved by the Greek in the adverbs *σήμερον* and *σῆτες*, though as these compounds express an accusative relation, not that of a nominative, they accord with the use of the Sanscrit language less than the Attic forms *τήμερον*, *τῆτες*, as त *ta* is the general theme, but स *sa* only that of the nominative. The first member of the said compounds occurs in the primary form or theme, the final *ο* of which (= अ *a*) has been changed into *ε*, having been melted down with the following *ε* and *η*; thus *τῆτες*, *σῆτες* from *τε-ετες*, *σε-ετες* for *το-ετες*, *σο-ετες*; *τήμερον*, *σήμερον* from *τε-ημερον*, *σε-ημερον*

* Accusative plural *sos*, cf. Max. Schmidt "De Pronomine Gr. et Lat." pp. 11, 12.

for το-ημερον, σο-ημερον. These adverbs correspond to the Sanscrit adverbial compounds (*Avyayî-bhâva*), which contain a substantive, assuming an accusative neuter form as their last member; e.g. यथाश्रद्धम् *yathâ-shraddham*, "according to troth," from श्रद्धा *shraddhâ*, feminine "troth."

346. The Greek falls into an abuse, in extending the substitution of the rough breathing for the T sound also to the nominative plural, as in *oí, aí*, while the cognate languages preserve the Doric-epic forms *τόί, ταί* as the original: Sanscrit ते *tê*, तास् *tâs*, Zend *tê*, *tâo*, Gothic *thai*, *thôs* (compare §. 228.).

347. With reference to the masculine nominative singular, we have, moreover, to remark the remarkable coincidence of the Greek, Gothic, and Sanscrit in retaining the case-sign, so that *ó* for *ὅς* corresponds to the Sanscrit-Gothic *sa* for *sás*. The latter appears analogous to the interrogative *hvas*, "who?" in Gothic (§. 135.). In Sanscrit, however, the suppression of the case-sign is not quite universal; for before a stop we find सः *sah* euphonic for *sas* (§. 22. and Gramm. Crit. §. 75. *a.*); and before words beginning with *a* सो *sô*, according to a general principle of sound from *sas*, by melting down the *s* to *u*, and regularly contracting the *a* + *u* to *ó* (§. 2.). On the form *sô* is based the Zend *hô*, the *ó* of which is retained; so that *ha* which might be expected for स *sa*, does not occur. Although, then, *hô* is strikingly similar to the Greek *ó*, still the relationship of the two forms cannot be looked for in the *o*-sound, as the Greek *ó* rests on the suppression of the case-sign and usual substitution of *o* for अ *a* (§. 4.), while the Zend *hô* is to be referred to the existence of a case-sign (*u* for *s*), and its contraction with the *a* of the base to *ô*.

348. The reason why this pronoun gladly dispenses with the usual nominative sign *s* may be, partly, because the said case-sign has itself proceeded from the base *sa*,

and that *sa* does not admit of being re-combined with itself; and, partly—and this perhaps is the surer ground—that the pronouns, in general, are so strongly and vividly personified by themselves, that they are not in need of a very energetic and animated sign of personality; for which reason, although अहम् *aham* "I," त्वम् *tvam*, "thou," अयम् *ayam*, "this," स्वयम् *svayam*, "self," have a termination, it is not that of the usual nominative, but they appear as neuters in the more objective or accusative garb; while असौ *asâu*, m. f. "that," if its final diphthong is combined with the *u* of the oblique case अमु *amu* (compare §. 156.), is completely devoid of termination, and merely adopts the Vriddhi augment of the final vowel of the base.* The Latin obeys the same principle in the pronouns *hi-c*, *ille*, *iste*, *ipse*, which are deprived of the nominative sign, and for which we might have expected *his-c* (compare *hun-c* from *hu-mc*), *illus*, *istus*, and *ipsus*, which latter actually occurs; and in the same language the relative *qui* is distinguished from the more energetic interrogative *quis* by the absence of the nominative sign. In agreement with this principle stands also the circumstance, that in Sanscrit the masculine pronominal bases in *a*, in the plural nominative have not, like other words, *as* for their termination, but, in like manner, suppress the case suffix, and extend the *a* of the base to ए *ê*, by the admixture of a purely phonetic *i*; hence ते *tê*, from which the dative and ablative *tê-bhyas*, genitive *tê-shâm*, locative *tê-shu*. It has been before pointed out (§. 228.) what relation the cognate languages bear to Sanscrit in this respect. And it may be observed, further, that the pronouns of the first and second person do not admit, in the plural, the termination *as*, but

* The belief in this actually being the case is supported by the Pali, in which the form *asu*, without Vriddhi, corresponds to the Sanscrit *asâu*.

employ वयम् *vay-am*, यूयम् *yû-y-am*, with a neuter singular form, and, in the Vêda dialect, अस्मे *asmê*, युष्मे *yushmê*, after the usage of pronouns of the third person. The Greek forms ἄμμες, ὔμμες, ἡμεῖς, ὑμεῖς appear, therefore, so much the more to be a more recent adaptation to the ordinary mode of formation; and what (§§. 335. 337.) has been said regarding the *s* of the Lithuanian *mês*, *yûs*, the Gothic *veis*, *yus*, and the Latin *nos*, *vos* obtains additional confirmation from the present remark. The pronominal base अमु *amu*, "that," also avoids, in the masculine, the nominative-termination *as*, and forms *amî*, *illi*, which serves as a theme to the oblique plural cases, with the exception of the accusative; hence अमीभिस् *amî-bhis*, अमीभ्यस् *amî-bhyas*, अमीषाम् *amî-shâm*, अमीषु *amî-shu*. These forms confirm the opinion that the nominative *tê* also, and the like, are void of inflexion.

349. We here give a general view of the entire declension of the pronoun under discussion. From the Latin we adduce the compound *is-te*, as the simple form does not occur. The Zend forms in brackets I have not met with, but have formed them according to the analogy of the compound ... *aê-ta*, and other pronouns of the third person, with which we may suppose the base ... *ta* to have originally agreed in inflexion. Observe, also, the occasional weakening of the *t* to *d*, mentioned in §. 343. Those cases of the Lithuanian and Sclavonic to which * is prefixed, etymologically do not belong to this place, but to the compound त्य *tya*, mentioned in §. 353.

SINGULAR.

MASCULINE.

	Sanscrit.	Zend.	Greek.	Latin.	Gothic.	Lith.	Old Sclav.
N.	*sa, sah, sô,*	*hô,*	ὁ,	*is-TE,*	*sa,*	*tas,*	*t'.*
Ac.	*tam,*	*tĕm,*	τόν,	*is-TUM,*	*thana,*	*tan,*	*t'.*
I.	*têna,*	*(ta),*		.....	.....	*tû, tûmi,*	**tyem.*

SINGULAR.

MASCULINE.

	Sanscrit.	Zend.	Greek	Latin.	Gothic.	Lith.	Old Scl.
D.	*tasmâi,*	(*tahmâi*),[1]	τῷ,	*is-TI,*[2]	*thamma,*[3]	*tam,*[4]	*tomû.*[5]
Ab.	*tasmât,*	(*tahmâṭ*);	. . .	*is-TO(D),*	. . . .	. . . .	. . .
G.	*tasya,*	(*tahê*),[6]	τοῖο,[7]	*is-TIUS,*[7]	*this,*	*to.*	*togo.*[8]
L.	*tasmin,*[9]	(*tahmi*),[9]	. . .	*tamen?*[10]	. . .	*tamè,*[11]	*tom.*[12]

NEUTER.

N. Ac.	*tat,*[13]	*tat,*[13]	τό,[13]	*isTUD,*[13]	*thata,*[14]	*tai,*[15]	*to.*[16]

The rest like the Masculine.

FEMININE.

N.	*sâ,*	*hâ,*	ἁ, ἡ,	*is-TA,*	*sô,*	*tà,*	*ta.*
Ac.	*tâm,*	(*taim*),	τάν, τήν,	*is-TAM,*	*thô,*	*tą,*	*tû.*[17]
I.	*tayâ,*	(*tahmya*),[18]	. . .	. . .	. . . .	*tą,*	*toyû.*
D.	*tasyâi,*[19]	(*tanhâi*),[20]	τᾷ, τῇ,	*is-TI,*	*thizai,*[21]	*tai,*	*toĭ,*
Ab.	*tasyâs,*[19]	(*tanhâṭ*),[20]	. . . .	*is-TA(D),*	. . . .	. . .	. . .
G.	*tasyâs,*[19]	(*tanhâo*),[20]	τᾶς, τῆς,	*is-TIUS,*[22]	*thizôs,*[19]	*tôs,*	*toya.*[23]
L.	*tasyâm,*[19]	(*tahmya*),[24]	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	*toye,*[25]	*toĭ.*

[1] See §. 166. [2] *Isti*, and similar pronominal forms, differ from the common second declension, to which they belong, in this particular, that they preserve the case-termination in preference to the final vowel of the base; thus, *isti* for *istoi*, opposed to *lupo* for *lupoi*. [3] Regarding *mm*, from *sm*, see §. 170., and with reference to the termination §. 356. Rem. 3. [4] §. 176. [5] §. 267. *sub finem*. [6] We might, also, expect *tanhê* and *tainhê*, according to the analogy of *anhê*, which often occurs as well as *ahê* (from the base *a*), and *ainhê*, and similar forms (§§. 41. and 56. *a*.). [7] §. 189. [8] §. 269. [9] §. 120. [10] §. 343. [11] §§. 176. 197. [12] The *m* comes from the appended pronoun *sma* (comp. §. 267. end): in the instrumental *tym*, on the contrary, it belongs to the case-sign (§. 266.). [13] §§. 155. 156. [14] §. 155. and 281. [15] §. 157. [16] The Sclavonic *to*, and similar pronominal neuters, are to be explained, like the Greek, through the suppression of a *T*-sound; while substantive and adjective forms in *o*—with the exception of those from bases in *s* (as *nebo* from *NEBES*)—have lost a final nasal, which the Greek retains, both

according to the euphonic law in §. 255. *l*. [17] §. 266. [18] §. 171. [19] §. 172. [20] §. 172. Note *. [21] §. 356. Rem. 3. [22] If we assume that the termination *yus*, peculiar to the pronouns, which in §. 189. is considered as the transposed form of the Sanscrit termination *sya*, belonged originally to the feminine, and from that gender has been unorganically transferred to the others, then (*is*)*tius*—from (*is*)*ti-yus*, for (*is*)*ta-yus*—would agree tolerably well with the Sanscrit *tasyâs*, with the loss of the *s* preceding *y*—in this resembling the Sclavonic *taya* for *tasya*, §. 271., and shortening the last *â* but one; after which from the short *a*, as is so frequently done before a final *s*, an unorganic *v* is formed. [23] From *tasyas*, §. 271. [24] §. 202. [25] §. 268. Rem. *.

DUAL.

MASCULINE.

	Sanscrit.	Zend.	Greek.	Lith.	Old Sclav.
N. Ac.	*tâu*, *tâ*,[1]	(*tâo*, *tâ*),	τώ,	*tû*,	*ta*.
I. D. Ab.	*tâbhyâm*,	(*taêibya*),	D. τοῖν,[2]	D. *tiem*,[3]	I. D. *tyema*.[4]
G. L.	*tayôs*,	(*tayô*),[5]	G. τοῖν,	G. *tû*,	*toyû*.[6]

NEUTER.

N. Ac.	*tê*,[7]	(*tê*),	τώ,	....	*tye*,[8]

The rest like the Masculine.

FEMININE.

N. Ac.	*tê*,[9]	(*tê*),	τᾱ,	*tie*,	*tye*.[8]
I. D. Ab.	*tâbhyâm*,	(*tâbya*),	D. ταῖν,	*tom*,[3]	*tyema*.[4]
G. L.	*tayôs*,	....	G. ταῖν,	G. *tû*,	*toyû*.

[1] Vêda form, see §. 208. [2] §. 221. [3] §. 215. [4] §. 273., where, however, the reason for the *ye*, instead of the to be anticipated *o*, was incorrectly assigned. The truth is, *oboyema* is founded on the Sanscrit base उभय *ubhaya*, nom. *ubhayam*, "both"; and with regard to the designation of the number two, we must observe, that the Lithuanian, also, forms some cases from an extended theme in *ia*, euphonic *ie*; viz. the gen. *dwiey-û*, and the dative *dwiem*; the former, with regard to its *y* before the case-termination, agrees with the Sclavonic *dvoy-û* and Sanscrit *dvay-ôs* (§. 273. Note *); the theme of both cases is *dwie*, from *dwia*, and is founded, in my opinion, on the Sanscrit द्वय *dvaya*, "a pair," with the suppression of the *a* preceding the *y*. On this, then, is based, also, the Sclavonic

dvyem, as also *tyem*, on the compound pronominal base त्य *tya* (§. 353.).
[5] §. 254. Rem. 1. [6] §. 273. Note *. [7] §. 212. [8] §. 213.
[9] §. 213.

PLURAL.

MASCULINE.

Sanscrit.	Zend.	Greek.	Latin.	Gothic.	Lith.	Old Sclav.
tê,[1]	*tê*,[1]	τοί, οἱ,[1]	*is-TĪ*,[1]	*thai*,[1]	**tie*,[1]	*ti*.[1]
tân,	(*tan*),[2]	τούς,	*is-TŌS*,	*thans*,	*tus*, *tůs*,	*ty*.[3]
tâis,[4]	(*tâis*),	....	....	....	*tais*,[4]	**tyemi*.[4]
Ab. *têbhyas*,	*taêibyô*,	s Loc.	*is-TĪS*,[5]	*thaim*,[6]	**tiem(ů)s*,[7]	**tyem*.[8]
têshâm,[9]	(*taêshaům*),[10]	τῶν,	*is-TŌRUM*,[9]	*thizê*,[8]	*tů*,	*tyekh*,[11]
têshu,	(*taêshva*);	D. τοῖσι,	....	....	*tůse*,	*tyekh*.[11]

NEUTER.

Sanscrit.	Zend.	Greek.	Latin.	Gothic.	Lith.	Old Sclav.
Ac. *tâni*, *tâ*,[12]	*tâ*,[13]	τά,[13]	*is-TA*,[13]	*thô*,[13]	....	*ta*.[14]

The rest like the Masculine.

FEMININE.

Sanscrit.	Zend.	Greek.	Latin.	Gothic.	Lith.	Old Sclav.
tâs,	(*tâo*),	ταί, αἱ,[1]	*is-TAE*,[1]	*thôs*,	*tos*,	*ty*.[15]
tâs,	(*tâo*),	τάς,	*is-TĀS*,	*thôs*,	*tas*,	*ty*.[15]
tâbhis,	(*tâbis*),	....	....	....	*tomis*,	**tyemi*.
Ab. *tâbhyas*,	(*tâbyô*),	s. L.	*is-TĪS*,	*thaim*,[16]	*tom(u)s*,[7]	**tyem*.[8]
tâsâm,[9]	(*tâonhaům*),[17]	τάων, ῶν,	*is-TĀRUM*,[9]	*thizô*,[9]	*sů*,	*tyekh*.[11]
tâsu,	*tâhva*,	D. ταῖσι,	....	....	*tosa*,	*tyekh*.[11]

[1] §§. 228. 340. Regarding the Lithuanian *tie* see, also, §. 235. Note * and for the Sclavonic *ti* §. 274. [2] §. 239. [3] §. 275. [4] §. 219. The surprising agreement between the Sanscrit तैस् *tâis* and Lithuanian *tais* is so far fortuitous, as that the Sanscrit has rejected its *bh* and the Lithuanian the *m* derived from *b*, independently of each other. The Sclavonic *tyemi*, from *tyemis* (§. 277.), points to a Lithuanian *ta-mis*, and is analogous to the Vêda forms like अश्वेभिस् *aśvêbhis*, mentioned in §. 219., and to the common pronominal-instrumental एभिस् *ê-bhis*, "through this," from the base अ *a*. It is, however, doubtful whether the *ye* of *tyemi* is founded on the corruption of the Sanscrit ए *ê*, of a Vêda form which may be supposed to have existed, *têbhis*, according to §. 255. *e.*, or whether, as I am more inclined to think, this case, like several others, belongs to the compound base त्य *tya*, to which, also, is to be assigned the

singular instrumental *tyem*, as from the base *to*, only *tom* could proceed, according to the analogy of *rabom*, from the base *rabo*. On the other hand, the locative *tyekh* is not to be referred here, as all *o* bases in this case have *ye* corresponding to the Sanscrit *ê*; as, *rabyekh*, from the theme *rabo*. Concurrent forms are wanting in the common declension for *tyekh*; it answers, however, to तेषाम् *têshâm*, just as the locative of similar sound does to तेषु *têshu*; and for it also, therefore, we do not have recourse to the pronoun compounded with य *ya*, however natural it might appear from the point of view of the Grammar, which is limited to the Sclavonic alone, that all the *ye*, which occur in this pronoun, are of the same origin. [5] From *istibus* for *istobus*, see §. 244. [6] §§. 215. and 288. Rem. 4. [7] §§. 215. and 235. Note *. [8] §. 276. [9] §. 248. [10] Comp. [Zend] *aêshaňm*, "*horum*," from the base *a*, Vend. S. p. 230, and elsewhere (erroneously [Zend] *s* for *sh*, see §§. 51. 52.). [11] §. 284. Rem. 6. [12] §. 234. Note †. [13] §. 231. [14] §. 274. [15] §. 271. [16] This has found its way from the other genders into the feminine, where we should expect *thâm*, while in the masculine and neuter the *ai* has its ancient fixed position (§. 288. Rem. 4.). In Sclavonic, all oblique plural cases are borrowed from the masculine, hence *tyemi*, *tyem*, *tyekh*, for *tyami*, *tyam*, *tyakh*, or *tami*, *tam*, *takh*. [17] Compare the often-occurring [Zend] *âonhaňm*, "*harum*" (§. 56[b].), Sanscrit *âsâm*, from the base *â*. Polysyllabic bases in Zend shorten the feminine *â* in the genitive plural; hence, not *aêtâonhaňm*, but [Zend] *aêtanhaňm* (according to §. 56[a].) answers to the Sanscrit *êtâsâm*.

350. The weakening of the *t* to *d*, mentioned in §. 343., which occasionally enters into the pronominal base *tá*, coincides with that which takes place in Greek in the appended particle δέ, which, when isolated, is used as a conjunction, and to which no more suitable origin can be assigned than the pronominal base TO. The weakening of the vowel *o* to ε resembles that which occurs in the uninflected vocative of bases in *o* (§. 204.), as also in the equally uninflected accusatives μέ, σέ, ἕ, (§. 326.) The descent of the tenuis to the medial occurs also in Sanscrit, in the isolated neuter form *i-dam*, "this" and *a-das*, "that," inasmuch as, in my opinion, this is the proper distribution* which with

* Cf. Influence of Pronouns in the Formation of Words, p. 13.

reference to *i-yam* is supported, also, by the Latin *i-dem*. *qui-dam*. In Sanscrit इदम् *i-dam* and अदस् *a-das* are limited to the nominative and accusative neuter, which are the same in sound, and are deficient in the formation of the other cases, which originally may have belonged to them, as the Greek δε has still left behind it, in Homer, the plural dative δεσσι, δεσι (τοῖςδεσσι, τοῖςδεσι), which, according to what was said in §. 253. Rem., regarding the dative in εσ-σι, sounds very homogenous to the Sanscrit neuter *das* probably a weakened form of *dat*. As to the proof of the relation of the idea of the conjunction δέ to that of our pronoun, it is sufficient to remark, generally, that all genuine conjunctions in the Indo-European family of languages, as far as their origin can be traced, are derived from pronouns, the meaning of which frequently lies more or less obscured. Those from μέν and δέ are contrasted with one another like "this" and "that," or "the other;" and the connection of our German *aber*, Old High German *afar*, with the Indian अपरस् *apara-s*, "the other," has been already shewn elsewhere,* and in the same manner the Gothic *ith*, "but," of which more hereafter, is of pronominal origin, just as the Latin *au-tem*.

351. A descent from the tenuis to the medial, similar to that which we have observed in the Greek δέ, and in δεῖνα, which will be discussed hereafter, is exhibited in Latin in the adverbs *dum*, *demum*, *donec*, *denique*, which all, with more or less certainty, belong to our demonstrative base. Perhaps *dudum*, also, is to be referred to this class, and is to be regarded as the doubling of the base *du* for *tu*, *to*, as *totus*, which has retained the old tenuis. In Sanscrit, the doubling of pronouns, in which both are nevertheless declined, expresses multiplicity; *yó yas* signifies "whoever," "*quicunque*," and *yań yam*,

* Vocalismus, p. 155.

"*quemcunque*," &c., and *sa sah*, *tân tam*, &c. answers to them. *Totus* is properly "this and this," "the one and the other half," hence the whole. The case is the same with *quisquis*. In *dudum*, "long ago," the notion of multiplicity is equally clear; and for this reason I prefer viewing it as the combination of two similar elements rather than as *diu* and *dum*. The same relation, in a phonetic respect, that *dudum* has to *totus*, *dum* has to *tum*, which latter has been marked above (§. 343.) as the accusative. The circumstance, that in these pronominal adverbs the accusative inflexion does not stand in its customary sense, ought not to divert us from this mode of derivation; for in adverbs the case-inflexions very frequently overstep their ordinary signification. Notwithstanding, it cannot be denied that, in all pronominal adverbs of this kind, or at least in some of them, the *m* might also belong to the appended proroun *sma*, which is so widely diffused in Sanscrit and its kindred languages, and has been conjectured to exist in *ta-men* as analogous to the Sanscrit locative *tasmin*, and in *immo* by assimilation from *ismo*.* According to this mode of explanation, in the Latin forms *dum*, *tum*, *tam*, *quam*, &c., there would be exactly as much left of the appended pronoun, and the case-terminations combined with it, as in our German datives, as *dem*, *wem*, and the Sclavonic locatives, as *tom*. The locative would be very suitable for *dum*, "since," "while," (in which time), and *tum* in the meaning "then," and consequently *du-m* and *tu-m* would be = Sanscrit तस्मिन् *ta-smin*, Old Sclavonic *tom*. For the meaning, "hereupon," which in Sanscrit is expressed by ततस् *tatas*, (literally "from there"), it might be better to refer to the ablative तस्मात् *ta-smât*, for it is not necessary that *tum*, in all its meanings, should belong to one and the

* In the author's Essay on Demonstrativ stämme, p. 21.

same case-form, as the *m* approaches very closely to the terminations स्मै *smâi*, स्मात् *smât*, and स्मिन् *smin*.

352. *Dēmum*, considered as a demonstrative form, agrees exceedingly well, apart from the weakening of the consonants, with the Greek τῆμος, with respect to which the obsolete form *dēmus* is to be remarked. In τῆμος, however, to which the relative ἦμος corresponds, there is no necessity to follow Buttmann in regarding the latter portion of it as the substantive ἦμαρ, notwithstanding the apparent inducement for so doing contained in αὐτῆμαρ; but I prefer dividing thus, τῆ-μος, ἦ-μος, and I consider τη, ἠ, to be merely the lengthening of the base TO, as according to §§. 3. 4., ο = अ *a*, and η = आ *â*. Thus this η coincides with the cognate Sanscrit *â*, in several pronominal derivations, with the base-vowel lengthened, as यावत् *yâ-vat*, "how much," "how long," "while," &c., and with the word answering to it, तावत् *tâ-vat*. Nay, we might not perhaps venture too far if we were to recognise in μος a corruption of वत् *vat*, the *v* being hardened to μ, as we perceive happens among other words in δρέμω = द्रवामि *dravâmi*, "I run," (p. 114), the τ being changed to ς, which is necessary at the end of words if the T sound is not to be entirely dropped, modifications which have aided us in explaining several forms of importance in Grammar (§§. 152. 183.). In *dēmum*, *dēmus*, however, the demonstrative force is not so clearly perceptible as in the cognate Greek expression, and it lies concealed under the usual translation, "then first," or "at last," which does not affect the general sense of the sentence. Still *nunc demum venis?* means, properly, "now comest thou at this (so late a time)?" The time is doubly denoted; and in this lies the emphasis; first by *nunc*, from the pronominal base *nu*, and next by *demum*. In such adverbs, however, of place and time, it is not required to express the place and time formally, and this is done very rarely. In general, the mind has to understand these categories in the

interior, as it were, of the verbal form. It is the property of the pronouns that they convey the secondary notion of space, which then admits of being transferred to time. Thus our *wo*, "where," has reference to place; *wann*, "when," to time; *da*, "then" or "there," to both; but the pronominal idea alone is formally represented in all three. When it is required to denote adverbially absolutely definite divisions of time, a pronoun is naturally combined with the designation of time in question, as in *hodie*, *σήμερον*, and *heute*, "to-day," (Old High German, *hiutu*, §. 162.). But if, in these expressions, one of the ideas combined in them were to lose its formal designation, that of time would most easily be dispensed with; the important matter being "on this" and not "on that (day)," and the language therefore adheres more tenaciously to the pronominal element than to that of time, which is very faintly seen in our *heute*, and even in the Old High German *hiutu*. Hence I cannot believe that the adverbs *dum*, *demum*, *donec*, *denique*, are connected with the term for "day" (§. 122.), which is common to the Latin and the Sanscrit, to which Hartung (Gr. Particles, I. 230), besides the forms which have been mentioned, refers, among others, *yam* and the Gothic *yu*, "now," "already," and *yuthan*, "already," as also the appended *dam* in *qui-dam*, regarding which see above (§. 350.). In the first place, in the *dam* of *quon-dam*, and in the *dem* of *tan-dem*, we might admit the term denoting "day" without being compelled from the reason given above, to this explanation, still less to the inference that *qui-dam*, *qui-dem*, and *i-dem*, also have arisen in this manner. If *quondam* contains the name of "day," then its *dam* approaches most nearly to the Sanscrit accusative द्याम् *dyâm* from द्यो *dyô*, "heaven," which, like other appellations of heaven, may also have signified "day," as a shoot from the root दिव् *div*, "to shine," (§. 122.). With this accusative द्याम् *dyâm*, agrees,

also, the Greek δήν, "long," if, as Hartung conjectures, it is taken from an appellation of "day," like the Latin *diu* (Sanscrit द्यु *dyu*, "day.")* On the other hand, I prefer referring the particle δή to our demonstrative base, the significant and animating force of which is evinced clearly enough in the way in which it is used. We return to the Latin *dōnec*—the more complete form of which, *dōnicum*,† has been already, in another place, divided into *do-nicum*—since I see in it a connection, in formation and base, with the Greek τηνίκα. "So long as is the time in which," or "in which time," "how long a time," and *do* here represents the pronominal idea, and *nec, nicum*, that of time, as it also actually expresses, which will be shewn hereafter, a division

* Perhaps we should also class under this head ἡμέρα, and divide it into ἡ-μέρα, considering it as "day-time." The first member of the compound would have lost the *T* sound of the Sanscrit base द्या *dyâ*, as, in §. 122., we have seen *Yu* proceed from *Dyu*, and the rough breathing would, as frequently happens in Greek—*e. g.* in ἧπαρ, answering to *jecur* and यकृत् *yakṛit*—supply the place of the *y*. As regards the second portion of ἡ-μέρα; we might easily suppose it connected with μέρος. If this idea be well founded, then ἡ-μέρα would mean "day's-side" or "light-side" (of time). But μερα admits, also, of comparison with a word which, in Sanscrit, means time in general and day of the week; for by assuming the frequently-mentioned hardening of a *v* to *m* (cf. p. 425), and a shortening of the middle vowel, we arrive at the Sanscrit वार *vâra*, which has been before the subject of discussion (§. 309.), and with which, too, our *mal*, Gothic *mêl* (theme *mêla*), is connected. According to this view, ἡμέρα would, therefore, signify "day's-time," in which case an etymological connection between μερα and μέρος might still exist, inasmuch as μείρομαι, from the base MAP (εἵμαρται), is probably connected with the Sanscrit base *var* (*vri*), "to cover", and "to choose"; whence *vara* (nominative *varam*), "the gift, lent by a god or a Brahman," "grace"; and whence is derived, also, *vâra*, "opportunity," "time," &c. For further particulars regarding the base वर् *var* (वृ *vri*) and its branches in the European cognate languages, see my Vocalismus, p. 166.

† Influence of the Pronouns in the Formation of Words, p. 12.

of time. In the Sanscrit यावत् *yâvat*, on the other hand, from the relative base *ya*, which signifies both "so long" and "until," the pronominal idea is alone represented; and we have hereby a fresh proof of the existence of a demonstrative element in *donec*, *donicum*. *Dēnique*, in like manner with regard to its origin, appears to be related to τηνίκα, to which it bears a surprising resemblance; with *qu* for *k*, as in *quis*, *quid*, corresponding to कस् *kas*, किम् *kim*, κῶς, κοῖος, &c.

353. The pronominal base त *ta* is combined, in Sanscrit, with the relative base *ya*, for the formation of a new pronoun of similar signification, which belongs especially to the Vêda dialect, and, like many other Vêda words, has found more frequent use in the European cognate languages than in the common Sanscrit. The *a* of त *ta* is suppressed in this compound, hence त्य *tya*; and in the nominative of the personal genders, as in the simple त *ta*, the T sound is replaced by *s*; hence स्यस् *syas*, स्या *syâ*, त्यत् *tyat*; accusative त्यम् *tyam*, त्याम् *tyâm*, त्यत् *tyat*, &c. The base *sya*, which is limited to the nominative, with its feminine form *syâ*, possesses a complete declension in several cognate languages, and in the Sclavonic has found its way into the neuter also. The Gothic has adhered most closely to the Sanscrit, and does not permit this pronoun to extend beyond the singular nominative. Moreover, only the feminine form *si* remains; and one could wish that a masculine *syi-s*, for *sya-s*, (according to §. 135) occurred with it. Most of the forms, however, which express, in Gothic, the idea "he," and its feminine, have proceeded from the demonstrative base *i*, among which *si*, though, as it were, an alien, has found its place. This *si*, from the base *syô*=Sanscrit *syâ*, is an abbreviation of *sya*, according to the analogy of the substantive declension of like termination (Grimm's second strong declension), as *thivi* for *thiuya*, from the base *thiuyô*.

354. The Old High German *siu* is more exactly retained than the Gothic *si*. We will leave it undecided whether it should be written *syu*,* which has not entirely dropped the Sanscrit आ *â*, of स्या *syâ*, but has first shortened it to *a*, and then weakened it to *u*.† *U*, however, in Old High German, is a favourite letter after *i* or *y* (Vocalismus, p. 246. Rem. 80.). The form *siu*, in Old High German, is not so isolated as *si* in Gothic; but from the base *siô* springs also an accusative *sia*, and in the plural the form *siô*, which is common to the nominative and accusative, and, in a Gothic dress, would be *syôs*, in Sanscrit स्यास् *syâs*. Contrasted with the singular nominative *siu*, the accusative *sia* may appear remarkable, for in both cases similar forms might have been expected. The difference, however, consists in this, that the nominative form, at the oldest period to which we can arrive by the history of the language, terminated in a vowel without any case-sign whatever, while in the accusative the vowel of the base was protected by a nasal. This nasal, then, may have preserved the old quantity of *a*, just as, in Greek, a final α frequently occurs in places where a nasal was permitted to follow it by the old Grammar; while, where a short *a* sound is found originally unprotected, or accompanied by consonants not nasal, it is usually changed into ε or ο; hence ἑπτα, ἐννέα δέκα, answering to the Sanscrit *saptan, navan, daśan*, though from these likewise in the nominative and accusative, according to §§. 139. 313., *sapta*, &c.; ἔδειξα answering to अदिक्षम् *adiksham*, πόδα to पदम् *padam*, but ἔδειξε to अदिक्षत् *adikshat*, λύκε! to वृक *vṛika*, ἐδείξατο to अदिक्षत *adikshata*.

355. While the Gothic article, like that in Greek, is to

* See p. 367, Rem. 5.; and Vocalismus p. 234, Rem. 31.

† Respecting *u*, as lighter than *a* and heavier than *i*, see Vocalismus p. 227, Rem. 16.

be referred to the bases discussed in §. 343., स *sa*, सा *sá*, त *ta*, ता *tá*, the High German, as has been before remarked (§. 288. Rem. 5.), attaches itself chiefly to the compound त्य *tya*, fem. *tyá*, and introduces this into the nominative also; hence, in the feminine, *diu* (or perhaps *dyu*), as above *siu*, accusative *diu* answering to the Sanscrit त्याम् *tyám*, and in the nominative and accusative plural *dio* = *tyás*. With regard to the masculine, compare, with the Sanscrit nominative त्ये *tyé*, the form *die*, which in High German has found its way also into the accusative, which in this language is everywhere the same as the nominative. In the neuter, *diu* agrees with similar Old High German forms, from substantive bases in *ia*, as *khunniu*. In the masculine singular, and in those cases of the neuter which are the same as the masculine, the compound nature of our pronominal base is less palpable; and taking it as our starting point, or restricting our views to it, we should have classed the forms *dër*, *dës*, *dëmu*, *dën*, not under *tya*, but, like the Gothic forms of kindred signification, under the simple base त *ta*. But if *dër*, *dën*, be compared with the corresponding feminine cases *diu*, *dia*, and with the masculine plural *die*, without the supposition—which is refuted by the Sanscrit, Lithuanian, and Sclavonic—that in the latter word a redundant *i* is inserted, which never occurs in other parts of the Old High German Grammar,* then the assumption becomes necessary that *dër*, *dës*, *dëmu*, *dën*, have had their origin from older forms, as *dyas*, *dyas* (= त्यस् *tyas*, त्यस्य *tyasya*), so that, as very frequently happens in Gothic (§. 72.), in the syllable *ya* the *a* is dropped, and the *y* changed into a vowel; just as, above, we have seen *si* and *thivi* spring from *sya* and *thivya*. The Old High German, however, very commonly employs *ë* for the Gothic *i*.

* See Vocalismus, p. 247.

356. The distribution of forms with *ë* and *i* (or *y*) and a following vowel is not fortuitous, but rests on an historical basis, so that the contraction to *ë* occurs universally where the Sanscrit has a short *a* after य् *y*;* but the more full form is found only when a long *â*, or the diphthong *ê*, accompanies the Indian semivowel, though this circumstance does not, in every case, ensure the more complete form in Old High German; for in the genitive plural we find *dërô* (masculine, feminine, and neuter), notwithstanding the Indian त्येषाम् *tyêshâm* in the masculine and neuter, and त्यासाम् *tyâsâm* in the feminine; and in the dative, together with *dièm*—according to Notker, *dien*—occurs, also, *dêm* or *dên*, and this, too, in most authorities. The neuter instrumental *diu* is based on the instrumental ثيا *thyâ*,† which may be supposed to exist in Zend, and where, therefore, we have, in like manner, the *i* or *y* retained with original long vowels following that letter. Compare

MASCULINE.

	SINGULAR.		PLURAL.	
	Sanscrit.	*Old H. G.*	*Sanscrit.*	*Old H. G*
Nominative,	*syas,*	*dër,*	*tyê,*	*die.*
Accusative,	*tyam,*	*dën,*	*tyân,*	*die.*
Dative,	*tyasmâi,*	*dëmu,*	*tyêbhyas,*	*diêm.*
Genitive,	*tyasya,*	*dës,*	*tyêshâm,*	*dëro.*

NEUTER.

Nom. Acc.	*tyat,*	*daz,*	*tyâni, tyâ*[1],	*diu.*
Instrumental,	*tyêna, thyâ*[2],	*diu,*	*tyêbhis,*	

The rest like the masculine.

* Respecting the neuter *daz*, see §. 356. Rem. 2.

† I cannot, however, quote this pronoun in Zend, except in the nominative plural masculine in combination with the relative, §. 62.

1 The latter is the Vêda and Zend form, see §. 231. and §. 234. Note *.

2 The latter the Zend form pre-supposed above.

FEMININE.

	SINGULAR.		PLURAL.	
	Sanscrit.	*Old H. G.*	*Sanscrit.*	*Old H. G.*
Nominative,	*syâ,*	*siu*[3], *diu,*	*tyâs,*	*dio.*
Accusative,	*tyâm,*	*dia,*	*tyâs,*	*dio.*
Dative,	*tyasyâi,*	*dëru,*	*tyâbhyas,*	*diêm.*
Genitive,	*tyasyâs,*	*dëra,*	*tyâsâm,*	*dëro.*

"Remark 1.—I differ from Grimm, whom, §. 288. Rem. 5., I have followed, as I here give *die,* not *diê,* and in the feminine plural *dio,* not *diô,* in the genitive plural *dëro,* and in the genitive and dative singular *dëra, dëru,* without a circumflex; since the circumstance that theory, and the history of language, would lead us to expect a long vowel, does not appear sufficient ground for the inference that the original long quantity, which has been retained in Gothic, was not shortened in the three centuries and a half which elapsed between Ulfilas and the oldest High German authorities. Where a long vowel is not shewn by Kero's doubling the vowel, or Notker's accenting it with a circumflex, which is not the case in the examples before us, we have there to assume that the vowel, in the course of centuries, has undergone a weakening change. To this, final vowels are, for the most part, subject; hence, also, the subjunctive present preserves the *ê,* which corresponds to the Sanscrit ए *ê* and Gothic *ai* only in persons in which the vowel is protected by a personal termination following it; but in the first and third persons singular, which have lost the personal signs, the organic length of quantity is also lost.*

"Remark 2.—It is very probable that the simple base

[3] See §. 354.

* Grimm appears to have committed a mistake in referring, I. 723., to the third p. conj. for support of the supposed length of the *e* in the nominative plural, as at p. 868 he ascribes to it a short *e.*

त *ta*, was, in Old High German, originally more fully declined, and that remains of that declension still exist. The neuter *daz* has the strongest claim to be viewed as such, which, contrary to §. 288. Rem. 5., I now prefer referring to the Sanscrit *tat*, rather than to *tyat*, as the syllable त्य *tya* has elsewhere, in Old High German, universally become *dë* (§. 271.). Perhaps, too, the *de* which occurs in the nominative plural masculine, together with *die* (Grimm. I. 791.), is not an abbreviation of the latter by the rejection of the *i*, but a remnant of the simple pronoun, and therefore akin to the Sanscrit ते *tê* and Gothic *thai*. On the other hand, in Old Sclavonic, in the declension of the simple pronoun given at §. 349., several remains of the compound त्य *tya* have become intermingled which are there explained. But the forms *toĭ*, *toe*, *taya*, which occur in the nominative and accusative, together with *t'* (masculine), *to* (neuter), *ta* (feminine), though they contain the same elements as the Sanscrit त्य *tya*, त्या *tyâ*, were first formed in Sclavonic, in the sense of §. 284., otherwise they would not have restored the vowel of the first pronoun, which the Sanscrit has suppressed (§. 353.); thus, *ti* for *toĭ*, *te* or *tye* for *toe*, and *tya* for *taya* (compare §. 282.). The same is the case with the compound plural forms of the nominative and accusative; masculine *tiĭ*, neuter *taya*, feminine *tyya*.

"Remark 3.—In §. 160. I have made the assertion that the German dative is based on the old instrumental, as it often occurs with an instrumental signification. I was, however, particularly impelled to this view by the dative form of bases in *i*, as *gasta* from the theme *gasti*. But if we make the division *gast-a* and regard the *a* as the case-termination, there is nothing left us but to refer this form to the Indo-Zend instrumental. There is, however, a way of comparing this form with the Sanscrit dative, which I now prefer, as the Lithuanian and Sclavonic, which are so near akin to the German, have retained the dative,

together with the instrumental; and the Old High German has preserved a particular form for the instrumental, the generic difference of which from the dative is especially observable in the pronoun, in which *dëmu* answers to त्यस्मै *tyasmâi*; but the instrumental *diu*, and the Gothic *thê* (§. 159.), no more exhibit the appended pronoun *sma*, mentioned in §. 165. &c., than does the Sanscrit-Zend instrumental. *Diu* agrees best with the Zend *thyâ*, supposed above, and the Gothic *thê* with the simple *tâ*.* The form *dëmu*, and the Gothic *thamma*, compared with त्यस्मै *tyâsmâi* and तस्मै *tasmâi*, have lost the *i* element of the Sanscrit diphthong ऐ *âi* (= *â* + *i*); and the long *â* has been shortened in Gothic, otherwise it would have been supplied by *ô* or *ê*.† The short Gothic *a* has, however, in Old High German been still further weakened to *u*. But to return to the Gothic *gasta* from the theme *gasti*; I do not now regard the final *a* of this word as a case-suffix, but as a Guna-vowel, after which the *i* of the base has been dropped, together with the case-character, while all bases in *u*, and feminine bases in *i*, have lost only the inflexion, and not a portion of the base with it. The same relation that *sunau* has to the dative सूनवे *sûnav-ê*, from *sûnu*—which in Sanscrit also receives the Guna—the feminine *anstai*, from the theme *ansti*, has to the Sanscrit *matay-ê*, from *mati*. The masculine *gasta*, however, has not only lost the inflexion of *gastay-ê*, as it must originally have been pronounced, but also the *y*, which ought to have reverted to *i*. In the *a* declension *vulfa* is readily made to accord with the Sanscrit वृकाय *vrikâya*, and Zend 𐬬𐬆𐬵𐬭𐬐𐬁𐬌 *vëhrkâi*; to the latter it bears the same relation that *thammâ* above does to तस्मै *ta-smâi*. The feminine *gibai*, from the theme *gibô*, is as easily de-

* The Sanscrit *tyê-n-a* has, according to §. 158., a euphonic *n* inserted, and the *a* of the base changed into *ê* by the blending of an *i*.

† The latter actually takes place in *hvammê-h*, *hvaryammê-h*.

rivable, in regard to form, from the dative जिह्वायै jihvây-âi, as from the instrumental जिह्वया jihvay-â. In both ways the inflexion has been lost, and the semivowel preceding it changed to a vowel. But if we are to believe that a genuine dative character is retained in German, we should find it in the declension of the pronouns, inasmuch as, for instance, the feminine form zai, in thi-zai, is directly derivable from the Sanscrit syâi, from smy-âi, by merely dropping the semivowel; so that thizai and तस्यै tasyâi stand historically near to one another, as we have represented in §. 172., where we expressed our belief that ai, in thizai, may be explained on the same principle as that of gibai; and thus thizai must be considered as an abbreviation of thizay-ai, and, therefore, as indeclinable. But if thizai stands for thizy-âi, and âi is, therefore, in this and similar pronominal forms, a remnant of the Sanscrit feminine dative termination âi, then the Gothic ai abovementioned is essentially distinguished from the similar termination in gibai, "dono," and anstai, "gratiæ," as these two, also, are diverse from one another, since the i of anstai belongs to the theme ansti, while an i is foreign to the theme of gibai, viz. gibô, and accompanies the base in the dative only: while in the corresponding class of words in Sanscrit it is added in several cases, after which is annexed the true inflexion, which is omitted in Gothic. But if the ai of thizai is identical with the Sanscrit ै âi of तस्यै tasyâi, then we cannot distribute the genitive thizôs, into thi-z-ôs, and this must be considered as an abbreviation of thi-zy-ôs = तस्यास् ta-sy-âs; and we should have in this, and similar pronominal forms,* a feminine genitive termination ôs, while elsewhere in all genders the genitive sign consists in a mere s.

* To these belong the (strong) adjectives combined with a pronoun.

357. It has been already remarked, that our *dieser* is a compound pronoun (§. 288. Rem. 5.), the first member of which is founded on the Sanscrit base त्य *tya*, and our article (§. 353.). It is not, however, requisite to assume that its *ie* presupposes an older *ia*, but it may be regarded, which now appears to me preferable, as the anorganic lengthening of the *di-sêr* of Notker. As regards the second part of this demonstrative, its declension might be assigned partly to the simple Sanscrit base स *sa*, partly to the compound *sya*; to the latter evidently belongs the feminine nominative *dëSIU* (= स्या *syâ*, *diese*, "this,") and the neuter plural nominative of the same sound. But if the feminine accusative is *dësa*, not *dësia*, and the masculine *dësan*, not *dësian*, or *dësën*, according to the analogy of *dën* (p. 356), then, instead of regarding these and other analogous forms as remains of the simple base स *sa*, सा *sâ*, it may be assumed that the *i* (or *y*) has been dropped, as occurs in most cases of the declension of *hirti* (theme *hirtia* or *hirtya*); so that in the plural, *hirta*, *hirto*, *hirtem*, and in the dative singular *hirta*, answers to the Gothic *hyirdyôs*, *hairdyê*, *hairdyam*, *hairdya*. If this is, as I believe it is, the proper view of the declension of *dësêr*, the declensional difference between *dër* and *sêr* then lies in this, that it has been necessary to lighten the latter, owing to the incumbrance of the base of the article which is prefixed to it, and that, therefore, *i* is rejected; hence *dësa*, "*hanc*," but without the article *sia*, "*eam*." It is remarkable that the Lithuanian presents us with what appears to be the transposed form of our compound *dieser*. As such, at least, I regard the so-termed emphatic demonstrative *szittas*, in which the Sanscrit, subjective but compounded pronoun स्य *sya*, occupies the first place, and the objective and simple त *ta* the second. The first *t* of *szittas*, which I divide thus, *szit-tas*, is, in my opinion, a remnant of the neuter case-sign *t* (§. 155.), and presupposes a Sanscrit स्यत् *syat*, which

sya would form in the neuter, if it was used in that gender. It may be observed, that in Sanscrit, also, the neuter case-sign *t*, at the beginning of compounds, is drawn into the theme, and *tat-putras*, "his son," is used, not *ta-putras*.

358. The *sz* (=*sh*) in the Lithuanian *szis* and *szittas* is founded on the form assumed by the Sanscrit base in the Vêdas under certain circumstances (§. 55.), which change its *s* into ष् *sh*. For otherwise the Lithuanian *sz* does not agree with the Sanscrit स *s*, but perhaps, under other conditions, with ष् *sh*, e.g. in *szeszi* = षष् *shash*, "six." With regard to the declension of *szis*, it is to be remarked, that it exhibits several cases, in which the *i* of the base *szia*, feminine *sziâ*, has been rejected, or which belong—and this view is the one I prefer—to the simple pronominal base स *sa*, feminine सा *sâ*, which completes the compound *szis*; as, p. 486, among the cases of the simple Sclavonic base *to*, we have seen remains of the compound त्य *tya*. We here annex the complete declension of the Lithuanian pronoun under discussion, accompanied by the kindred form in Old Sclavonic, regarding which reference may be made to Rem. 1.

SINGULAR.

	MASCULINE.		FEMININE.	
	Lithuanian.	*Old Sclav.*	*Lith.*	*Old Sclav.*
Nominative,	*szis,*	*sy',*	*szi,*[1]	*si.*[1]
Accusative,	*szin̄,*	*sy',*	*szeñ,*	**siyû.*
Instrumental,	**szů, szům,*	*sim,*	*szè,*	*seyû.*
Dative,	*sziam,*	*semû,*	*sziei,*	*seĭ.*
Genitive,	*szio,*	*sego,*	*sziôs,*	*seya.*
Locative,	*sziamè, szemè,*	*sem;*	*szioye,*	*seĭ.*

[1] The agreement with the Gothic *si* (§. 353.), and, in Sclavonic, the complete identity with it, should not be overlooked. With respect to the contraction of the Sclavonic theme *syo* sometimes to *si*, at other times to *se*, compare §. 282.

DUAL.

	MASCULINE.		FEMININE.	
	Lithuanian.	*Old Sclav.*	*Lith.*	*Old Sclav.*
Nominative,	**szû,*	**siya,*	*szi,*	**sii.*
Accusative,	*szûn,*	**siya,*	*sziń,*	**sii.*
Dative,	*sziem,*	I. D. *sima,*	*sziom,*	*sima.*
Genitive,	**szû,*	*seyû,*	*sziû,*	*siyû.*

PLURAL.

Nominative,	*szie,*	*si,*	*szios,*	**siya.*
Accusative,	**szus,*	**siya,*	*szes,*	**siya.*
Instrumental,	*szeis,*	*simi,*	**szomis,*	*simi.*
Dative,	*sziems,*	*sim,*	**szoms,*	*sim.*
Genitive,	*sziû,*	*sich,*	*sziû,*	*sich.*
Locative,	**szûse,*	*sich,*	**szosa,*	*sich.*

NEUTER.

Nom. Acc. sg.	*se.*
Nom. Acc. du.	*sii.*
Nom. Acc. pl.	**siya.*

"Remark 1.—The composition of the Sclavonic base *syo*, which occurred in the ancient period of the language, and by which it is shewn to be identical with the Sanscrit स्य *sya*, having been forgotten, it need not appear surprising that this base, which, in Sclavonic, passes as a simple one, should be again combined with the pronoun which forms the definite declension, and which, from the first, forms its last member; hence, in the nominative singular, together with *sy* is used also *sii*, and in the feminine with *si* also *siya* (compare §. 284.). In some cases the ancient compound only is used, *e.g.* in the feminine accusative singular only *si-yu* is used, not *syû*.

"Remark 2.—In the light of the Sclavonic modern compounds just mentioned, as *si-ĭ*, *si-ya*, must be regarded the Old High German *sêr* (of *dësêr*), if the *ê* of this form

is a contraction of *a* + *i*, as in so many other places. While, therefore, the feminine *siu* is to be referred direct to the Sanscrit स्या *syâ*, and is, as it were, its continuation, *sêr* has been formed first in the German language, by combining the base *sa*, which has been retained in Gothic in the nominative of the article, with the defining element *i* (from *ya*). Compare what has been before remarked (§. 288. Rem. 3.) regarding analogous adjective-nominatives, as *plintêr* from *plinta-ir*. As a corroboration of this distribution it may be here further observed, that each of the elements *a* and *i*, which are united in the *ê* of *plintêr*, also occurs separately,* each having, on different occasions, divested itself of the other. Thus *plintar* and *plintir* may occur;—a clear proof that *plintêr* has been contracted from *plinta-ir*; for diphthongs are frequently subject to abbreviations, in which one of the elements combined in them is lost; as, in the Gothic, *haba*, "I have," and *habam*, "we have," are used instead of *habai*, *habaim*, as is shewn by the analogy of the other persons and the Old High German *habêm*, *habêmês*.† The Old High German furnishes examples of forms in which only the latter element of *ai* is retained; as *ensti*, answering to the Gothic dative *anstai* and genitive *anstais*. It is not surprising, therefore, that, in the nominative of the definite adjective, together with *êr* (= *air*) *ar* and *ir* also occur. Of these three forms (*êr*, *ar*, *ir*), the first appears to be the original, since it best admits of comparison with the two others. But if *plintar*, from *plintas*, was the original form, the *a* in this place could not have been preserved beyond the fourth century, not to mention the eighth; as *a* in polysyllabic words in Gothic before a final *s*, which has from the first held this place, is

* Graff, II. 346.

† Cf. Vocalismus, p. 203.

regularly suppressed, or, after *y*, weakened to *i*;* while *ai* is retained before final *s*. Hence, in the second person singular, compare *ais*, Old High German *ês*, answering to the Sanscrit एस् *ês* (from *ais*), Latin *ês*, *âs*†, and Greek *οις*."

359. The Lithuanian *szit-ta-s* has been mentioned above (§. 357.), which, with regard to its last portion, is identical with the Greek *αὐΤΟ-Σ*, and with the Sanscrit एत *êTA* (§. 341.). But the demonstrative base त्य *tya*, also, which is formed of *ta* + *ya*, occurs in Lithuanian at the end of a compound pronoun. As such I regard *patis* (*pat'-s*), "*ipse*," which I distribute thus, *pa-tis*: *ti* stands, according to rule, for *tyis* from *tyas*, as *yaunikkis*, "bridegroom," for *yaunikkyis* from *yaunikkyas* (§. 135.). But in Lithuanian, *t* before two vowels, *ie* excepted, is changed into *cz* (=*ch*);‡ hence dative *pa-czia-m*, locative *paczia-mè* or *patimè*, instrumental *pacziu*. In the genitive *paczio* might be expected, according to the analogy of *szio* and *yaunikkio*: we find, however, *patiès*, according to the analogy of *awiès* (§. 193.); the feminine genitive *pacziôs* agrees, however, with *sziôs*, and similar genitives from bases in a feminine *a* (आ *â*). As regards the first member of *pa-tis*, I consider it to be identical with the Sanscrit base *sva*, *svê*, whence स्वयम् *svayam*, "self." *Sva* becomes *pa* by the loss of the initial letter, and the hardening of the *v* to *p*, as, in Prakrit, पम्नि *pani*, "thou," proceeds from त्वम् *tvam*; so in the Bohemian or Gipsey language *pên*, "sister," comes from स्वसर् *svasar* (स्वसृ *svasri*). Indeed, in the pronoun under discussion, the Lithuanian admits of comparison with the Gipsey language, as in the latter, as has been already pointed out in

* It is to be observed that the *s* of *vulfis*, from *vulfas*, "*lupi*," is not an original final, as follows from the Sanscrit *vrika-sya* and Greek λύκο(σ)ιο.

† *Legâs* for *legâis*, Vocalismus, p. 201.

‡ Written also *ch*, see p. 138.

another place,* *pe* has been formed from स्व *sva*, whence *pe-s*, *pe-n*; the former as singular, the latter as plural accusative.†

360. We turn to a pronominal base consisting of a simple vowel, viz. *i*, which, in Latin and German, expresses the idea "he," and in Sanscrit and Zend signifies "this," and which has left, in those languages, no proper declension, but only adverbs; as इतस् *itas*, "from this," "from that place," and इह *iha*, Zend [Zend] *idha*, and [Zend] *ithra*, which supply the place of the ablative after comparatives, and signify "here," *i.e.* "at this," with an inherent notion of place; इति *iti*, Zend [Zend] *itha*, Latin *ita*, "so," इदानीम् *idânîm*, "now," analogous with *tadânîm*, "then"; and also इत्थम् *it-tham*, "so," at the bottom of which lies the obsolete neuter *it* as the theme,‡ and which occurs in the Vêdas also, as an enclitic particle. I regard this इत् *it* as the last portion of चेत् *chêt* "if" (from *cha* + *it*), and नेत *nêt*, "if not" (from *na* + *it*), which latter is in Zend [Zend] *nôit* (§. 33.), and does not merely mean "not"; since, like our German *nicht*, it has been forgotten that its initial element alone is negative, while its latter portion signifies something real—in Zend "this," and in German "thing," (*ni-cht*, from *ni-wiht*, Gothic *ni-vaihts*). From the pronominal root *i* proceed, also, the derivatives इतरस् *itara-s*, "the other," with the comparative suffix; the accusative of which, *itara-m*, coincides with the Latin *iterum*, ईदृश *îdṛiśa*, and similar forms, which signify "such," and इयत् *iyat*, "so many." Notwithstanding these numerous offshoots, which have survived the declension of the pronoun under discussion, its base has been entirely overlooked by the Indian grammarians: and I believe I am

* Berlin Jahrb. Feb. 1836. p. 311.

† Perhaps, also, the syllable *pen* of *bolapen*, "heaven," is identical with the Sanscrit *svar* of the same meaning.

‡ Compare what is said at §. 357. respecting the Lithuanian *szit-tas*.

the first who brought it to light.* The Indian grammarians, however, give extraordinary etymologies for some of the abovementioned words, and derive *iti*, "so," from इ *i*, "to go"; *itara-s*, "the other," from *i*, "to wish" (S. Wilson). In some, recourse is had to इदम् *idam*, "this"; and one would not be entirely in error in deriving from this word *itas*, "from here," though there is a difficulty in seeing how from *idam* as the theme can spring the form *itas* by a suffix *tas*. We should expect *idantas* or *idatas*.

361. In Latin the theme of *is* is lengthened in several cases by an unorganic *u* or *o*, in the feminine by *a*, and it is thus brought into the second and first declension, in which *i* is liable to be corrupted to *e*, especially before vowels. As from the verbal root *i*, "to go," come *eo* and *eunt*, in opposition to *is*, *it*, *imus*, *itis*, *ibam*; so from our pronoun come *eum*, *eo*, *eorum*, *eos*, and the feminine forms *ea*, *eam*, *eae*, *earum*, all from the base which has been subsequently lengthened, to which the obsolete *ea-bus* also belongs. To the old type belong only *is*, *id*, the obsolete forms *im*, *ibus*, with which agrees the Gothic *i-na*, "him," *i-m*, "to them," (from *i-b*, §. 215.), and the genitive and dative *e-jus*, *e-i*, which are common to the three genders, and also the locative *ibi*—in form a dative, according to the analogy of *tibi*, *sibi* (§. 215.)—and probably the word *immo*, which has been already mentioned (§. 351.), which we may suppose formerly to have been pronounced *immod*, and which corresponds to the Sanscrit pronominal ablatives in *smât*, but by assimilation approaches very closely the Gothic dative *imma*, "to him." The dative *ei* stands isolated in Latin Grammar, inasmuch as all other bases in *i* have permitted this vowel to be melted into one with the case-termination; thus *hosti*, from *hosti-i*: the pronominal base *i*, however, escapes this

* Heidel. Jarhb. 1818. p. 472.

combination by being changed into *e*. In my Vocalismus (p. 204), I have derived the length of quantity in the dative character from the combination of the *i* of the theme with the *i* of the inflexion, which is properly short; and I have assumed that bases terminating in a consonant lengthen the base in the dative singular, as in most of the other cases, by an unorganic *i*; thus *pedī* from *pedi-ĭ*. As, then, in this way a long *i* must be found almost universally in the dative, this would come to be regarded as the true sign of this case, and *eī*, and the whole fourth and fifth declensions follow the prevailing example of the more numerous class of words. *Cui* alone retains the proper short quantity. It cannot be objected to the Latin language generally that it shews any undue inclination towards terminations with a long *i*, and thereby lengthens unnecessarily that letter when originally short; for universally where a long final *i* is found, there is also a reason for its length, as in the genitive singular and nominative plural of the second declension it is the suppression of the final vowel of the base, which has induced the lengthening of the termination as a compensation; thus *lup-ī*, in both cases, for *lupŏi*; while in the dative *lupō* for *lupoi* the termination has been merged in the vowel of the base. We have already discussed (§. 349. Rem. 2) pronominal datives like *isti* for *istoi*, which would be analogous to the Greek μοί, σοί, οἷ.

362. The Gothic pronominal base *i* has two points of superiority over the Latin base which has been just mentioned: in the first place it has never admitted the corruption of the original vowel to *ĕ*, as generally this comparatively recent vowel is as completely foreign to the Gothic as to the Sanscrit; and secondly, the theme *i* in the masculine and neuter is preserved free from that unorganic admixture which transfers the Latin kindred form from the third to the second declension, and has

produced *eum* for *im*, *eo* for *ê* or *i*, *iî* or *ei* for *ês*, *eorum* for *ium*. The Gothic pronoun, by the side of which are given in parentheses the forms, which have been most probably drawn from the corresponding Sanscrit base at the time when it was declined, are as follows:—

MASCULINE.

	SINGULAR.		PLURAL.	
	Sanscrit.	*Gothic.*	*Sanscrit.*	*Gothic.*
Nominative,	(*i-s*),	*i-s*,	(*ay-as*),	*ei-s*.
Accusative,	*î-m*,[1]	*i-na*	(*î-n*),	*i-ns*.
Dative,	(*i-shmâi*),[2]	*i-mma*,	(*i-bhyas*),	*i-m*.
Genitive,	(*i-shya*),[3]	*i-s*,	(*i-shâm*),	*i-zê*.[4]

NEUTER.

Nom. Acc.	*i-t*,[1]	*i-ta*,	(*î-n-i*),	*iya*.[5]

[1] This form actually occurs in the Vêdas, see Rosen's Specimen. p. 10. We should have anticipated *im* (with short *i*), according to the common declension; but the substantive and adjective declension has no monosyllabic bases in *i*, and other monosyllabic bases—with the exception of those in *â*— use *am* as their termination; hence *bhiy-am* for *bhî-m*; and so, also, *iy-am* might be expected from *i*, as in monosyllabic words both short and long *i* are changed before vowels into *iy*. The Vêda dialect in the foregoing case, however, has preferred strengthening the vowel of the base to an extension of the termination, or, which is more probable, it has contracted an existing *iyam* to *îm*, according to the analogy of the Zend (§. 42.); and thus, perhaps, also the Vêda *sîm*, "*eam*," cited by Rosen l. c., is a contraction of *syâm*, otherwise we must assume, that instead of the feminine base *sâ*, mentioned in §. 345., *sî* occurred, according to the analogy of the Zend *hîm* from *hma* (§. 172.). It is certainly remarkable that the *s*, which is especially subjective, has here found its way into the accusative, like the Old High German *sia* and Old Latin *sam*, "*eam*," *sum*, "*eum*" (§. 345.). [2] Comp. *amu-shmâi*, from *amu*, §. 21. [3] Compare *amu-shya*, from *amu*, whence it appears that all pronouns, with whatsoever vowel their theme ends, have, in the genitive, *sya*, or, euphonically, *shya* (§. 21.) [4] §. 157. [5] §. 233.

363. Although in Gothic, as in Sanscrit, Zend, Greek, and Latin, the vowel *i* in substantives is appropriated equally well to the feminine theme-termination as to the masculine; still in our pronoun of the third person, where the idea is essentially based on the distinction of sex, so that that which signifies "he" cannot mean "she," the necessity for this distinction has produced an extension of the base *i*, in cases which, without such an extension, would be fully identical with the masculine.* In the nominative singular a totally different pronoun is employed, which, in High German, is used throughout all those cases which are formed in Gothic from the extended base: Gothic *si*, Old High German *siu*, &c. (§. 354.) The affix which is used in Gothic to extend the base consists in the vowel which, from a time far prior to the formation of the German language, was especially employed as the fulcrum of feminine bases, but which in Gothic appears in the form of *ô* instead of *â* (§. 64); thus, *iyô* from *i* + *ô*, with the euphonic change of the *i* to *iy*, as in the plural neuter forms *iy-a*, *thriy-a* (§. 233.). From the base *iyo* is formed, however, in the uninflected accusative—as final vowels are for the most part liable to abbreviation—*iya*, an analogous form to the Latin *ea*, *eam* (for *ia*, *iam*), and in the nominative and accusative plural *iyôs*, which are likewise shortened.† In the dative plural the identity with the masculine and neuter is not avoided, and this case is, as might be conjectured, from the Old High German *im*, with

* The accusative singular would, indeed, be distinguished from the masculine, since the feminine has completely lost the accusative character; but it was there originally, and therefore the necessity for a mark of distinction from the masculine also existed.

† The accusative alone occurs, yet it is probable that the nominative was exactly the same (Grimm I. 785), in case it did not come from the same base as the singular nominative, and it would, therefore, be *syôs*.

regard to which we must observe, that in Latin, also, in several of the oblique cases, the distinction of gender is less attended to (*ejus, ei,* old *eae*). All the cases which distinguish the feminine by the inflexion spring from the original theme; thus *i-zôs, i-zai,* genitive plural *izô*, opposed to *is, imma, izê*. In Latin, also, the extension of the base *i* may have been commenced in the feminine, and thus an analogous masculine *eum* have been made to correspond to *eam*, and may have superseded the more ancient *im*. Similar corruptions have been adopted by the language in the same manner; thus *eorum* would have been placed beside *earum*, and thus the *ium*, which probably existed, would have fallen into disuse: *eabus, iis, eis,* were followed by the masculine and neuter *iis, eis,* which supplanted the older *ibus*.

364. If the singular nominative of the reflective pronoun given by the old grammarians was *ī* and not *ĭ*, it might be regarded as the kindred form of the pronoun under discussion; and in this view it would be of importance that the Vêda accusative *îm*, mentioned above (p. 510. Rem. 1.), has a reflective meaning in the passage quoted, and is rendered by Rosen *semet ipsum*. But if *ī* is the right form, then it probably belongs to the Sanscrit base* *sva, své*, whence *svayam*, "self" (§. 341.), and is connected with οὗ, οἷ, ἕ and σφεῖς, &c. the latter from the base ΣΦΙ. As in this word an ι stands for an original α, which would lead us to expect ο, so also in ἵ; and it deserves notice, that, so early as the Sanscrit, together with *sva* is found a weakened form *svi*, from which I think may be formed the interrogative

* Not necessarily so, as the rough breathing occurs also in words which originally begin with a pure vowel, as ἑκάτερο-, answering to एकतरस् *ekatara-s*. On the other hand the form ἵ would not peremptorily conduct us to a base इ *i*, as initial *s* has sometimes been entirely lost in Greek.

particle स्वित् *svit*, as neuter, and analogous to इत् *it* and चित् *chit.* In favour of the opinion that *ī* belongs to the old reflective base, may be adduced the circumstance, that, like the two other pronouns in which there is no distinction of gender (ἐγώ, σύ), it is without a nominative sign. If it belonged to the base इ *i*, it would most probably have had the same sound as the Latino-Gothic *is*, unless we prefer regarding *ī* as the neuter. The dative *īv*, from its termination, falls under the pronouns devoid of gender (§. 222.), and would, therefore, likewise belong to the reflective base. The accusative *īv*, however, considered independently, would not furnish any objection to the opinion that it is identical with the Latin *im* and the Gothic *ina.**

365. We have already mentioned the inseparable demonstrative *ī* (§. 157.). There is, however (and this creates a difficulty), another mode of derivation, according to which that *ī* would be identical with the *ei* (= *ī*), which is attached in Gothic, in a similar manner, to other pronouns, not to strengthen their demonstrative meaning, but to give them a relative signification: *izei*, from *is* + *ei*, means "*qui*," and *sei*, a contraction of *si* + *ei*, signifies "*quæ*," in accordance with a law of sound universally followed in Sanscrit (Gramm. Crit. §. 35.). It is most frequently combined with the article; *saei*, *sôei*, *thatei*, "*qui*," "*quæ*," "*quod*"; *thizei*, feminine *thizôzei*, "*cujus*"; only in the feminine genitive plural *thizôei* has as yet not been found to occur (Grimm III. 15.). If the first or second person is referred to, *ei* is attached to *ik* and *thu*: thus *ikei*, *thuei*; for the Gothic relative requires that the person to which it refers should be incorporated with it; and as it is itself indeclinable, the relations of case are denoted by the pronoun preceding it, which is then merged in the meaning

* Compare Hartung on the Cases, p. 116; M. Schmidt De Pron., p. 12, &c.; Kühner, p. 385.

of its attendant. Alone, *ei* signifies "that," like the Latin *quod* and the Sanscrit relative neuter यत् *yat*. And I have no doubt that the Gothic *ei*, in its origin, belongs to the Sanscrit-Zend relative base *yâ*, which in Gothic has become *ei*, just as, in many other parts of Gothic Grammar, *ei* (= *í*) answers to the Sanscrit *ya*, as in the nominative singular *hairdeis* from the base *hairdya*.* With respect to form, therefore, the derivation of the Gothic *ei* from the Sanscrit य *ya*, admits of no doubt; and since the significations of the two words are identical, we must rest satisfied with this mode of deducing it, and abandon Grimm's conjecture that *ei* is intimately connected with *is*, "he," or only allow it a very distant relationship to it, in as far as the derivation of the Sanscrit relative base *ya*, from the demonstrative base *i*, is admitted. The relationship, however, of these two is not susceptible of proof; for as *sa, ta, ma, na*, are simple primary bases, why should not such a one have originated in the semi-vowel *y* also? But if the Greek demonstrative *ί* is akin to the Gothic appended pronoun of similar sound, it likewise would proceed from the Sanscrit relative base, which appears to be especially destined for combination with other pronouns (see §. 353.); and this disposition is especially observable in Sclavonic in which language that base, when isolated, has laid aside the relative signification (§. 282.). Hence, before entering deeply into the Sclavonic system of declension, I mistook this base, and thought I saw in its abbreviation to *i*, (*i*, "*eum*," *im*, "*ei*") the Sanscrit base *i*.

366. We return to the Sanscrit *idam*, "this," in order to notice the bases from which its declension is completed, and of which each is used only in certain cases. The most simple, and the one most largely employed, is अ *a*, whence *a-smâi*, "*huic*," *a-smât*, "*hoc*," *a-smin*, "*in hoc*," in

* §. 135. Compare Vocalismus, p. 161.

the dual *â-bhyâm,* and in the plural *ê-bhis*—analogous to Vêda forms like *aśvê-bhis* from *aśva* (§. 219.)—*ê-bhyas, ê-shâm, ê-shu,* exactly like *tê-bhyas,* &c., from *ta,* viz. by the commingling of an *i,* as is usual in the common declension in many cases. There is no necessity, therefore, to have recourse to a distinct base *ê,* but this is only a phonetic lengthening of *a,* and from it comes also the masculine nominative अयम् *ayam* from *ê* + *am,* as स्वयम् *svayam,* "self," from *svê* (for *sva*) + *am* (§. 341.). Max. Schmidt is disposed to compare with this *ê* the Latin *e* of *eum, ea,* &c. (l. c. p. 10.), and to regard the latter as an abbreviation of an originally long *e;* for support of which opinion he relies principally on the form *aei,* in an inscription to be found in Orelli, and on the circumstance that, in the older poets, the dative *ei* has a long *e.* But we do not think it right to infer from this dative that every *e* of the pronoun *is* is originally long; and we adhere to the opinion expressed at §. 361., which is, moreover, confirmed by the circumstance that *i* also occurs before vowels; and even in the plural *ii, iis,* is more common than *ei, eis.* As regards, however, the obsolete dative singular with a long *e,* it may be looked upon as the Guna form of *i,* as *i* in Sanscrit, according to the common declension, would form *ay-ê* = *ê* + *ê.* From this *ê,* however, which is formed by Guna from *i,* that which we have seen formed from *a* by the addition of an *i* is different; and therefore the Latin dative, even if it had an originally long *e,* would still have nothing in common with Sanscrit forms like *ê-bhis,* &c. The *e* in the genitive *ejus* is long through the euphonic influence of the *j,* and for it occurs also, the form *aeius,* in an inscription given by Orelli (N^r. 2866.). When, through the influence of a *j,* the preceding vowel is long, it should not be termed long by position:* *j* is not a double con-

* The length of the vowel preceding the *j* may sometimes be differently accounted

sonant, but the weakest of all simple consonants, and approximates in its nature closely to that of a vowel. This weakness may have occasioned the lengthening of the preceding vowel, in remarkable coincidence with the Sanscrit, in which *i* and *u*, where they stand before a suffix commencing with य् *y* (*j*), are always either lengthened or strengthened by the addition of a *t*: hence the bases जि *ji* and स्तु *stu* form, in the passive, जीये *jîyê*, स्तूये *stûyê*, but in the gerund in *ya*, *jitya*, *stutya*.* The case is different where इ *i* or ई *î* in monosyllabic forms are changed, before a vowel following them, into इय् *iy*: the *y* which arises from *i*, *î*, has no lengthening power. It is scarcely possible to give any decided explanation of the orthographical doubling of the *i* for *j* in Latin. When Cicero wrote *Maiia*, *aiio*, he may have pronounced these words as *Mai-ya*, *ai-yo* (Schneider, p. 281); and we cannot hence infer that every initial *y* was described in writing by *ii*. If this were the case, we should be compelled to the conclusion, that by doubling the *i* the distinguishing the semi-vowel from the vowel *i* was intended, as, in Zend, the medial *y* is expressed by double *i* (ڍڍ); and as double *u* denotes, in Old German, the *w*, though a single *u*, especially after initial consonants, occurs as the representative of *w*. But if Cicero meant a double *j* by his double *i*, it would not follow that, in all cases, the language intended the same. The Indian grammarians admit the doubling of a consonant after *r*, as *sarppa* for *sarpa*, "snake," and

accounted for; as *major* has been derived from *magior*, where the vowel may have been lengthened owing to the *g* being dropped. And a consonant must originally have preceded even the *j* of the genitive in *jus*, if this termination is akin to the feminine Sanscrit स्याम् *syâs* (§. 349. Rem. 22).

* Compare what has been said in my Vocalismus, p. 213, regarding the tendency of the *i* to be preceded by a long vowel.

they admit, also, of many other still more extraordinary accumulations of consonants, with which the language cannot be actually encumbered. But if the doubling of a consonant following *r* has any real foundation, the *r* would be assimilated to the consonant which followed it—as, in the Prakrit, *savva* from *sarva*,—and then the simultaneous continuation of the *r* in writing would only be in order to retain the recollection of its originally having existed.*

367. From the demonstrative base अ *a*, mentioned in the preceding paragraph, a feminine base *î* might have arisen (see §. 172.), whence, by the addition of the termination *am*, so common in pronouns, the nominative singular इयम् *iyam* (euphonic for *î-am*, Gram. Crit. §. 51.) may be derived. As, however, a short *i* with *am* might become इयम् *iyam*, it is uncertain if the feminine of our pronoun should be referred to the masculine base *a*, or to *i*; the former, however, appears to me the more probable, since thus the masculine nominative अयम् *ayam*, and its feminine इयम् *iyam*, would be of the same origin, while the base *i* does not occur uncompounded in the whole masculine and neuter declension. The Gothic *iya*, "*eam*," cannot, therefore, be compared with इयम् *iyam*, particularly as, in §. 363., we have seen the Gothic arrive, in a way peculiar to itself, but still in accordance with the Latin, at a theme *iyâ* lengthened from *i*; but the *am* of the Sanscrit *iyam* is merely the nominative termination.

368. In Zend अयम् *ayam*, becomes 𐬀𐬆𐬨 *aĕm* (§. 42.), and इयम् *iyam* becomes 𐬌𐬨 *ĭm*. The neuter इदम् *idam*, however, is replaced by 𐬌𐬨𐬀𐬙 *imat*, from the base *ima*, which, in Sanscrit, is one of those which supply the declension of *idam*. Hence, for example, come the accusative mascu-

* Compare the assimilation of *m*, and its simultaneous graphical representation by ॱ. (Gramm. Crit. §. 70.)

line इमम् imam, feminine इमाम् imâm; Zend imĕm, imaṅm. Ought we, then, to compare with it the Old Latin *emem* for *eundem*, or, with Max. Schmidt (l. c. p. 11), consider it as the doubling of *em* for *im*? It need not seem surprising that the base *ima*, which, in the singular, occurs only in this case, and which is principally limited to the accusative, should be found in Latin in the accusative only. I regard *ima* as the union of two pronominal bases, viz. *i* and *ma* (§. 105.): the latter does not occur in Sanscrit uncompounded, but is most probably connected with the Greek *μίν*, and the latter, therefore, with the Old Latin *emem*.

369. As *i* with *ma* has formed the combination *ima*, in like manner I regard the base अन *ana*, which likewise enters into the declension of *idam* as the combination of अ *a* with another demonstrative base, which does not occur in Zend and Sanscrit in isolated use, but perhaps in Pali, in several oblique cases of the three genders* in the plural, also in the nominative, and in that of the neuter singular, which, like the masculine accusative, is नं *naṅ*.† Clough gives the cases in which this pronoun occurs to the base त *ta*, as secondary forms, as, in Sanscrit, in several cases, a pronoun is found with the compound एत *êta*, which has *na* instead of *ta* for its last portion.‡ We will here give the compound Sanscrit pronoun over against the Pali simple pronoun.

* In the feminine naturally produced to *nâ*, the *â* of which, however, is shortened in the accusative नं *naṅ* "*eam.*"

† I write *naṅ*, not *nam*, as a final *m* in Pali, as in Prakrit, becomes an anusvâra, which is pronounced like a stifled *n* (§§. 9. 10.). The original *m* in Pali has been retained only before initial sounds commencing with a vowel. (Burnouf and Lassen, pp. 81, 82.) Final *n* is likewise corrupted in Pali to anusvâra, or is lost entirely.

‡ In Zend observe the feminine genitive *aĕnaṅhâo* (*aĕnaṅhâoscha*, Vend. S. p. 47), which presupposes a Sanscrit *ĕnasyâs*.

MASCULINE.

	SINGULAR. Sanscrit.	Pali.	PLURAL. Sanscrit.	Pali.
N.	*êsha,*	*sô,*	*êtê,*	*tê, nê,*
Ac.	*êtam, ênam,*	*tan, nan,*	*êtân, ênân,*	*tê, nê,*
I.	*êtêna, ênêna,*	*têna, nêna,*	*êtâis,*	*têbhi, nêbhi,* or *têhi, nêhi.*
D.	*êtasmâi,*	[1]	*êtêbhyas,*	[1] . . . .
Ab.	*êtasmât,*	*tasmâ, nasmâ,* or *tamhâ, namhâ,*	*êtêbhyas,*	like Instr.
G.	*êtasya,*	*tassa, nassa,*	*êtêshâm,*	*têsan, nêsan,*[2]
L.	*êtasmin,*	*tasmin, nasmin,* or *tamhi, namhi,*	*êtêshu,*	*têsu, nêsu.*

NEUTER.

N.	*êtat,*	*tan, nan,*	*êtâni,*	*tâni, nâni.*
Ac.	*êtat, ênat,*	*tan, nan,*	*êtâni, ênâni,*	*tâni, nâni,* or *tê, nê.*

The rest like the masculine.

FEMININE.

N.	*êshâ,*	*sâ,*	*êtâs,*	*tâ, na,* or *tâyô, nâyô.*
Ac.	*êtâm, ênâm,*	*tan, nan,*	*êtâs, ênâs,*	*tâ, nâ,* or *tâyô, nâyô.*
I.	*êtayâ, ênayâ,*	*tâya, nâya,*[3]	*êtâbhis,*	*têbhi, nâbhi,* or *tâhi, nâhi.*
D.	*êtasyâi,*	[1]	*êtâbhyas,*	[1] . . . .
Ab.	*êtasyâs,*	*tassâ, tissâ,*	*êtâbhyas,*	like the Instr.
G.	*êtasyâs,*	*tassâ, tissâ,*[4]	*êtâsâm,*	*tâsan, tâsânan.*
L.	*êtasyâm,*	*tassan, tissan,*	*êtâsu,*	*tâsu.*

[1] Is replaced by the genitive. [2] Or *têsânan, nêsânan,* as the old genitive is taken as theme, after suppressing the nasal, and from it a new one formed according to the analogy of the common declension.

[3] Observe the transposition of the long vowel. [4] In the form *tissâ*

the Pali coincides in a remarkable manner with the Gothic *thizôs*, since, like it, it has weakened the old *a* to *i*. *Tissâ*, however, is inferior to the Gothic kindred form, in having dropped the final *s*; and in this point ranks with the Old High German, in which the Gothic *zôs* has become *ra* (p. 483). The Pali, however, has abandoned all final *s*, without exception. The older form *tassâ* (by assimilation from *tasyâ*), which is not given by Clough, is supplied by Burnouf and Lassen, with whom, however, the form *tissâ* is wanting, though they furnish an analogous one, viz. *imissâ* (Essai, p. 117). Clough gives, moreover, the forms *tissâya* and *tassâtâya*. The former, like the plural genitive, appears to be formed by the addition of a new genitive form, according to the common declension, to the pronominal genitive form. From the form *tassâtâya* we might be led to an obsolete ablative, which, in Sanscrit, must have been *tasyât*—still earlier *tasmyât*—which is proved by Zend forms like *avanhât*, "*ex hoc*" (§. 180.). But if we are to give to *tassâtâya* not an ablative sense, but a genitive and dative one, I then prefer dividing it thus: *tassâ-tâya*, so that the feminine base *tâ* would be contained in it twice—once with the pronominal, and again with the common genitive termination. But it is probable that the form *imamhâ*, which is given by Burnouf and Lassen (Essai, p. 117) as an anomalous feminine instrumental, is originally an ablative; for this case, in its significations, borders on the instrumental, and to it belongs the appended pronoun *sma*. But if *imamhâ* is an ablative, it is, in one respect, more perfect than the Zend forms, like [Zend] *avanhât*, since the Pali form has retained also the *m* of the appended pronoun *sma*—transposed to *mha*,—while the *n* of [Zend] *avanhât* is only an euphonic affix (§. 56ᵃ.). The final *t*, however, in Pali, must, according to a universal law of sound, be removed, as in the masculine; and thus the ablative nature of *imamhâ* might the more easily lie hid before the discovery of the Zend form.

370. I have already, in my review of Forster's Grammar,* and before I became acquainted, through the Pali, with the isolated pronoun, considered the Latin conjunction *nam* as an accusative to be classed here; and I have there also represented the Sanscrit *êna* as a compound, and compared the Latin *enim* with its accusative एनम् *ênam*. It will, however, be better to refer *enim*, as also *nam*, to the feminine accu-

* Heidelb. Jahrbücher, 1818. p. 473.

sative—P. नं *naṃ*, Sans. इनाम् *ěnâm*—as the short masculine *a* in Latin has elsewhere become *u*, among other words, in *nunc*, i.e. "at this (time)," which (l.c.) I have explained like *tunc*, as analogous to *hunc*. But if *tunc* and *nunc* are not accusatives, their *nc* would appear to be akin to the Greek *νίκα*, and *tunc* might be compared to *τηνίκα*, of which more hereafter. With respect to *nam* and *enim*, we may refer to §. 351 with regard to the possibility, in similar pronominal formations, of their *m* being a remnant of the appended pronoun *sma*. There is no doubt, however, of the pronominal derivation of all these adverbs. We may remark, in this respect, our German *denn*, and the Latin *quip-pe* from *quid-pe*, to which with regard to its last syllable, *nempe* from *nam-pe* (compare §. 6.) is analogous. The Sanscrit *kincha*, "moreover" (euphonic for *kimcha*), may be regarded as the prototype of *quippe*, for it consists of *kim* "what?" and *cha* (commonly "and"), which takes from it the interrogative meaning, and is in form the same as *que*, which also, in *quisque*, removes the interrogative signification. The syllable *pe*, however, of *quippe* is, in its origin, identical with *que*, and has the same relation to it that the Æolic *πέμπε* has to *quinque*. As regards the relation of the *i* of *enim* to the *a* of *nam*, we may refer to that of *contingo* to *tango*, and similar phenomena, as also to the Pali *tissâ* compared with *tassâ* (see Table, §. 369.). The Greek *νίν*, like *μίν*, has a weakened vowel, which appears also in the Sanscrit inseparable preposition *ni*, "down," whence has arisen our German *nieder*, Old High German *ni-dar* (p. 382), which bears the same relation to *na* that the neuter interrogative *kim* does to the masculine *kas*. A *u* also, in analogy with कुतस् *ku-tas*, "whence?" कुत्र *ku-tra*, "where?" has been developed in our demonstrative, and appears in the interrogative particle नु *nu*, with which we compare the Latin *num*, and the Greek *νύ*, which, in form, and partly in use, is identical with नु *nu*.* On the other hand, in

* Compare Hartung, Greek Particles, II. 99.

νῦν, *nun*, "now," which likewise belongs to the base *na* or *nu*, the original demonstrative signification is retained more truly. Are we to suppose in the ν of this word, as being a necessary corruption of final μ, a remnant of the appended pronoun *sma*, and that the vowel preceding has been lengthened in compensation for the loss of the rest? Then νῦν would perhaps admit of comparison with the Pali locative *nasmiṅ*, or *namhi*, and the change of α to υ would have first taken place in Greek through the influence of the liquids, as σύν answers to the Sanscrit सम् *sam*, "with." Our *nun*, Gothic *nu*, is likewise related, as is also *noch*, as analogous to *doch*. The Gothic forms are *nauh*, *thauh*, to the final particle of which, *uh*, we shall recur hereafter.

371. The Sanscrit negative particle न *na*, which appears in Gothic in the weakened form *ni*, comes next to be considered; in Old Sclavonic it is *ne*, *ni*, the latter only as a prefix.* So in Lithuanian, in *niékas*, "none," (*ni-ékas*, compare Sanscrit *êkas*, "one,") and kindred compounds; but elsewhere it is found as *ne*: in Greek it is lengthened to νη, but only at the beginning of compounds, as νήκερως, νηκηδής: in Latin it is found only as a prefix† in the form of *nĕ*, *nĭ*, *nē*, *nī* (*nefas*, *nefandum*, *neque*, *nisi*, *nimirum*). This negative particle occurs in the Vêdas with the signification *sicut*, which points at its pronominal derivation.‡ At least I think that we cannot assume a different origin for the particle in the two significations which are apparently so distinct: for if the idea *ya*, "yes," is denoted by a pronominal expression—in Latin by *i-ta*, in Sanscrit by *ta-thâ*, in Gothic by *yai*, of which hereafter—its opposite may be contrasted with it, as *dieses*, "this," to *yenes*, "that," and न *na* would therefore

* See Kopitar's Glagolita, p. 77.

† I regard the conjunction *nē* as a corruption of *mē* = μη, मा *mâ*, as *narro*, probably, from *marro* (see Vocalismus, p. 165).

‡ Compare my Review of Rosen's Vêda Specimen in the Berl. Jahrb. Dec. 1830. p. 955.

simply direct to what is distant; for to say that a quality or thing does not belong to an individual, is not to remove it entirely, or to deny its existence, but to take it away from the vicinity, from the individuality of a person, or to place the person on the other side of the quality or thing designated, and represent it as somewhat different. But that which, in Sanscrit, signifies "this," means also, for the most part, "that," the mind supplying the place, whether near or remote, and the idea of personality alone is actually expressed by the pronouns. The inseparable negative particle अ *a*, too—in Greek the α privative—is identical with a demonstrative base (§. 366.), and the prohibitive particle मा *mâ* = μή belongs to the base *ma*, (§. 368.), and the Greek negation οὐ admits of being compared with a demonstrative, as will be shewn hereafter. Observe, further, that as न *na* in the Vêdas unites the relative meaning "as" with the negative, so the corresponding *ne* in Latin appears both as interrogative and negative; in the former sense affixed, in the latter prefixed. It is further to be observed of the Sanscrit *na*, that when combined with itself, but both times lengthened—thus नाना *nânâ* — it signifies "much," "of many kinds," as it were, "this and that"; as *totus* also has been formed by reduplication (§. 351.). The Sanscrit expression, however, is indeclinable, and is found only in the beginning of compounds. We may here mention, also, the interrogative and asseverative particle नूनम् *nûnam*, which I agree with Hartung (l.c. II. 95.) in distributing into *nû-nam*, since I regard *nû* as the lengthened form of the *nu* mentioned above, without, however, comparing *nam* with नामन् *nâman*, "name," as the pronominal base *na* appears to me to be sufficient for the explanation of this Indian *nam*, as well as that in Latin; which latter, likewise, Hartung endeavours to compare with नामन् *nâman*, "name."

372. We return to the compound अन *ana*, the last element of which has been considered by us in §. 369. From *ana*

comes, in Sanscrit, the instrumental masculine neuter अनेन *anêna*, Zend ‹Zend› *ana* (§. 158.), feminine अनया *anayâ*, Sclavonic *onbyû* (§. 266.), and the genitive and locative dual of the three genders *anayôs*, which, in Sclavonic, has become *onû* for *onoyû* (§. 273.). In Lithuanian, *ana-s*, or *an'-s*, signifies "that," feminine *ana*, and, like the Sclavonic *on, ona, ono*, of the same signification, is fully declined, according to the analogy of *tas, tà, t', ta, to*,* being, in this respect superior to the corresponding words in Sanscrit and Zend. To this pronoun belong the Latin and Greek *an*, *ἄν*, as also the Gothic interrogative particle *an* (Grimm. III. 756.), though elsewhere in the three sister languages the *n* is thematic; which is especially evident in Gothic, where, from a theme *ana* in the accusative masculine, only *an* could be formed, and the same in the neuter or *anata*. For the Greek and Latin we should assume that अन *ana* had lost its final vowel, as we have before seen एन *êna* abbreviated to 'EN (§. 308.). But if the *n* belonged to the inflexion, or to the appended pronoun स्म *sma*, which appears to me less probable, then the simple base अ *a* (§. 366.) would suffice for the derivation of *an*, *ἄν*.

373. As the Latin preposition *inter* is evidently identical with the Sanscrit *antar* and the Gothic *undar*, our *unter* (§§. 293, 294.), and *i* is a very common weakening of *u*, we must class also the preposition *in* and the kindred Greek *ἐν* with the demonstrative base अन *ana*, although *in* and *ἐν*, considered by themselves, admit of being referred to the base इ *i*, and the relation of *ἔνθα* to the Zend ‹Zend› *idha*, "here," might be deduced, through the unorganic commixture of a nasal, as in *ἄμφω*, *ambo*, answering to the Sanscrit *ubhâu* and Sclavonic *oba*. I now, however, prefer regarding the *ν* of *ἔν-θα*, *ἔν-θεν*, which bear the relation of locative and ablative to one another, as originally belonging to the base, and *ἐν*

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* See Kopitar's Glagolita, p. 59.

therefore, and the Latin *in*, the pronominal nature of which is apparent in *inde*, are connected with the Sanscrit अन *ana*. The Σ of εἰς, from ἐνς, appears to me an abbreviation of the suffix σε, which, in forms like πόσε, ἄλλοσε, expresses direction to a place, just as εἶ-ς is an abbreviation of ἐσ-σί, δός of δόθι, πρός of προτί. There would then be a fitting reason why εἰς should express direction to a place: it is opposed in meaning to ἐν, just as our *hin*, "towards," to *hier*, "here," only that the Greek expressions have lost their independent signification, and only precede the particular place denoted of rest, or to which motion is implied; like an article the meaning of which is merged in that of its substantive. The preposition ἀνά, like the Gothic *ana*, our *an*, has preserved more perfectly the pronominal base under discussion: ἀνά is opposed to κατά, as this side to that side.* The Gothic *anaks*, "suddenly," may likewise, in all probability, be classed here, and would therefore originally mean "in this" (moment). Its formation recalls that of ἅπαξ, the ξ of which is perhaps an abbreviation of the suffix κις (§. 324.). If the Gothic *ks* is connected with the suffix of such numeral adverbs, then the removal of the *k* has been prevented by the close vicinity of the *s*, though elsewhere the Gothic is not indisposed to the combination *hs*. In Lithuanian, *an-day*, from the base *ana*, points to past time, and signifies "that time," "lately," while *ta-day* refers to the future, and means "then."

374. The base अन *ana* forms, with the relative य *ya*, the combination अन्य *anya*, and, with the comparative suffix तर *tara*, अन्तर *antara*; both expressions signify *alius*, and have dropped the final vowel of the demonstrative base; for which reason the Indian grammarians do not admit अन्य *anya* to be a compound, any more than the previously discussed bases

* Compare §. 105. and Demonstrative Bases and their connection with different Prepositions and Conjunctions, p. 9, *passim*.

त्य *tya*, स्य *syâ*; nor do they see in *antara* any comparative suffix,* particularly as, besides the irregularity of its formation,† it is removed, by its signification also, from the common pronominal derivatives (§. 292.), and expresses, not "the one," or "the other," of two, but, like इतर *itara*, "the other" generally. In Gothic corresponds *anthar*; theme *anthara*, which has the same meaning; in Lithuanian *antra-s*, "the other," "the second"; in Latin, *alter*, the *n* being exchanged for *l* (§. 20.), on which also is founded the relation of *alius* to अन्यस् *anya-s*, the base of which is preserved complete in the Gothic *ALJA*.‡ The Greek ἄλλος is removed one step further than *alius* from the original form, and, like the Prakrit अण्ण *anna*, and the Old High German adverb *alles*, "otherwise," has assimilated the *y* to the consonant preceding it (compare p. 401.). On the other hand, अन्य *anya* exists in a truer form, but with a somewhat altered meaning, in Greek, viz. as ἔνιοι, "some," which may be well contrasted with the Sanscrit-Zend, *anyê*, "*alii*." From the base 'ENIO comes also ἐνίοτε, "sometimes," as analogous to ἄλλοτε, ἑκάστοτε, &c., for the derivation of which, therefore, we need not have recourse to ἔνι ὅτε, or ἔστιν ὅτε. In Old Sclavonic, *in* signifies "the other," and its theme is *ino*, and thus the *y* of the Sanscrit-Zend *anya* has been lost. The feminine nominative in Sclavonic is *ina*, the neuter *ino*.

375. Together with *anya*, *antara*, and *itara*, the Sanscrit has also two other words for the idea of "another," viz. अपर *apara*, and पर *para*. The former may have sprung from the preposition *apa*, "from," as *apa* itself from the demonstrative base अ *a*. With it is connected, as has been

* *Anya* is derived from *an*, "to live," and *antara* from *anta*, "end."

† The regular form would be *anatara*.

‡ *Alya-kunds*, "*alienigenus*," *alyai vaihtai*, "other things," *alya thrô*, "elsewhere" (p. 384 *et a*). In the nominative masculine I conjecture *alyis*, not *alis* (p. 358, Rem. 7).

already observed (§. 350.), afar, *aber*, Gothic and Old High German *afar* (§. 87.), the original meaning of which is still evident in *abermals*, "once more," *aberglauben*, "superstition," *aberwitz*, "false wit." In Old High German *afar* means, also, "again," like the Latin *iterum*, opposed to इतरस् *itara-s*, "the other," पर *para*, is derived by apocope from *ápara*: it is more used than the latter; and if it has derivatives in the European cognate languages also, the Latin *perendie* may be among the first to be referred to a word which signifies "another." It should properly signify "the morrow," but the use of language often steps beyond the limits of what the actual form expresses; and thus, in the word alluded to, by "on the other day," not the next following is implied, but the day after to-morrow. The language, therefore, proceeds from "this day" (*hodie*) to *cras*—in which an appellation of day is not easily perceived—and thence to "the other day," *perendie*, the first member of which I regard as an adverbial accusative, with *n* for *m*, as in *eundem*. In the Sanscrit *parê-dyus*, "morrow," *parê*, on the contrary, is apparently in the locative, and the last member in the accusative, if we regard it as the contraction of a neuter *divas*;* but in *parê-dyavi* both are in the locative. The Latin *peren* occurs also in *perendino*, *perendinatio*, the last member of which guides us to another Sanscrit appellation of day, viz. to दिन *dina*. But, to dwell for a moment on दिवस् *divas* and पर् *para*, I am of opinion that these two expressions are united in *ves-per*, *ves-perus*, and ἑσπέρα, as it were दिवस्पर *divas-para*, which, if we look upon *para* as a neuter substantive, would signify

* I prefer this derivation to that I formerly gave (Kleinere Gramm. p. 323) from *dyu* with an irregular *s*; for from *divas* the step is as easy to *dyus* as from *div* to *dyu*. *Divas*, however, does not occur alone, but instead of it *divasa*: still the compounds *divas-pati*, "Lord of Heaven," or "of day," and *divas-prithivyâu*, "heaven and earth," shew the trace of it; for in the latter it is impossible to regard *as* as a genitive termination.

"the last, latest part of the day," and *para*, used adjectively, and prefixed to another appellation of day, actually occurs with this meaning; for *parâhṇa* (from *para* + *ahna*) signifies the later, or after part of the day (see Glossar.) as *pûrvâhna* does the former, or earlier part. Consequently *vesper* would stand for *dives-per*; and this abbreviation of the appellation of day will not appear more remarkable than that of द्विस् *dvis* to *bis*. With respect to the loss of a whole initial syllable, I may refer to the relation of the Greek *μεῖραξ*, *μειράκιον* to कुमारस् *kumâra-s*, "boy," which, by the suppression of its middle syllable, but with the retention of the initial one, has been corrupted to *κόρος*, *κοῦρος*. We turn now to another trace of पर *para*, "the other," in Latin, which we find in the first portion of *pereger* and *peregrinus*, and which we could not well suppose to be the preposition *per*. *Pereger* would consequently signify "being in another land," like the Old High German *eli-lenti*, and *peregrinus*, "who from another land." We might also refer *per-perus* to the same source, as the reduplication of *perus* = परस् *para-s*, in which the "bad and wrong" is opposed to "the right," as the other. In the cognate Greek *πέρπερος* the fundamental meaning has taken a more special direction. Lastly, the particle *πέρ* remains to be mentioned, the use of which is more of a pronominal than a prepositional nature. A word, which originally signifies "other," was well adapted to give particular emphasis to a relative, so as to bring prominently forward the persons or things denoted by it as other than those excluded. In this light let the French *nous autres*, *vous autres*, and our German *wenn anders*, "provided that," be considered, which is more energetic than the simple *wenn*, "if."* From पर *para* comes,

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* Remark, also, the apparently pleonastic use of *ἄλλος*; and similar phenomena in Sanscrit, as Nal. I. 14, in which men are opposed to the gods and to other beings not human, as *others*: "Nowhere among the gods or Yakshas exists such beauty, nor amongst (others) men was such ever before seen or heard of."

in Sanscrit, *pára*, "the further shore," and from this *pârayâmi*, "I complete": to the former answers *πέραν*, to the latter *περάω*.* In German, in the word under discussion the idea of "other" has been changed to that of "far," Gothic *fairra*, "far," the second *r* of which seems to have sprung from *n* by assimilation. In Sancrit, even *para* occurs in the sense of "far," in the compound *parâsu*, "dead," having life removed.

376. The Gothic *yains*, (theme *yaina*) *yener*, "that," Greek *κεῖνος*, *ἐκεῖνος*, (Æol. *κῆνος*) and Doric *τῆνος*, correspond, in respect to their last element, with the bases in the cognate languages which are compounded with *na*, *no*; among which we may especially notice *ana-s* (*an's*) "on," which has the same meaning in Lithuanian and Sclavonic. In the Doric, *τῆνος*, like *τηλίκος*, *τηνίκα*, the vowel of the article is lengthened (comp. §. 352.), and the Æolic *κῆνος* has the same relation to the interrogative base KO, that *τῆνος* has to TO. But in *κεῖνος*, to which *ἐκεῖνος* bears the same relation that *ἐμοῦ* does to *μοῦ* (§. 326), instead of the base-vowel being lengthened an *ι* is introduced, and the *ο* is weakened to *ε*: compare, in the former respect, the Sanscrit *ê* and the compound एन *êna* (§. 369.). So, also, in the Gothic *yain(a)s*, "that," an *i* has been blended with the Sanscrit relative base य *ya*. But if in German, as in Sclavonic, a *y* preceded the old initial vowel, as in *yesmy* = अस्मि *asmi*, Lithuanian *esmi*, "I am" (§. 255. *n.*), *yains* would then shew itself to be a cognate form to एन *êna*, "this," the real countertype of which we have, however, already found in the numeral *ains*, theme *aina* (§. 308.). In Greek, the word *δεῖνα*, theme ΔΕΙΝ, may also be classed here. It is a plural neuter, which has been peculiarly dealt with by the language: its *ει* has the same relation to the *ο* of the article that *κεῖνος* has to KO (*κότε*, *κότερον*), and the tenuis has been removed, as in *δέ* beforementioned (§. 350.). The *ν*, however, of ΔΕΙΝ can

* Compare Vocalismus, p. 177, &c.

scarcely be connected with the appended pronoun न *na*, but is more probably a mere phonetic affix, as in TIN, of which hereafter, and in many words of our so-called weak declension (§. 142.).

377. The Zend demonstrative base ܐܘܐ *ava*, "this," has been already repeatedly mentioned. In it we find a new and powerful confirmation of the proposition—which is one of importance for the history of language—that pronouns and genuine prepositions are originally one; for in the Sanscrit, in which *ava* has been lost as a pronoun, it has remained as a preposition, with the signification "from," "down"; as *ava-plū*, *ava-tár* (तृ *trī*), "to spring from," "to descend," but the original meaning of which is "to alight down or at this (place)." In Sclavonic, *ava* has been changed, according to rule (§. 255. *a*), to *ovo*, which signifies "this" and "that": its fem. nom. *ova* is almost identical with the same case in Zend—ܐܘܐ *ava*. With this form is connected the Greek *αὐ* of *αὐτός*,* in which, after the suppression of the final vowel, the *v* has been changed to a vowel. When used alone the pronominal nature of this base is most apparent in *αὖθι*, "here," which, therefore, is not to be regarded as an abbreviation of *αὐτόθι*, for it is quite as natural for the locative suffix to be attached to *αὖ* as to other pronominal bases. With the same signification as *αὖθι* we might expect to find *αὖθα*, as analogous to *ἔνθα* and to the Zend ܐܘܐܕܗܐ *avadha*, which corresponds in its base, suffix, and signification. But the Greek expression does not occur alone, but only in combination with *ἔνθα* in *ἐνταῦθα* for *ἐνθαῦθα* †; and so, also, the ablative adverb *αὖθεν* is retained only in the compound *ἐντεῦθεν* (p. 480). The indeclinable *αὖ*, the use of which is not opposed to its pronominal origin, has probably lost some suffix of

* Compare p. 387, Rem.*.

† §. 344. p. 480. The derivation of *ἐνταῦθα* given at p. 387 must be corrected accordingly.

case or of another kind. If it were a neuter for αὐτ or αὐδ the suppression of the T sound would accord with a universal phonetic law (comp. §. 155.). Perhaps it is an abbreviation of αὖθις, which has the same meaning, or of αὖτε, which latter agrees in its formation with the pronominal adverbs τότε, ὅτε, πότε, though the signification has diverged.

378. Through a combination with the comparative suffix is formed αὐτάρ, "but," with reference to which we must again advert to our German *aber* (Old High German *afar*, "but," "again") with the Sanscrit *apara*, "*alius*." The suffix of αὐτᾰρ is distinguished from the customary τερος by the preservation of the original α sound, and in this manner corresponds exactly to the Sanscrit *antar* (§. 293.). The Latin *au-tem*, on the other hand, appears to contain the superlative suffix, as *i-tem* in opposition to *i-terum*.* The *i* of *timus* might easily be corrupted to *e* in a word terminating with a consonant. I now, however, prefer regarding the suffix *tem* of *i-tem* and *au-tem* as not originating in the Latin language, but as identical with the suffix थम् *tham*, which, in Sanscrit, likewise occurs only in two pronominal adverbs, viz. in इत्थम् *it-tham*, "so," and कथम् *ka-tham*, "how?" with regard to which it may be left undecided whether their *tham* is connected with the superlative suffix with a phonetic alteration, just as *thama* in प्रथमस् *prathama-s*, "the first" (p. 370). The Latin *au-t* appears to me an abbreviation of *au-ti*, so that it agrees in its formation with *uti*, *ut*, and *iti* in *itidem*, as also with the Sanscrit इति *iti*, "so."† With regard to the *au* of *aufugio*, *aufero*, I see no adequate reason for dissenting from the common opinion which regards it as a weakened form of

* Compare Heidelb. Jahrb. 1818, p. 479, and Demonstrative Bases, p. 14.

† The *i* of *iti-dem* might also be regarded as the weakening of the *a* of *ita*, caused by the addition of weight through the *dem*.

*ab.** On the other hand, the Sanscrit inseparable preposition *ava*, mentioned above (§. 377.), evidently re-appears in the Homeric *αὐερύω*,† without the ancient connection between this prepositional *αὐ* and the particle *αὖ* being thereby removed, as, as has been remarked above, the Sanscrit preposition *ata* and the Zend demonstrative base of similar sound, are cognate forms.

379. It has been elsewhere pointed out‡ that of the three forms into which the originally short *a* in Greek has been distributed (ε, ο, ᾰ), most frequently ε occurs in places where a Sanscrit *a* is combined with *u*; more rarely the weightier *o*; and the still heavier *α* never.§ The Greek diphthong *αυ*, however, corresponds to the Vriddhi diphthong औ *âu*, as *ναῦς* = नौस् *nâus*: its *α* is therefore long, and is found as such in *νᾱός*, &c., for *νᾱϜός* = नावस् *nâvas*. If, then, the final vowel of the Indo-Zend *ava*, Sclavonic *ovo*, be removed, and then the *u*, formed by the melting down of the *v*, be combined in a diphthong with the initial vowel, we should have *ευ* or *ου*. As, however, *αυ* has arisen, we must regard the lengthening of the initial vowel as compensation for the final vowel, which has been suppressed. This compensation, however, does not take place universally; for as *οὖν* is plainly shewn, by its use, to be of pronominal origin,‖ it may be best compared with our demonstrative base *ava*, of which it is

* Without this weakening, *affero*, from *abfero*, would be identical with *affero*, from *adfero*; and the change of the *b* into the cognate vowel may have taken place in order to avoid this identity, as, *vice versâ*, the *u* of *duo* (originally a *v*) seems to have been hardened into *b* in *bis*. If, for this reason, *au* has arisen from *ab* on one occasion, it might be still further adopted without its being occasioned from a view to perspicuity.

† Compare A. Benary in the Berl. Jahrb. May 1830, p. 764.

‡ Vocalismus, p. 193, &c.

§ This combination produces ओ *ô* (§. 2.), which, before vowels, is resolved into *av*, as, *gav-âm*, "*bovum*," from *gô*.

‖ Compare Hartung II. 3, &c.

further to be remarked, that, in Zend, in departure from §. 155., it forms the nominative and accusative neuter, not by ϛ *t* but by *m*. For *ăvĕm*, according to §. 42., *aûm* must be employed; but in its place we have the irregular form ϛ𐬀𐬊 *aom*, and the same in the masculine accusative.* I agree with Hartung (l. c.) in considering the Greek οὖν likewise as an accusative, whether it be masculine, or, as we may assume from the Zend *aom*, neuter. The negative particle οὐ is also to be classed here, according to what has been said in §. 371., and before, in my Review of Rosen's Vêda Specimen regarding the derivation of negative particles from pronouns: it has the same relation to οὐκ which, owing to its terminating with a consonant, is used before vowels, that, in Latin, the prefix *ne* has to *nec*, an abbreviation of *neque*. Οὐκ is, therefore, an abbreviation of οὐκι (with the change of the tenuis, οὐχί), the κί of which is, perhaps, connected with the Sanscrit enclitic pronominal base चि *chi*, of which more hereafter. To this चि *chi* the च *cha*, which is likewise enclitically used, and with which the Latin *que* is identical, bears the same relation that कस् *kas*, "who," does to its neuter किम् *kim*. If, then, the syllable κι of οὐκί is connected with the Indian चि *chi*, it is also related to the Latin *que* of *neque* (compare §. 380., *sub finem*.)

380. It remains for us to shew that an offshoot of the pronominal base *ava* exists in German also. Such is our *auch*, the demonstrative signification of which is easily discoverable in sentences like *er ist blind, und auch lahm*, "he is blind and also lame," in which the *auch* adds to the quality "blind," as "that," another, "this": "he is lame and this "blind." The *auch* performs the same service for a single quality that the conjunction *dass*, "that," does for an entire member of a sentence; for in sentences like "I am not willing (*dass*) that the should come," the conjunction *dass* expresses generally

* Compare Burnouf's Yaçna, Notes p. 5.

or only grammatically, the subject of my will, and "he should come" expresses it particularly and logically. In Old High German, *auh* (*quh, ouc,* &c.) has other meanings besides *auch*, also, which are elsewhere expressed only by derivatives from pronouns, as *denn, aber, sondern,* "for," "but," &c. (see Graff I. 120.), and the Gothic *auk* occurs only with the meaning "for."* If *auch*, also, were the only meaning of the conjunction under discussion, in all German dialects, we might suppose it to be connected with the Gothic *aukan*, "to increase."† But what connection have *denn* and *sondern* ("for" and "but") with the verb "to increase?" Moreover, verbal ideas and verbal roots are the last to which I should be inclined to refer the derivation of a conjunction. All genuine conjunctions spring from pronouns (§. 105.), as I have endeavoured to shew in a particular instance in my Review of Forster's Grammar.‡ But whence comes the *ch* of our *auch?* I do not think that it can be regarded in the same light as that of *doch* and *noch*, which have been likewise explained as pronominal formations,¶ but, in Gothic, terminate with *h* (*nauh, thauh*); while our *auch* bears the same relation to the Gothic *auk* that *mich, dich, sich*, do to *mik, thuk, sik*. The *k*, therefore, of *auk* may perhaps, in its origin, coincide with that of the so-called pronominal accusative, and, like the latter, belong to the appended pronoun स्म *sma* (§§. 174, 175.), which, in Zend, becomes *hma*, but in Prakrit and Pali is transposed to *mha*. But if the pronoun *ava* were used in

* The meanings "but" and "also," which I have, in accordance with Fulda, given elsewhere (Demonstrative Bases, p. 14), rest on no authority, as Ulfilas gives *auk* only when answering to the Greek γάρ (Grimm III. 272).

† Compare Sanscrit *ûh*, "to collect," whence *samûha*, "crowd."

‡ Heidelb. Jahrb. 1818, p. 473.

¶ §. 370 and Demonstrative Bases, p. 18.

Pali, its ablative would be *avamhâ* and locative *avamhi* (comp. §. 369. Table). In the Gothic *auk* the sounds which surround the *h* in these forms are lost, and the final vowel of the base is suppressed, as in the Greek αὐτός. With regard to the guttural, however, *auk* bears the same relation to *avamhâ*, *avamhi*, that *ik*, "I" does to अहं *ahan*. If, of the forms of negation mentioned at p. 533, the last were the original one, we might suppose the χι to be related to the Pali pronominal locatives in म्हि *mhi*, as χ usually represents the Sanscrit and Pali ह् *h* (§. 23.).

381. As regards the etymology of the base *ava*, the first member of it is easily perceived to be the demonstrative *a*, and the latter portion appears to be analogous to *iva*, "as," from the base *i*, as also to *êva*, "also," "merely," &c., and with the accusative termination *êvam*, "so," from the base *ê* (§. 266.). *A-va* and *ê-va*, therefore, would be as closely connected as *a-na* and *ê-na*; and as from the latter has arisen the Gothic term for the numeral, "one," (theme *aina*, §. 308.), so from *êva* would come the Zend numeral for "one," *aêva*, with *a* prefixed, according to §. 38. In Gothic corresponds *aiv* (theme *aiva*), which, however, as "all time," *i.e.* eternity, answers to the cognate form in Zend as logical antithesis, or as "another" to "this." It may be observed, that it is highly probable that our *all*, Gothic *alls*, "*omnis*" (theme *alla*), has been formed by assimilation from the base *alya*, "*alius*," and has therefore experienced the same fate as the Greek ἄλλος, Old High German *alles*, "else," and the Latin *ille*, *olle*. In Sanscrit, from the energetic subjective demonstrative base *sa*, "he," "this," "that," (§. 345.), arises the general term "all," viz. सर्व *sar-va*, "every," plural सर्वे *sarvê*, "all," and the adverbs of time सदा *sada*, and सना *sanâ*, "ever": from the latter comes the adjective सनातन *sanâtana*, "perpetual." The final member of *sarva* is identical with that of our अव *ava*, एव *êvâ*, and इव *iva*; and, with respect to the *r*, analogous

forms to *sarva* occur in *êtar-hi*, "then," and *kar-hi*, "when?"* the *h* of which I consider as an abbreviation of *dh*, and the whole *dhi* as a cognate suffix to the Greek θι (compare §. 23.). Thus *êtarhi*, exclusive of the prefixed pronoun *ê*, agrees with τόθι, and *kar-hi* with πόθι, from κόθι. In the Gothic, *tha-r*, "there," in our *dar* in *immerdar*, (always) *darbringen*, "to offer," *darstellen*, "to represent," &c., and *hva-r*, "where?" (compare *war-um*, "wherefore," *wor-aus*, "whence," &c.) the syllable *hi* or *dhi* of the Indian prototype is wanting. We may notice, also, the compound *hvar-yis*, "which?" the last member of which belongs to the Sanscrit relative base य *ya*. In Lithuanian we have in *kittur* (*kit-tur*), "somewhere else," a form analogous to the Gothic locative adverbs in *r*. With the Sanscrit *sarva*, "every," may be compared the Old High German *sâr*, "*omnino*," our *sehr*, "much." But to return to the Gothic base *aiva*, we see clearly enough the pronominal origin of this word in expressions ike *ni aiv*, "*nunquam*," *ni aiva dagê*, "on no day whatever," and still more in our *ye*, Old High German *êo*, *io*, which latter has been formed from *aiv*, by suppressing the *a*, and changing the *v* into a vowel; and by this alteration it has become estranged from *aiva*, "eternity." A word, however, signifying merely eternity or time, would scarcely have entered into combinations like *êo-man*, "*aliquis*," our "*jemand*," in which *êo* may be regarded as equivalent to the Zend *aêva*, "one;" so, also, in *êo-wiht*, "*aliquid*," literally "one thing," or "any one thing": *ionêr* means "anywhere," and, with respect to its *r*, agrees with the abovementioned locative adverbs (*thar*, *hvar*), and, in regard to its entire final syllable, with pronouns compounded with *na*, *no* (§. 376.); and this affords a striking proof that the preceding *io* cannot, from its origin,

* The Indian grammarians assume, without cause or reason, a suffix *rhi* for both these expressions, and distribute them thus, *êta-rhi*, *ka-rhi*.

be a term for denoting time. Perhaps, however, the Old High German *io* is not in all places the corruption of the Gothic *aiv*, for a short way of arriving at it is through the old relative base य *ya.* It is certain that the Lithuanian *yů* belongs to it, which, in its use before comparatives in sentences like *yů bagotésnis yů szykoztésnis*, "the richer the more niggardly," corresponds exactly to the use of the German language, only that the same expression is always retained in the corresponding sentence, which may be done in German also, as, in Sanscrit, the idea of one* is expressed by attraction, after relatives by *ya*, and after interrogatives by *ka* (see §. 308.). The Lithuanian *yů*, however, is clearly the instrumental of the base *ya*, which elsewhere signifies "he," but, in this kind of expression, retains the old relative meaning. In Lithuanian, *yo* may be used for *yů*; and if this is not merely an abbreviation of *yů* (*yuo*) it is the genitive of the pronoun referred to; for *yis* (for *yas*), "he," forms, in the genitive, *yo*. Rubig renders "the sooner the better," by *yo pirmyaus yo geraus*.† Graff (I. 517.) rightly compares the Old High German *io* with this Lithuanian *yo*, and the former must therefore be distinguished from the *io*, which are

* The meaning of this is, that if, in Sanscrit, a sentence be interrogative, the object of the verb likewise becomes interrogative, as it were by attraction, instead of being, as in English, indefinite. Thus, in the passage referred to §. 308., कथं स पुरुषः पार्थ कङ् घातयति हन्ति कम् *kathan sa purushaḥ pârtha kan ghâtayati hanti kam*, "How, O Partha, can that spirit cause to be killed *whom*, can it kill *whom?*" The same attraction takes place in a relative sentence. Thus, in the Second Book of the Hitopadeśa, यदेव रोचते, यस्मै भवेत तत्तस्य सुन्दरं *yadêva rôchatê yasmâi bhavêt tat tasya sundaram*, "*Whatever* is agreeable to *whomsoever* (in English it would be 'to any one soever'), that to him will be beautiful."—*Translator's Note.*

† As addenda to §. 306. may be noticed the uninflected comparatives, which accord with the superlatives in *aus-as* (§. 307.).

corruptions of the Gothic *aiv*. In Latin we find a form corresponding to this *aiv* (theme *aiva*) in *ævum* which has quite lost a pronominal signification. It may be left undecided whether the Greek αἰών should be referred to this class. But we must remark that the syllable *va* of अव *ava*, एव *êva*, and इव *iva*, is, as it appears to me, of itself a pronoun, and connected with the enclitic *vat*, "as." Perhaps the *v* is a weakened form of *m* (§. 63.), and *iva* therefore connected with the demonstrative *ima*. Observe that the derivative suffixes *vat* and *mat*, in the strong cases *vant*, *mant*, are completely identical in meaning, as are also *min* and *vin*.

382. We come now to the relative, the base of which is, in Sanscrit and Zend, *ya*, feminine *yâ*; and the offshoots of which, in the European cognate languages, have been already frequently mentioned. With respect to the Greek ὅς, ἥ, ὅ, answering to the Sanscrit *yas*, *yâ*, *yat*, we may notice how frequently the Indian य् *y* is represented by the Greek spiritus asper. And ὅς has the same relation to *yas* that ὑμεῖς has to the Vêda युष्मे *yushmê*, "ye," ὑσμίνη to युध्म *yudhma*, "strife," ἧπαρ to यकृत् *yakrit* and *jecur*, ἅζω to यज् *yaj*, "to honour," "adore," ἥμερος to यम् *yam*, "to restrain." The circumstance, that the relative is dialectically replaced by the article, is as little proof of the connection of the two, as our German *welcher*, "which," being replaced by the demonstrative *der*, "the," is, that it is cognate to it in form. Since, as early as Homer, the use of the true relative is very common, and the relative expressions ὅσος, οἷος, ἡλίκος, ἦμος, answer to the demonstrative derivatives τόσος, τοῖος, τηλίκος, τῆμος, we may find in this alone sufficient evidence, exclusive of proofs drawn from the Sanscrit and other cognate languages, of the original existence of a distinct relative base in Greek.

383. In Zend the relative occurs also with a demonstra-

tive meaning: thus we frequently find the accusative *yim* in the sense of *him*. This guides us to the Lithuanian *yis*, "he" (euphonic for *yus*, §. 135.),* accusative *yin*. The dative *yam* corresponds with the Sanscrit *yasmâi*, Zend *yahmâi*; as does the locative *yame* (§. 176.) with *yasmin*, *yahmi*. In Sclavonic, *ye* is the most perfect form that has been retained in the masculine and neuter singular of this pronominal base (see p. 353): in the neuter plural *ya* agrees most exactly with the Zend and Vêda *yâ* (§. 255. *a*.), just as, in the nominative singular feminine, *yâ* (*ya-she*, "which") corresponds to the Sanscrit-Zend *yâ*. The masculine form *i* is derived, as has been already remarked, by suppressing the vowel of the base, and vocalising the *y*, and thus resembles tolerably closely the Gothic relative particle *ei* (=*î*). In Gothic, however, there exist derivatives from the base under discussion, which are even yet more similar. For instance, the conjunction *ya-bai*, "if," springs from it as the cognate form of the Sanscrit यदि *ya-di*, which signifies the same. The suffixes alone differ. The Gothic *bai* is a corruption of *ba*, and appears in this form in the compound *thauh-yaba*. There is an analogous form to *yabai*, *yaba*, viz. *iba*, *ibai*,† which is used particularly as an interrogative particle, and proceeds from the pronominal base *i*. Combined, also, with the negative particle *ni*, *iba* means "if;" thus *niba* (for *ni iba*, as *nist*, "he is not," for *ni ist*), "if not," where we must remark that the Sanscrit इत् *it* connected with *iba*, as regards its base, likewise means "if"; and, indeed, in like manner only

* In Zend the *i* of *yim* is not produced by the euphonic influence of the *y*, for we also find *dim* for *dĕm* (§. 343.), and *drughim* for *drughĕm*, from *drugh*, "a demon."

† Compare Demonstrative Bases, p. 15, and Graff (I. 75), who assents to my opinion, but designates the pronominal bases as adverbs of place, or locative particles.

in combination with particles preceding it; so that *nět* (*na* + *it*), "if not," is, as it were, the prototype of the Gothic *n'-iba* (see §. 360.). It can hardly be that the suffix, also, does not contain somewhat of Sanscrit. I conjecture a connection between the syllables *va* in *iva*, "as," *ěv-a*, "also," &c., and that of *e-vam*, "so," or what almost amounts to the same thing with the enclitic वत् *vat*, "as." And thus the derivation of the Gothic adverbs in *ba* may be shewn.* It cannot appear surprising that the *v* is hardened to *b*, for in Bengáli every Sanscrit *v* is pronounced as *b*, and in New German, also, we have *b* for *v* in the older dialects. In Lithuanian the *v* of the Sanscrit *iva*, "as," is altered to *p*, as we have before seen *pa* formed from स्व *sva* (§. 359.). No more satisfactory derivation, therefore, can, in my opinion, be given for pronominal adverbs terminating in *ipo* or *ip*, than from the इव *iva* above mentioned, particularly as the latter is constantly subjoined, as तद् इव *tad iva*, "as this." So, in Lithuanian, *taipo* or *taip*, "so," *i.e.* "as this," from the base *ta* + *ipo*; *kaipo* or *kaip*, "how"? *kittaipo*, *kittaip*, and *antraipo*, *antraip*, "else." Another view of these impressions might be taken, according to which *i* would be allotted to the principal pronoun, which would be regarded as neuter (§. 157.); thus *tai-po*, *kai-po*, &c. In this case the vowel of the Sanscrit इव *iva* would be lost in Lithuanian; but I prefer the former opinion, and believe that the Gothic *hvaiva*, "how"? taken as *hva-iva*, must be

* Not *aba*, for the *a* belongs to the adjective base; hence those in *u* have, not *v-aba* but *u-ba*; but those in *ya*, for the most part, lay aside their final vowel, and form *i-ba* for *ya-ba*. Examples: *fróda-ba*, "intelligent," from *FRODA* (nom. *froths*); *harda-ba*, "hard," from *HARDU*; *andaugi-ba*, "evident," perhaps from the substantive base *ANDAUGYA* (nominative *andaugi*), "visage." The full form is seen in *gabaurya-ba*, "willing."

referred to this class; for it cannot appear remarkable that the termination *va*, in Gothic, should not have been everywhere hardened to *ba*, but that a trace of the original form should be still left. But if the *swa*, "so," answering to *hvaiva*, does not, as has been before conjectured, belong to the Sanscrit reflective base स्व *sva* (§. 311.), I should then regard it as analogous to *hvaiva*, and divide it thus, *sh-va*, so that it would contain the demonstrative base *sa*, mentioned in §. 346., from which, in Sanscrit, comes, among other words, सदृश *sa-driśa*, "similar," literally "appearing like this." But to return to the Sanscrit *yadi*, "if," its *di* is probably a weakened form of the suffix, which we have seen above in इति *iti*, "thus," and elsewhere, also, in अति *ati*, "over," and altered to धि *dhi* in अधि *adhi*, "to," "towards." The Prakrit जइ *jai* (§. 19.) has quite dropped the *T* sound, just as the Lithuanian *yey*: through both languages the Greek *εἰ* is, as it were, prepared; as to the connection of which with our relative base I have no longer any doubt, as all is regular as far as the suppression of the semivowel in the initial sound; and by a similar suppression we have not been prevented from recognising the Vêda युष्मे *yushmê*, "ye" in the Æolic *ὔμμες*.

384. The Gothic particle *yau*, which in the signification "whether" coincides with the Sanscrit यदि *yadi*, which together with "if" means also "whether," supports the derivation of *ba* from *va*, given above; for *yau* is, for the most part, in the same relation to *yaba*, that, in Lithuanian, *taip* bears to the more full *taipo*. The form *yau*, however, probably owes its origin to a time when, in more perfect accordance with the Sanscrit, *yaba* for *yava* was still used, whence, after suppressing the *a*, *yava* must be formed, as *e.g.* the base *thiva*, "servant," in the nominative *thius*, accusative *thiu*. But if *yau* arose at a time when *yaba* was already in use for *yava*, we should have to notice the relation of the Latin *au* (*aufugio*, *aufero*) to *ab*. The

Lithuanian has likewise a particle *yau*, which is connected, in its base at least, with the Gothic: it signifies "already," *i.e.* "at this" (time), and therefore reminds us of *jam*, which, in Latin, is the only remnant of the pronominal base under discussion. Perhaps the *u* in the Lithuanian form is the dissolution of a nasal, by which *yam* and *yau* would be brought still closer, and the latter would be related to the former, as *buwau*, "I was," to the Sanscrit अभवम् *abhawam* (compare §. 255. g.). With the Latin *jam* and Lithuanian *yau* must be classed, also, the Gothic *yu*, "now," "already," which, in respect to its *u*, is an analogous form to the *nu*, "now," mentioned above (§. 370.), and, with *than*, forms the combination *yuthan*, "already." This furnishes a new proof that *yu* is probably but an abbreviation of the Sanscrit द्यु *dyu*, "day;" for if this were the case, it would follow that the demonstrative, and *thanyu* or *thayu* would be used, as in Latin *hodie*, and Old High German *hiutu*, in Sanscrit *a-dya*, in Greek σήμερον. The Old High German *ie* in *ie zuo*, whence our *jetzo*, *jetzt*, is probably a weakened form of the Gothic *yu*, and literally signifies "to this," with a preposition subjoined. It first occurs in an inscription of the twelfth century (Graff I. 516.), for which reason it cannot be matter of surprise that the *u* is corrupted to *e*.

385. There remain to be noticed, in order to complete the list of the remnants of the Sanscrit relative base, the affirmative particle *ya*, *yai*, (compare §. 371,) and the copulative *yah*, "and," "also." The form *ya* may be taken as neuter, analogous to the interrogative *hva*, "what," and, like the latter, it is indeclinable. The more usual form *yai* may have sprung from *ya*, through the inclination, which the *a* manifests, even in Sanscrit, to form a diphthong with the addition of an *i* (§. 158.). Hence there arises an apparent affinity of declension with the sole pronominal neuter in Lithuanian, viz. *tai*. The copulative

particle *yah* is identical in its final *h* with the Latin *que* and Sanscrit च *cha*, which is likewise subjoined, and which owes its origin to the interrogative base *ka*, on which we will bestow a closer examination in the following paragraphs.

386. The interrogative bases in Sanscrit are three, according to the three primary vowels, viz. *ka*, *ku*, *ki*. The two latter may be looked upon as weakened forms of the first and principal one, for which reason I shall take them in the order of the diminution of the weight of the *a*.* From क *ka* springs the whole declension of the masculine, as also that of the neuter, with the exception of the singular nominative and accusative किम् *kim*. The neuter कत् *kat*, which is obsolete as far as regards its isolated use, and on which the Latin form *quod* is founded, is easily recognised in the interrogative particle कच्चित् *kach-chit*, euphonic for *kat-chit*: it also appears as the prefix in expressions like कदध्वन् *kad-adhvan*,† "a bad street," literally "what a street!" Other interrogative expressions are similarly prefixed, in order to represent a person or thing as bad or contemptible, as I have already previously noticed.‡ But since then my conjecture regarding the cognate form in Sanscrit has been still more confirmed by the Zend, where ߍߍߍ *kat* is actually the common neuter of the interrogative. From the masculine and neuter base *ka* springs, in Sanscrit and Zend, the feminine base *ká*. which, according to §. 137., appears in the nominative singular without inflexion.

* Vocalismus, p. 227, Rem. 16.

† *Kad* for *kat*, according to §. 93ª.

‡ Götting Anzeig. 1821, p. 352. Wilson, on the other hand, follows the native grammarians in deriving both the interrogative particle *kachchit* and *kad-adhvan*, and similar compounds from *kat* for *kut*, "bad"; and it appears that the connection of the prefixes *kat* and *ku* with the interrogative has quite escaped the Indian grammarians.

None of the European cognate languages agrees better with the twin Asiatic sisters than the Lithuanian, in which the masculine nominative *kas* is completely identical with the Sanscrit कस् *kas*, over which, too, it maintains this superiority in the retention of the original form, that its *s* remains unalterable, and is not liable to suppression, while the Sanscrit *kas* is changed into *kah*, *kô*, and *ka*, according to the quantity of the initial sound following, or before a pause, and retains the original sibilant, according to a universal law of sound, only before त् *t* and थ् *th*, and changes it before च् *ch* छ् *chh*, or ट् *ṭ*, ठ् *ṭh*, into the sibilant of the corresponding organ. In the corresponding Zend form there is this remarkable peculiarity, that, if followed by the singular of the pronoun of the second person, the latter combines with the preceding interrogative, and forms one word—a combination which is of course only phonetic, and has no influence on the sense. Though I have no doubt this combination has been occasioned simply by the tendency in several languages to unite *s* and *t*, or *th*, still in the case before us a conjunctive vowel has been, in the course of time, introduced in Zend; and indeed, according to the oldest MSS., an *ĕ*,* in the sense of §. 30. As, however, in the edited codex of the V. S., in two out of four passages in which ϛ𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬵𐬀𐬚𐬋𐬱𐬀𐬐 *kaŝĕthwaṅm*, "who thee," should be read, we find instead *kaŝĕ thwaṅm*; and in one passage, indeed, these words occur combined, but still with a long *ê*, *kaŝêthwaṅm*; and, in the fourth case, there is an erroneous reading, *kaŝithwaṅm*; I was therefore formerly of opinion Gramm. Crit. p. 327), that we might consider the *ê* or *i*, combined with *kaŝ*, as analogous to the Greek demonstrative *ī*; a conjecture which must be withdrawn, owing to the various readings since published by Burnouf, and the inference (l. c. p. 108) thence deduced. With the dative

† Burnouf's Yaçna, Note R. p. 134.

𐬙𐬉 *tê*, and with 𐬥𐬀𐬭𐬋 *narô*, "man," 𐬐𐬀𐬱𐬀 *kaś* forms, without an auxiliary vowel, the combination 𐬐𐬀𐬱𐬙𐬉 *kaśtê*, 𐬐𐬀𐬱𐬥𐬁 *kaśnâ* (Burnouf l. c. p. 409.).

387. According to §. 116., from the Sanscrit-Zend-Lithuanian interrogative base *KA* must come the Greek KO, which, retained in Ionic, has elsewhere become ΠΟ, from the easy interchange of gutturals and labials. The declension, however, of this KO or ΠO is disused in favour of that of τίς, and the only remains of it are adverbs and derivatives, as κότε, πότε, κῶς, κότερον, πότερον (see कतरस् *kataras*, "whether of the two?"), κόσος, πόσος, κοῖος, ποῖος, which are clear enough proofs of the original existence of a κός, κή, κό. These form the foundation of those cases of the Latin interrogative and relative, which belong to the second declension, viz. *quod* (=𐬐𐬀𐬙 *kat*), *quo*, and, in the plural, *qui*, *quorum*, *quos*. The plural of the neuter *quæ* differs from the common declension, according to which it should be *qua*. The form *quæ*, however, may have remained from the dual, which is otherwise lost in Latin, and may have assumed a generally plural signification; for *quæ* agrees, as has been already remarked (§. 234.), exactly with the Sanscrit dual के *kê*. The Latin feminine is founded, in the cases peculiar to it, on the Indo-Zend feminine base *kâ*: compare, for instance, *quam* with काम् *kâm*, *quârum* with कासाम् *kâsâm*, *quâs* with कास् *kâs*. The singular nominative *quæ*, however, is remarkable, standing isolated in Latin grammar as the neuter plural nominative just mentioned; for the demonstrative *hic* (of which hereafter), is, in its origin, identical with the pronoun under discussion, the feminine nominative of which should be *qua*, which it actually is in the compound *aliqua*, &c. Whence, then, the forms *quæ* and *hæ-c*? If they are not corruptions of *qua*, for which no reason can be assigned, or weakened forms of the originally long *quā* (§. 137.), by the last element *â* (=*ă*+*ă*) becoming *i*, there

is no course left, but to regard the *æ* of *quæ, hæ-c*, as a remnant of the feminine character ई *î*, mentioned in §. 119. As, however, in Sanscrit and Zend, the masculine and neuter *a* of the primitive is dropped before this feminine *î*, and from क *ka* might be formed, in the feminine base, *kî* (compare §. 172.), but not *kê*, I now prefer, contrary to my former opinion,* the explanation pointed out above—that the long *â*, which should be found in the uninflected nominative of bases in *â*, has for once been weakened, as is usual in the vocative of the corresponding Sanscrit class of words, in which सुते *sutê*, (= *sutaï*) "daughter," bears the same relation to *sutâ* that *quæ* does to का *kâ*; and, secondly, with the complete abbreviation of the *â*, which, in Sanscrit, is the case only in a small number of vocatives, *e.g.* अम्म *amma*, "mother," from *ammâ*.

388. In Gothic, according to a universal law of permutation, the old tenuis of the interrogative base has passed into *h*; and as gutturals freely combine with *v*, with this *h* a *v* has been joined as euphonic; hence *HVA* from क *ka*, and, in the feminine, *HVÔ* (according to §. 69.) from का *kâ*. The *v* has remained alone in our *wer*, "who?" We have before drawn attention to the masculine nominative *hva-s*, with respect to its grammatical importance (§. 135.), and have remarked that the feminine nominative *hvô*, as also *sô*, "this," has not admitted, owing to its being monosyllabic, the shortening of the *ô* to *a*, which takes place elsewhere in this case (§. 137.). In the neuter *hva* the inflection *ta* is wanting, in which respect the Old High German *huaz* (Old Saxon *huat*) is more perfect. In Old Saxon, according to §. 255. *a.*, a masculine and neuter base *ko* and a feminine *ka* might be looked for; but the simple declension of the interrogative does not occur, but only that compounded with the definitive, originally

* Influence of the Pronouns in the Formation of Words, p. 3.

relative pronoun (§. 282.): hence, nom. *ky-ĕ* (*ko-ĭ*, §. 255. *d.*), *ka-ya*, *ko-e*, genitive masculine and neuter *ko-ego*, feminine *ko-eya*, &c. The same principle is followed in Old High German, only the cases do not occur in which the combination of the interrogative base and old relative base would be most perceptible, with the exception of the instrumental *huiu* (=*hwiu*), our *wie*, the simple form of which would be *huu* (*hwu*). It is a question whether *huiu* be really an instrumental, and not from the Gothic *hvaiva*, "as" (p. 540). The feminine, if it were used, would be, in the singular nominative, *huiu*, and, in the plural, *huio* (Grimm, 796). The masculine singular forms *huër*, *huës*, *huëmu*, *huën* (or *huënan*); and the case is the same here with regard to the more concealed appended pronoun, as above with *dër*, *dës*, *dëmu*, *dën* (§. 356.). The Old Saxon, on the other hand, has, in the masculine nominative singular *huie*, clearly the old relative base, just as in the demonstrative *thie*, which latter forms the truest countertype of the Sanscrit base त्य *tya* (§. 353.). The Middle Netherlandish shews, in the whole masculine singular of the interrogative, the appended relative य *ya*, the semivowel being corrupted to *i* and the *a* to *e*; but the guttural of the interrogative base has disappeared, and only the euphonic affix *w* has remained; thus, *w-ie*, *w-ies*, *w-ien*, *w-ien*. With respect to the latter portion of the word compare the Sanscrit *yas*, *yasya*, *yasmâi*, *yam*; the Lithuanian *yis*, *yo*, *yam*, *yiñ*; and the Gothic *yis*, *yis*, *yamma*, *yana*, contained in *hvar-yis* (p. 536). The Old High German *yenêr* is also to be viewed in the same light, the base of the old relative being added, that is to say, to the Gothic base *yaina*; and what has been said above (p. 501) of *dësêr* applies to the long *ê*. Perhaps, too, the *ê* of the locative adverb *ionêr* "anywhere" (p. 536), which has been before mentioned, is to be viewed in the same light, as from *iona-ir*. The feminine of *yënêr* is *yenu*, with *i* suppressed (compare §. 288. Rem. 5.); on the other hand, in the Middle High German *jeniu* and, according to Notker, *eniu*, and in

the masculine, *enêr*. If these forms, in which the initial *y* is wanting, are not abbreviated from *yenër*, *yeniu*, but genuine, then they would belong to the Sanscrit *ana*, "this," and Lithuanian *ana-s*, Sclavonic *oh*, "that" (comp. Graff, I. 398).

387. We turn to the second interrogative base mentioned in §. 386., viz. कु *ku*, from which spring only the adverbs कुत्र *ku-tra*, "where?" and कुतस् *ku-tas*, "whither?" perhaps, also, क्व *kva*, "where?" if it is to be distributed into *ku-a*, not into *k'-va*; further in the Zend 𐬐𐬎𐬚𐬀 *kuthu*, "how?" which would lead us to expect a Sanscrit कुथा *kuthâ*, for which, however, कथम् *katham* is used; for कु *ku* is prefixed in a deteriorating, derisive sense, as in कुतनु *kutanu*, "having an ugly body," properly "having a what sort of body?" a title of Kuvera. In Zend this *ku* occurs as a prefix to verbs, where it gives additional emphasis to the negative expressed by 𐬥𐬋𐬌𐬙 *nôit*, and signifies "any one." Thus we read in the beginning of the Vendidad, 𐬥𐬋𐬌𐬙 𐬐𐬎𐬛𐬀𐬙 𐬯𐬁𐬌𐬙𐬍𐬨 𐬫𐬉𐬌𐬛𐬌 𐬰𐬌 𐬥𐬋𐬌𐬙 𐬀𐬰𐬆𐬨 𐬛𐬀𐬌𐬛𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬥𐬨 *nôit kudat sâitîm** *yêidhi zi nôit azĕm daidhyanm*, &c., "no one could have created them if I had not created them." Under this class might be brought the Latin genitive *cu-jus* and the dative *cu-i*, which in a measure belong to the fourth declension, as the obsolete forms *quojus*, *quoi*, from the base *QVO = KO*, क *ka*, do to the second. It is not requisite, therefore, to consider the classical forms *cujus* and *cui* as corruptions of *quo-jus*, *quo-i*; for as the base *cu*, as is apparent from the Sanscrit and Zend, is in its origin equally old with *QVO*, from it may have proceeded *cujus*, *cui*, *cujas*, or *cujatis*,

* This appears to me an abbreviation of *êsâvaitîm*, and presupposes a Sanscrit *êsh-âvat* together with *êtâvat* (from *êta*, §. 344.). The initial *ê* has been dropped, but has left its influence on the sibilant following: hence *sâitîm* for *shâitîm* (§§. 51. 52.), not *hâitîm*. Remark the Zend 𐬱𐬁𐬎 *shâu*, mentioned before, as compared with the Sanscrit *asâu*, unless the conjecture mentioned §. 55. is well grounded.

which may have existed together with *quojus, quôi, quojas*, as *quid*, from the base *QVI*, together with *quod* from *QVO*. Considering, however, that, in Sanscrit, the whole interrogative declension, with the exception only of *kim*, comes from the base *ka*—on which the Latin *QVO* is founded—just as in Lithuanian it all comes from *KA*, and in Gothic from *HVA*; and that the rarely-occurring base *ku* has, in the European cognate languages in particular, left us traces which can be relied upon;—under these considerations I now prefer, contrary to my former opinion,* deriving *cujus, cui*, from *quojus, quoi*; so that, after rejecting the *o*, the semi-vowel preceding has been changed into a vowel, as, in Sanscrit, *u* frequently appears as the abbreviation of the syllable *va*, as *ukta* spoken for *vakta*, and even in the Latin *cutio* (*concutio*) from *quatio*. *Qu*, however, = *kv*, if the *v* in this place be pronounced like the English or German *w*—and the Latin like the Gothic (§. 86. 1.), loves the euphonic addition of a *v* after gutturals; hence the forms *QVO* and *HVA*, in the interrogative, correspond in their difference from the Sanscrit, Zend, and Lithuanian *KA*, and thus *qVa*, and the Gothic *ahva*, "river," shew an agreement when contrasted with the Sanscrit अप् *ap*, "water," with the common interchange between gutturals and labials. We must observe, also, the relation of *angVis* to the Sanscrit अहिस् *ahi-s*, "snake," and Greek ἔχις. If, then, as I doubt not, *cujus, cujas, cui*, spring from *quojus, quojas, quoi*, as *cum*, "since," from *quum*, *cur* from *quare*, then we must also derive *uter, uti, ut, ubi*, and *unde*, from lost forms like *quoter*, &c., and the latter would correspond tolerably well with the Gothic *hvathar* (§. 292.). It is certain that *uter*, and the other interrogative and relative expressions commencing with *u*, have lost a preceding guttural, as *amo* has, compared with कामयामि *kâmayâmi*, "I love," and *nosco, nascor*, from *gnosco, gnascor*. The more perfect *cubi, cunde*, is still preserved in the com-

† Influence of Pronouns in the Formation of Words, p. 3.

pounds *ali-cubi, ali-cunde*;*, as the root of the verb substantive is retained more truly in the compound participles *ab-sens* and *præ-sens*, than in the simple *ens*, answering to the Sanscrit *sat*, nominative *san*, accusative *santam*. Under this head are to be classed, also, *unquam, usquam, uspiam, usque*: the interrogative meaning, however, is removed by their lost element, just as in *quisquam, quispiam*, and *quisque*. In abbreviating *cu* (from *QUO*) to *u* all these forms agree, in some measure, with our German *wer*, "who?" in which only the element which has been added for the sake of euphony, according to §. 86. 1., has remained of the consonants which belonged originally to the base. It might, indeed, be asserted, that the *u* of *uter*, and other interrogative expressions beginning with *u*, has nothing in common with the euphonic *v* of the base *QVO*, but that it is the original *a* of क *ka* weakened, and that thus *uter* is a corruption of कतरस् *kataras*, by simply dropping the *k* and changing the *a* to *u*. To this it may be objected that *u* in Latin does, indeed, often enough correspond to an Indian *a*, but still principally only before liquids and before a final *s*: the अ *a* of कतरस् *katara-s*, however, it might be expected, would, under the most favourable circumstances, remain unchanged, or, more probably, be altered to *ŏ*, as in κότερον, or to *ĕ* or *ĭ*.

390. The third interrogative base कि *ki* is more fertile of derivatives than कु *ku*, both in Sanscrit and in the cognate languages. From it comes the word *kim*, "what?" (as nominative and accusative) which has been frequently mentioned, which is so far isolated in Grammar, as otherwise substantive and adjective neuters in *a* alone make *m* the sign of the nominative and accusative singular (§. 152.),

* I do not think that these words can be distributed thus, *alic-ubi, alic-unde*, and that we can assume a compound of *ALIQUI* with *ubi, unde*; but as *ali*, as the abbreviation of *ALIO*, is the first member of the compound *ali-quis*, so it is also that of *ali-cubi* and *ali-cunde*.

and bases in *i* use the simple theme. We should have looked, therefore, for *ki*, or, according to the pronominal declension, कित् *kit*, before sonant letters किद् *kid*. Of the prior existence of this form there can be scarce any doubt, after what has been before said of the neuter इत् *it* and चित् *chit*: it is, however, confirmed by the Latin *quid* and the Lithuanian *kittur* elsewhere, which I regard as a compound, and distribute thus *kit-tur*, with regard to which the *szit-tas* before cited (§. 357.), may be again brought to notice, which, with reference to its lost portion, is identical with that of *kit-tur*, of which mention has been before made as locative adverb. That, in Sanscrit also, there existed a masculine nominative किस् *kis*, as prototype to the Latin *quis*, perhaps with a more full declension, is proved by the compounds माकिस् *mâkis* and नाकिस् *nakis*, which occur, perhaps, only in the Vêdas, and the former of which probably signifies the same as the corresponding *nêquis* (from *mêquis*, §. 371.), and Zend *mâchis*,* while the latter agrees in meaning with the Zend ناچِس *naêchis*, "not any one," "no one." Grammarians, however, include both expressions among the indeclinables, and write them माकिर् *mâkir*, नाकिर् *nakir*, which Colebrooke renders, together with माकिम् *mâkim* and नाकिम् *nakim*, by "no," "except,"† without signifying that they are masculine nominatives, which might be very easily understood without the aid of the Zend.

391. Other derivatives from the interrogative base कि

* Gramm. Crit. p. 328.

† Sanscrit Grammar, p. 121. On account of the mutual transitions of final *s* and *r*, and the uniformity of the phonetic laws to which they are subject after vowels other than *a*, *â*, it might remain undecided in the expressions given above, whether *s* or *r* is the original final letter. As, however, with reference to *mâkim* and *nakim*, they are shewn to be masculine nominatives, it is matter of astonishment that *mâkir* and *nakir* could ever be taken for the original forms.

ki are *kîdriśha*, "similar to whom?" and analogous forms, of which more hereafter, and कियत् *kiyat*, "how much?" in the strong cases (§. 129.) कियन्त् *kiyant*, hence nominative masculine *kiyân*, accusative *kiyantam*. As *k* easily passes into *h*, and, in Germanic, the old tenues are almost always changed into aspirates, and *e.g.* *k* to *h*; and as हृद् *hrid* and *hridaya*, "heart," correspond to the Latin *cor* and Greek κῆρ and καρδία; so, perhaps, also *hi*, "for," may be regarded as the weakened form of कि *ki*, with the transition of the interrogative signification into the demonstrative, which is easily intelligible, and which occurs also in the Greek γάρ, which, with regard to its formation, appears analogous to the Gothic *hvar* *thar*, and Sans. *kar-hi*. As to the change of the tenuis to the medial, it cannot be more a matter of difficulty than in δέ and δεῖνα (§§. 350. 376.). We may here mention, as derivatives from the interrogative, the particles κε (Doric κα), κεν, γε (Doric γα). The Sanscrit *hi*, however, occurs in ह्यस् *hyas*, "yesterday," which I think may be distributed into *hi* + *as*, and considered as "that day;" for words which signify "yesterday," "to-day," "to-morrow," as far as the elements concealed in them, and which are often so altered as to be quite undistinguishable, admit of any derivation at all, can be traced only to pronouns and terms denoting "day." The *as*, therefore, of *hy-as*, may be a weak remnant of *divas*, "day," as in our *er* of *heuer*—Middle High German *hiure*, from *hiu-jâru*—is concealed the word *jahr*, "year," which is in Zend ἑ?ωϵ *yârĕ*, a remnant of which is to be found, also, in the Latin *hornus*, with *nu*, *no*, derivative. In the Greek χθές, the θ appears to have arisen by a kind of semi-assimilation from the older semi-vowel (compare §. 300.), by which its etymology is still more obscured. In the Latin *heri*, from *hesi* (compare *hes-ternus*, Sanscrit *hyas-tana-s*), a demonstrative element is more perceptible than in χθές, from the partial retention of *hic*. The *g* of our *gestern*, "yes-

terday," Gothic *gistra*,* is a consequence of the regular transition of old aspirates into medials, but otherwise the *gis*, to which the *tra* is affixed as mark of derivation, resembles the Sanscrit ह्यस् *hyas* tolerably well.

392. From *gestern* we proceed to *morgen*; but we must first settle the derivation of a word, which, in Sanscrit, signifies "all," "every," and in which I recognise an affinity to श्वस् *śvas*, "morrow"; I mean विश्व *viśva*, which, in Zend, according to §. 50., becomes وِسْپَ *vïspa*, and in Lithuanian is changed by assimilation into *wissa-s*, whence *wissur*, "everywhere," analogous to the abovementioned *kittur*, "elsewhere." The first portion of the Sanscrit विश्व *viśva*, I believe to be the preposition *vi*, which expresses "separation," "dissipation," "diffusion," and, with the aid of a pronoun, may be well adapted to express the idea "all." There remains श्व *śva*, as a pronoun, in which it may be observed, that श् *ś* is of guttural origin, and represented, in the classical languages, by *k*, *c* (§. 21.); so that श्व *śva* appears to be related to the interrogative base, with a euphonic *v*, as in the Gothic *HVA*, and Latin *QVO*. Observe further, that, in Lithuanian, *ka-s*, combined with the appended particle *gi*, which is probably a softened *ki*, signifies both "who then?" and "every." And without *gi*, *kasdiën'*, means "all days," and *diën-isskay*, with the interrogative appended, signifies the same. But to return to the Sanscrit विश्व *vi-śva*, "all," I consider its latter portion as derived from श्वस् *śvas*, "morrow," with which the Latin *cras* is connected (§. 20.). We should, however, probably distribute thus *ś-vas*, so that the pronominal base is represented only by its consonant, as in the Sclavonic *k-to*, "*quis?*" (§. 297.). The syllable वस् *vas*, however, we refer to दिवस् *divas*, an appella-

* *Gistra dagis* occurs Matt. vi. 30. in the sense of "morrow."

tion of "day," which would therefore be less altered by one letter than in ह्यस् *hy-as*, "yesterday," and agrees with the Latin *ves* in *ves-per* (§. 375.).

393. We return to the interrogative base कि *ki*, which has led us to its corruption हि *hi*, and thence to the derivation of ह्यस् *hy-as*, "yesterday," and श्वस् *śvas*, "morrow." In Zend I have hitherto found the base کی *ki*, unchanged only in the neuter plural nominative, *ky-â* (from *ki-a*) (§. 233.); with which may be compared the Latin *qui-a*, which Max. Schmidt (De Pron. p. 34) has rightly taken as the plural neuter. The Sanscrit and Zend, therefore, mutually complete the declension of the interrogative, so that the former admits the base *ki* only in the nominative and accusative singular; the latter in the plural; while in Latin the corresponding *QVI* enters more largely into the declension; so that *quis* and *quem* have quite dislodged the *quus* and *quum*, which might have been expected from the base *QVO*, or, as in the case of the latter word, have restricted it to its use as a conjunction. And in the dative plural, *quibus* has abolished the use of *quis*, *queis*, which spring from *QVO*. In the ablative singular, however, *quī*, from *QVI*, has been superseded by *quō*, from *QVO*, or its use has been much diminished by it; just as, in the plural, the obsolete *ques* is supplied by *qui* and *quos*. I have elsewhere noticed, that four declensions (the first in the feminine), enter into the declension of the Latin relative interrogative and *hi-c*, which is identical with it in origin.* The use of the fourth is, however, only specious, as *cu-i* above has been shewn to be a contraction of *quoi*, which belongs to the second declension, and, with respect to the more true retention of

* Influence of Pronouns in the Formation of Words, pp. 3, 4. Max. Schmidt (De Pron. Gr. et Lat. p. 33) has discussed this subject almost simultaneously with myself, and viewing it in the same light.

the case-termination, agrees with other obsolete forms, as *popoloi Romanoi* (§. 200.).

394. That *hic* is identical in origin with *quis, qui,* is shewn by its sharing in the peculiarities and mixed declension of the latter,—peculiarities which belong exclusively to *hi-c* and *qui, quis,* viz. the feminine *hæ-c,* and the plural neuter of the same sound. The reason of the non-existence of *hă-c,* together with the form given above, as might have been expected from the analogy of *aliqua, siquă,* &c., is that *hæc* does not occur at the end of compounds; for it seems not to admit of any doubt that *quæ* is reduced to *quă,* on account of the increased weight of the compound, which has occasioned the lightening of its latter part. Though *si quis, ne quis,* may be written separately, and a word may sometimes be interposed between them; still, where they occur together, they really belong to one another, and form a compound, as, in Sanscrit, the corresponding माकिस् *mâkis,* नकिस् *nakis,* and, in Zend, 𐬨𐬁𐬗𐬌𐬱 *mâchis,* 𐬥𐬀𐬉𐬗𐬌𐬱 *naêchis.* Contrary to the conjecture expressed at §. 387., I now prefer regarding the neuter-plural forms *quæ* and *hæ-c,* not as remains of a dual, and thus corresponding to the Sanscrit के *kê,* but as exhibiting in their *æ* a weakening of the older *â,* which originally belongs to the nominative and accusative plural of the neuter of bases in *ŏ* (from *ă*); but which in Zend, according to §. 231., is retained only in monosyllabic themes, just as, in the nominative singular feminine, its being monosyllabic is the cause of the retention of the original length of *a* (§. 137.). This principle is observed in Gothic in both places; thus *sô* (from *sâ*), *hvæc, hvô, quæ?* and, in the neuter plural, in which the interrogative cannot be cited, *thô.* This *thô,* then, being the only monosyllabic form of its kind, and remarkable for its *ô* (=*â*), for *ă,* as has been noticed by Grimm (I. 790.), coincides with the Latin *quæ* and *hæ-c,* which, both in the singular nominative feminine

and neuter plural, are the only monosyllabic forms of their kind; and as, for this reason, they are qualified to retain the long *a*, that letter is not only entirely shortened, but changed to *æ* (= *ă* + *ĭ*), and afterwards, in compounds, reduced to short *a*, which is more suitable to polysyllabic forms: thus we have *aliquă*, both in the feminine and in the neuter plural.

395. *Hi-c* resembles the Sanscrit हि *hi* before mentioned in the irregular change of the old tenuis to the aspirate. This change, however, is not admitted in *ci-s* and *ci-tra*, which is likewise demonstrative and akin to कि *ki*;* and, in *hic*, may be promoted or occasioned by the recession of *c*, in order that like initial and final sounds may be avoided; as in Sanscrit, to prevent the recurrence of gutturals, these, in the syllable of reduplication, are weakened to palatals; hence चकार *chakâra*, "he made," for *kakâra*; and, according to the same principle, though anomalous, जहि *jahi*, "kill ye," for *hahi*, from the root हन् *han*. Thus, in Latin, *hic*, *hæc*, *hoc*, for the less euphonious *cic*, *cæc*, *coc*. The final *c* is, I doubt not, an abbreviation of *ce*, which is again combined with itself in *hicce*; but *ce*, as also *pe* in *quip-pe* (from *quid-pe*), is only another form of *que*, by abandoning the euphonic affix *V*. As, then, *que*, *pe*, *quam* and *piam*, which are all originally interrogative, when they are attached to an interrogative destroy its interrogative meaning, and give a different sense to the pronoun; so also the *c* of *hic* makes a similar change in it, and should therefore accompany this pronoun through all its cases, as it perhaps originally did. In the neuter *hoc* the case-sign makes way for the *c*, as *hodc* would be pro-

* *Ci-tra* is analogous with *ul-tra*, from *ille*, *olle*, suppressing *le*, and *ci-s* with *ul-s*, the *s* of which may be connected with the Greek locative suffix θι (πό-θι, &c.), to which it bears the same relation that δέ does to δό-θι. Remark, that final *ĭ* is suppressed in Latin almost universally.

nounced with difficulty. The interrogative meaning is similarly destroyed by the enclitic *ah* in Gothic, which is also identical in its origin with the *c* of *hic* or the *que* of *quisque*.* And *hvazuh* (euphonic for *hvasuh*, §. 86. 5.) actually signifies "*quisque*"; and after verbs *uh* means "and," *e.g.* *gaggith quithiduh,* "*ite dicitèque*" (Marc. xvi. 7.); *jah bigêtun ina quêthunuh,* "*et invenerunt eum dixeruntque* (Joh. vi. 25.). In *yah,* "and," therefore (§. 385.), the copulative force may lie principally in the *uh,* which is abbreviated to *h,* and to which the preceding relative base serves only as the fulcrum; as, in Sanscrit, the particle वा *vâ,* "or" (comp. Latin *ve*), which is generally subjoined, is attached, when prefixed, to यदि *yadi,* "if," or अथ *atha,* "then," which then lose their signification, like the Latin *si* in *sive.* As to the abbreviation, however, of *uh* to *h,* this regularly occurs in monosyllabic words terminating in a vowel; hence *hvô-h,* "*quæque,*" is the formal countertype of *hæ-c,* just as *sva-h,* "so," from *si-c,* and *ni-h* ("and not," *nih-nih,* "nor not"), from *nec.* *Nauh,* "yet," and *thauh,* "but," form an exception, inasmuch as they ought to be divided *na-uh, tha-uh,* not *nau-h, thau-h.* It is clear, however, that, in Gothic, in these expressions, the composition with *uh* has been lost sight of: they are obscurely transmitted from an ancient period of the language, and the separate elements of composition are no longer perceived in them. But regarded from the Gothic point of view, how is *uh* to be derived? I agree with Grimm in considering it as *hu* transposed, and connected with *hun,* which is likewise enclitic (III. 33.), and occurs almost only in negative sentences; so that *ni ainshun* and *ni hvashun* signify "not any one whatever." *Hun,* like the Latin *quam,* may be an accusative, but of the masculine gender, as feminines in Gothic have generally lost the

* Compare Grimm III. 23, where *uh* and the Latin *que* (=κε) are for the first time shewn to be identical.

accusative sign. But if *hun* be the accusative masculine it has lost the final *a*, which is added in Gothic to the original final nasal (§. 149.); in this respect it agrees with the adverbial pronominal accusatives *than*, "then," &c., and *hvan*, "when?" "how?" Perhaps, however, *hun* is only a contraction of the latter, by suppressing the *a*, and changing the *v* into a vowel, just like the Latin *cujus*, *cui*, from *qVujus*, *qVoi* (§. 389.), and like *cum* from *qVum*. But in the Gothic there was greater ground for this abbreviation, as *hun* occurs only in composition, and must not therefore be too broad. The same applies to *uh* as the transposition of *hu*, inasmuch as this is actually a contraction of the base *HVA*. The possibility, however, of a different derivation of *uh* and *hun* will be shewn subsequently (§. 398.)

396. To the Sanscrit-Zend interrogative base *ki*, and the Latin *QVI*, *HI*, and *CI*, corresponds the Gothic demonstrative base *HI*; of which, however, as of the Latin *CI*, from which it is only distinguished by the legitimate transposition of sounds, but few derivatives remain, viz., the dative *himma*, and the accusative *hina*, as also the adverbial neuter accusative *hita*, which are used only with reference to time; *himma* and *hita* in the sense of "now," and *himmadaga*, "on this day," "to-day," *hinadag*, "this day." The adverb *hi-drê*, "hither," is also a derivative from *HI*; and *hêr*, "here," is likewise irregularly connected with it; which, with respect to its *r*, is analogous to the *thar* and *hvar* mentioned at §. 381. The regular and undoubted derivative of the base *HI*, viz. *hir*, occurs in the compound *hir-jan*, "to descend"; in which, however, the pronominal expression has an accusative meaning, signifying direction to a place. On the Gothic accusative *hina* is based our *hin*, properly "to this or that (place)," which supplies the place of a preposition in compounds like *hingehen*, "adire." Instead of the Gothic dative in *himmadaga*, the Old High German uses the instrumental *hiu*,

contained in *hiutu*, our *heute*, "to-day"—according to Grimm's very satisfactory derivation, an abbreviated form of *hiutagu*—and which is found also in the Middle High German *hiure*, our *heuer*, "this year," which presupposes an Old High German *hiurô*, and is evidently an abbreviation of *hiu-jâru*; for the Latin *hornus* cannot be considered as the root, but must itself be compounded of a demonstrative and an appellation of "year," the age of which is shewn by the Zend (compare §. 391.). In Old High German, in combination with *naht*, "night," we find the form *hînaht*, Middle High German *hînaht*, and *hînte*, our *heunt*, for *heint*. I agree with Grimm in considering *hî* as an abbreviation of *hia*, which must be supposed as the accusative feminine; so that the suppression of the *a* is compensated by lengthening the *i*, which is short of itself. The base *HI*, therefore, is lengthened in the feminine in the same manner as, in Gothic, the base *i* (§. 363.), the feminine accusative of which, *iya* (euphonic for *ia*), coincides with the presupposed Old High German *hia*, the nominative of which was probably *hiu*, in analogy with *siu*, accusative *sia* (§. 354.). This opinion is supported by the Anglo-Saxon and Old Frisian, which express "he" by this pronoun, but, in the feminine, lengthen the base *hi* by the unorganic affix mentioned; thus, Old Frisian, *hiu*, "*ea*," *hia*, "*eam*"; and for the former, in Anglo-Saxon, *heo*, and in the accusative *hi*, abbreviated from *hia*. As, then, as appears from what has been said, the base *HI* refers principally to appellations of time, it may be observed that the Sanscrit had already furnished the example for this by its ह्यस् *hyas*, "yesterday," from *hi* + *as*.

397. The Latin *ni-hil* is also to be mentioned here, the *l* of which springs perhaps from the frequent corruption of *d* to *l*, a weakening which takes place in compounds especially, to prevent the whole word from becoming too ponderous. In this respect we may adduce the instance of

the number "ten" (दशन् *daśan*, δέκα), the *d* of which becomes *r* in Hindústáni and Bengáli, in the compound numerals eleven, twelve, &c. (p. 442), and *l* in Germanic and Lithuanian. If, then, *nihil* is a corruption of *nihid*, it then literally means "not something"; and may thus be compared with the Zend ‍ *naêchis*, "none," "not any one," mentioned at §. 390., the neuter of which, which I am unable to cite, can scarce be any thing but *naêchit*. From *nihil*, as in its change to *l* the inflexion is no longer perceived to be the case-sign, might easily come the lengthened form *nihĭlum*, and *hīlum*, after removing the negation, and lengthening the vowel. The Sanscrit intensitive particle किल *kila* must also be mentioned, which has also probably proceeded from the pronominal base कि *ki*. And from this quarter must be further adduced खिलस् *khila-s*, "*vacuum*," the negative of which, अखिल *akhila*, signifies "all," "whole," literally "having nothing empty"; whence, by assimilation, may have arisen our "all," Gothic *alls*, theme *ALLA*, since it has not been formed by a reverse assimilation from *ALYA*, "*alius*." With regard to the Latin *omnis*, the conjecture has been already elsewhere expressed, that its *o* is a particular modification of the negative *a*, and *mnis* may be an abbreviation of *minus*; so that *o-mnis* would properly mean "having no *minus*," and would be based on the same ideal process as the Indian अखिल *akhila*.

398. The reason that the Sanscrit माकिस् *mákis*, नकिस् *nakis*, mentioned at §. 390., are, in Zend, corrupted to *máchis*, *naêchis*, may be this, that *ch*, as softer and weaker than *k*, is more suitable in forms encumbered by composition. The same explanation may be applied to the Sanscrit appended particle *chit* (for *kit*, §. 390.), the use of which, in Zend, is more extensive, and is there combined, amongst other words, with *katara*, "*uter*," whence, in the nominative masculine, *kataraśchit* (V. S. p. 41.) which, when con-

trasted with the Latin *uterque* for *cuterque*, and the Gothic *hvaturuh*, is clearly seen to be cognate in form, as in meaning. In Sanscrit also, चित् *chit* removes from the interrogative expression preceding it its interrogative force, and forms *kaschit*, "any one," "one," from कस् *ka-s*, "who?" and similarly in the other genders; and so *kadâchit*, "at any time," *kathânchit*, "in any manner," *kvâchit*, "any where," from *kadâ*, "when?" *katham*, "how?" and *kva*, "where?" And as the base *chi* has proceeded from *ki*, in the same manner the enclitic च *cha*, which signifies "and," "but," and "for," springs from the principal base *ka*, which therefore appears more corrupted in *cha*, than the Latin *QVO* in the enclitic *que*. The Sanscrit च *cha* is further combined with *na*, and forms चन *chana*, which is likewise enclitic, and occurs principally, if not solely, in negative sentences like the Gothic *hun* mentioned above: *na kaśchana* signifies "*nullus*," *na kadâchana*, "*nunquam*," and *na kathanchana*, "*nullo modo*." Hence the appended *na* may be regarded both as the negation, and as increasing the indefiniteness of the expression. But by this चन *chana* a derivation may be given to the Gothic *hun*, different from that furnished above (p. 558). It is certain that if the *u* of *hun* is not the vocalised *v* of *hvas*, it can only have proceeded from an older *a*, whether from the influence of the liquid (§. 66.), or from the weight of the vowel of the appended particle being lessened on account of the composition. But if *hun* be identical with *chana* from *kana*, I should also prefer regarding the *u* of the appended particle *uh* (p. 557), not as the solution of an older *v*, but as the weakened form of a prior *a*; and thus *uh* from *hu* might be compared with the Sanscrit *cha* from *ka*.

399. As expressions, which occur chiefly in negative sentences, readily adopt, as it were, a negative nature, so that, even when the true element of negation is omitted, they obtain an independent negative force, as *e.g.* the French *rien* by itself

signifies "nothing," and the Old High German *nih-ein*, "*nullus*," has, in our *kein*, lost precisely that which is the element of negation; so we may suppose that, in the Old Northern expressions with the enclitic *ki* or *gi* (Grimm III. 33), a particle of negation originally existed. In the present state of the language, however, the said particle is of itself negative; *e.g. eingi*, "*nullus*," *einskis*, "*nullius*," *mangi*, "*nemo*," *manskis*, "*neminis*," *vaetki*, "*nihil*." I consider this particle to be a derivative of the old and widely-diffused interrogative base *ki*, which, by its being always subjoined to some other word, has been protected from the usual alteration of sound; so that, in the sense of §. 99., the old tenuis has been left unchanged after *s*, but the medial has been introduced after vowels and *r*.

400. With regard to what has been observed of the Old Sclavonic, §. 388., that its interrogative base *ko* occurs only in combination with the definite and originally relative pronoun, it must, however, be understood that *KO*, after the *o* is dropped, is combined also with the demonstrative base *TO*, since *kto* signifies "*quis*," though *to* by itself is only neuter; and in the masculine nominative and accusative, as in all bases in *o*, this vowel is suppressed. In the oblique cases* *kto* abandons the demonstrative element, and appears as the simple base *KO*. Compare the genitive *ko-go* and dative *ko-mû* with the Sanscrit *ka-sya* (§. 269.), *ka-smât*. The instrumental *kym* follows the declension of the definite adjective (§. 284.), and is, therefore, not simple. The neuter is attached to the Sanscrit-Zend softened interrogative base *chi*, and is, in the nominative, *chto*, with the vowel of the base suppressed, as in the masculine *kto*. The oblique cases likewise drop the demonstrative element: the genitive is *che-go*

* With the exception of the accusative, which is the same as the nominative. This pronoun does not appear to be used in the plural, and the feminine, also, is wanting. Compare Kopitar's Glagolita, p. 59.

and *che-so,** dative *che-mu*, locative *che-m*, instrumental *chi-m*. These forms may be explained in two ways: either the *e* of *che-go*, &c., is a corruption of the *i* of the Sanscrit-Zend base *chi*, as the bases *gosti* and *kosti* (§. 280.) form, in the dative and locative plural, *goste-m*, *goste-kh*, *koste-m*, *koste-kh;* or the original base *chi* has assumed, in Sclavonic, a second unorganic affix, and been lengthened to *CHYO* (compare §. 259.), from which, according to §. 255. η., must be formed *chyé* or *che*, and then, by rejecting the final vowel, *chi*, as, §. 282., we have seen the base *yo* in several cases contracted to *i*. Compare, also, §. 280., the declension of the bases *KNYAZYO* and *MORYO*.

401. There remains to be mentioned the Greek interrogative τίς, τίνος, and the indefinite τὶς, τινός. The origin of both is, I have no doubt, similar, and they are derived from the bases *ki* and *chi*, which, in Sanscrit and Zend, have not only an interrogative signification, but, under certain circumstances, an indefinite one also. In Greek the old theme in ι has been lengthened by the affix of a ν; but in regard to its τ, TIN has the same relation to *chi* and to the Latin *QUI* that τέσσαρες has to चत्वारस् *chatvâras* and *quatuor*, and that πένΤΕ has to पञ्च *pancha* and *quinQUE*. Still I am not of opinion that the Greek τ in these forms has arisen from the *ch* of the cognate Asiatic languages, but that it has sprung directly from the original *k*, from which, at the time of the unity of language, *ch* had not as yet been developed, as this letter has, in the classical languages also, no existence, but was first formed in Italian from the Latin *c* (always $=k$) before *e* and *i*. But if *k* has been frequently changed into the labial tenuis, and thus ΠΟ has been formed from *KO*, πέμπε

* This form, which formerly escaped me, is important, as testifying that the *g* of the common pronominal termination *go* has sprung from the *s*, and not from the semi-vowel of the Sanscrit termination *sya* (see §. 269.).

from the to-be-supposed πέγκε, we may also see no difficulty in its occasional transition into the lingual tenuis, particularly as *t* is the primary element of the Indian *ch*. But if τίς comes from κίς, and is akin to the Latin *quis* and Sanscrit *ki-s* and *chi-t*, then perhaps, also, the particle τε is connected with *que* and the corresponding च *cha* (§. 398.), and has therefore sprung from κε, and is alien to the base of the article, which would be at variance with my former conjecture.*

402. Here may be mentioned, also, the Old Sclavonic enclitic particle *she* (жε), which signifies "but," and has the effect of restoring to the pronoun *i*, "he," its original relative signification (§. 282.), for *i-she* signifies "which." On the other hand, when combined with interrogatives, it removes, like the Latin *que*, their interrogative meaning; hence, *ni chesoshe*, "*nihil*," "not of any thing."† I consider this particle as identical with the Sanscrit च *cha*, "and," "but," "for," and with the Latin *que*, and therefore as a derivative from the interrogative base, the tenuis of which appears in this particle, as in the Greek γε and γαρ (§. 391.), to have descended to a medial. *G* in Sclavonic, however, is regularly changed, in several parts of grammar, into *sh*; as in the vocative singular, where, in bases in *o*, this vowel is weakened, as in Greek, to *e* (ε); but by the influence of this *e* the *g* preceding becomes *sh*, hence, *boshe*, "God," from the base *BOGO*, nominative *bog*, whence, also, *boshii*, "godlike." I intentionally select this word as an example, since it is important to me to be able to compare it with an Indian appellation of the highest divinities: I think, that is to say, that the Sclavonic base *BOGO* is identical with the Sanscrit भगवत् *bhagavat*, "the exalted, worthy of veneration," lite-

* Influence of Pronouns in the Formation of Words, p. 6.

† Kopitar's Glossary, p. 86. Regarding *cheso* see above, p. 563.

rally "gifted with happiness, power, splendour." This *bhagavat*, nominative *bhagavân*, occurs principally as an appellation of Vishnu, *e.g.* in the episode of Sunda and Upasunda (III. 23), and in the title of an episode of the Mahâbhârata, *Bhagavad-Gîtâ*, i. e. "Song of the exalted," because it refers to Krishna, an incarnation of Vishnu. Referring to Brahmâ and Vishnu, *bhagavat* is only used adjectively; thus Sunda and Upasunda III. 24, and IV. 23: it comes from *bhaga*, with the suffix *vat*, in the strong cases *vant*; but *bhaga* comes from the root *bhaj*, "to venerate." The Sclavonic base *BOGO* has dropped the derivative suffix of the Sanscrit *bhagavat*; but this appears in an abbreviated form, and with an unorganic affix in *bogat* (theme *bogato*), "rich," which might be the meaning of भगवत् *bhagavat*, as "gifted with fortune."

403. The same relation that, in an etymological respect, the Sclavonic *sh* has to *g*, *ch* has to *k*, and springs from the latter according to the same rule by which *g* becomes *sh*, viz. before *e*; hence, *tekû*, "I run," in the second and third persons forms *techeshi*, *techet*, on the same principle by which *mosheshi* and *moshet* come from *mogû*, "I can." Although, then, above at §. 400., we have seen the Sanscrit-Zend interrogative *chi* in the same form in Sclavonic, or in that of *che* —*che-go*, "of whom?" *chim*, "by which?" *chto*, "what?" for *che-to* or *chi-to*—it is not requisite to assume that these forms brought the sound *ch* with them from the East, because there exists an interrogative *chi* there also; but in the Sclavonic and its Asiatic cognate idioms the weakened *ch* might have arisen independently from the old guttural, which, perhaps, alone existed at the time of their identity; and in the Sclavonic, according to a phonetic law which has been given, an interrogative form *che* would have proceeded from *ki* or *kya*, though in Sanscrit and Zend a base *chi* never existed.

DERIVATIVE PRONOMINAL ADJECTIVES.

404. By the suffix *ka* are formed, in Sanscrit, *mâmaka*, "*meus*," and *tâvaka*, "*tuus*," from the genitives of the personal pronouns, *mama*, *tava*, with the vowel of the first syllable lengthened. To these the Vêda plural possessives are analogous; *asmâka*, "our," *yushmâka* "your," from which we have seen the plural genitives of the personal pronouns *asmâkam*, *yushmâkam*, formed. Perhaps, as Rosen conjectured,* these forms spring from the personal ablatives *asmat*, *yushmat*, so that the suppression of the *t* is made up by lengthening the preceding vowel. It must here be observed, that, as has been already repeatedly remarked, the *t* of the nominative and accusative singular neuter of pronouns of the third person, as also that of the ablative singular and plural of pronouns of the first and second persons, is so far used as a theme by the language, that it is retained at the beginning of compounds, where otherwise we find the mere base (compare §. 357.); and that several derivative words have proceeded from the form in *t*, whether the *T* sound has been actually retained in them, or replaced by lengthening the vowel preceding. On the Vêda *asmâka* is based the Zend *ahmâka*, whence V. S. p. 30, the Instrumental *ahmâkâis*. I am unable to cite the possessive of the singular, and of the second person, as the use of possessives in Zend, as in Sanscrit, is very rare, because they are generally supplied by the genitives of the personal pronouns.

405. In Sanscrit, possessives are formed from the ablative singular and plural of pronouns of the first and second person, and from the neuter *tat* of the third person; also from सर्व *sarva*, "each," the *a* of which is rejected before the suffix *îya*, while *t* is changed before it into *d*;

* In the place quoted at p. 473.

hence *madîya*, "mine," from *mat*; *tvadîya*, "thine," from *tvat*; *asmadîya*, "our," from *asmat*; *yushmadîya*, "your," from *yushmat*; *tadîya*, "belonging to him," "to this man," or "to her," "to this woman," from *tat*.* An analogous formation is, I think, to be found in the Greek ἴδιος, whether it belongs to the demonstrative base *i*,† and the ιδ preceding the ιος be identical with the Sanscrit (before sonant letters *id*) *it*, contained in नेत् *nêt* and चेत् *chêt*; or whether —and this conjecture I prefer—the breathing has been softened, and ἴδιος for ἵδιος belong to the reflective (§. 364.); with regard to which it may be remarked, that the cognate Sanscrit स्व *sva*, "his," signifies, also, "own," and can be applied to all three persons. There does not, indeed, exist, in Sanscrit, a pronoun of the third person devoid of gender, with a perfect declension, but only the remains of one, स्वयम् *svayam*, "self," and, in Prakrit, से *sê* (for *svê*) "*sui*" (§. 341.). There is, however, every reason for supposing that स्व *sva*, as a personal pronominal base, did possess a complete declension analogous to the pronouns of the first and second person. Its ablative must, therefore, be स्वत् *svat*; and thence might have arisen *svadîya*, "*suus*," analogous to *madîya*, *tvadîya*, and a cognate form to ἴδιος for ἵδιος, from σϝίδιος; like ἴδρως, from σϝιδρώς, corresponding to the Sanscrit स्वेद *svêda*, and our *Schweiss*, "sweat"; and ἁδύς, ἡδύς, from σϝαδύ-ς = Sanscrit स्वादुस् *svâdus*. In regard to form, the correlatives ποῖος, τοῖος, οἷος, which appear to have lost a middle δ, agree with the possessives in ईय *îya*: in other respects, τοῖος answers tolerably well to *tadîya-s*, which has not only a possessive, but also a clear demonstrative

* *Tadîya* occurs, also, in the sense of its primitive; so Raghuvansa, according to Stenzler I. 81., and Brockhaus's Pâtiliputra, Sl. 2. The possessive signification occurs at Rhaghuvansa II. 28.

† Compare Hartung On the Cases, p. 117.

406. The Sclavonic possessives are based on the Sanscrit in *îya*, but have dropped the *î* of this suffix, and the *T* sound of the primitive pronoun. According to §. 257. य *ya* must become *yo*, and according to §. 255. *n.*, *yo* becomes *ye* or *e*: the latter is the form assumed; and in those cases which are uninflected, and at the same time deprived of the final vowel of the base, the *y* has become *ĭ*, as always takes place after vowels: hence *moĭ*, "*meus*," *moya*, "*mea*," *moe*, "*meum*," corresponding to the Sanscrit *madîya-s*, *madîyâ*, *madîya-m*. And in the second person, *tvoĭ*, *tvoya*, *tvoe* bears the same relation to *tvadîya-s*, *tvadîyâ*, *tvadîya-m*; and the possessive third person, *svoĭ*, *svoya*, *svoe* pre-supposes, like the Greek ἴδιος—if this is to be taken for ϝίδιος—a Sanscrit *svadîya*. It appears that these possessives have been transmitted to the Sclavonic from the ancient period of the language, and are, as it were, the continuance of the Sanscrit forms; for if they were originally Sclavonic we should then find in them the same corruption of the base of the primitive pronouns that we have before remarked in those pronouns. The possessives would then most probably be, in the nominative masculine, *meny* or *mny*, *teby*, *seby* or *toby*, *soby*; but no case of the personal pronouns would lead us to expect *moĭ*, still less *tvoĭ*, *svoĭ*. In Lithuanian, on the contrary, the possessive *múna-s*, *táva-s*, *sáwa-s*, are comparatively of quite recent date, for they agree with the particular modification of personal bases in the oblique cases singular (see §§. 340. 342.): thus, in Latin, *meus*, *tuus*, *suus*, probably from *mei*, *tui*, *sui*; and in Greek, ἐμός, σός, ὅς, are, in their theme, identical with that from which proceed ἐμοῦ, ἐμοί, σοῦ, σοί, οὗ, οἷ. On the other hand, σφός, σφή, σφόν, is the exact countertype of the Sanscrit *sva-s*, *svâ*, *sva-m*, which affords the oldest example of possessives without any affix expressing the possession; for *sva* is purely personal in its form, and, as has been already observed, the theme of स्वयम् *svayam*, "self" (§. 341.). The

formation of possessives in the plural numbers by the comparative suffix is peculiar to the Greek and Latin; but this suffix is not extraordinary in possessives, which prominently contrast the person or persons possessing with those not possessing, and thus contain a duality, which the comparative suffix in pronouns is adapted to express.

407. The Lithuanian plural possessives are *musiszkis*, "our," *yusiszkis*, "your," the theme of which terminates in *kia* (§. 135.), and reminds us of the Sanscrit possessives in *ka*; viz. *asmâka*, *yushmâka*. It is certain that the syllable *si* in *muSIszkis*, *yuSIszkis*, is connected with the appended pronoun स्म *sma* (compare §. 335.); but we shall leave undecided the origin of the *sz* (=*sh*) which precedes the *k*. The Old Sclavonic forms the plural possessives *nas*, *vas*, from the genitives of the personal pronouns, by the same suffix, which we have noted in *moĭ*, *tvoĭ*, *svoĭ*, only with the necessary phonetic difference; hence, *nashy*, "our," *vashy*, "your,"* genitive *nashego*, *vashego*. With this suffix, the interrogative forms, in Sclavonic, also a possessive, viz. *chĭ*, "belonging to whom?" feminine *chiya*, neuter *chie*. It belongs to the Sanscrit weaker base *ki*, which we have already noticed in *chego*, *chim*, &c. (§. 400.). As to the weakening of the *k* to *ch*, we must observe what has been said on this subject at §. 403.

408. The Germanic possessives are most intimately connected with the genitives of the personal pronouns, and are identical with them in their theme (p. 474). If it be assumed that, in the genitive plural, the forms *unsara*, *izvara*, like the Latin *nostri*, *vestri*, *nostrum*, *vestrum*, and the Sanscrit *asmâkam*, *yushmâkam*, are of possessive origin, the *r* may then be very satisfactorily explained as the

* Written also without *y*, *nash*, *vash*. The change of the *s* to *sh* is the consequence of the euphonic influence of the *y*, or, in the oblique cases, of the *e* (Dobrowsky, pp. 39, 41).

weakening of the *d* of the Sanscrit *asmadíya*, "our," *yushmadíya*, "your." Observe what has been remarked at p. 441 regarding an original *d* becoming *r* in a similar case, and, moreover, the circumstance that, in Hindústáni also, the *d* of the possessives under discussion has become *r*; hence, *mêra*,* *mêri*, "*meus*," "*mea*," for मदीय *madíya*, मदीया *madíyá*. The dual genitives, *ugkara*, *igqvara*, and the dual possessive bases of the same sound, the singular nominative masculine of which are *ugkar*, *igqvar*, are, according to what has been remarked at §. 169., originally only different modifications of plural forms, and their *r*, therefore, is founded on the same principle with that of the plural number. If we are to suppose that the singular genitives *meina*, *theina*, *seina*, have proceeded from possessive bases of the same sound, we should then have to assume a weakening of the medial to the nasal of the same organ, as, in general, an interchange between medials and nasals of the same organ is not unusual. But as to the formation, in New High German, of an unorganic possessive, foreign to the old dialect—viz. *ihr*, "*ejus (feminæ) proprius*," and "*eorum* or *earum proprius*," from the feminine genitive singular and the genitive plural of the pronoun of the third person, which is common to all the genders—this circumstance affords no proof that the genuine and original possessives also have sprung from the genitive of the personal pronouns; but only shews that it is agreeable to the use of language to form possessive adjectives from the personal genitives.

409. The forms corresponding in sense to the Greek correlatives πό-σος, τό-σος, ὅ-σος, are, in Sanscrit and Zend, those with the derivative suffix *vant*, in the weak cases *vat* (§. 129.), before which an *a* final of the primitive base is

* Thus in Bohemian *miro*, "mine," *miri*, "mine" (fem.); see Berl. Jahrb. Feb. 1836. p. 310.

lengthened,* perhaps as compensation for the dropping of the *T* sound of the neuter, which probably forms the foundation and theme of these forms (compare §. 404.); hence तावन्त् *tâvant*, nominative masculine तावान् *tâvân*, τόσος· यावन्त् *yâvant*, nominative masculine यावान् *yâvân*, ὅσος. From the interrogative base *ka*, or the lost neuter *kat*, we might expect *kâvant*, which would serve as prototype to the Latin *quantus*, and would bear that relation to it, which तावन्त् *tâvant* does to *tantus*. In the Latin *tantus*, *quantus*, therefore, a whole syllable is rejected, as in *malo*, from *mavolo*; but externally the theme is lengthened in analogy with the Pali participial forms mentioned at pp. 300, 301; thus *tantus* for *tâvantus*, and the latter for *tâvans*. The quantity of the *a* of *quantus*, *tantus*, on account of its position, cannot be discovered: the *a*, however, appears to spring from an originally long *â*, inasmuch as from a short अ *a* would be evolved *ĕ* or *ŏ*, as in *tot*, *quot*, answering to तति *tati*, कति *kati*, of which hereafter. In Gothic, the suffix वन्त् *vant* is corrupted in three ways; first in consequence of the easy mutation and interchange of the semi-vowels;† secondly through the no-less-frequent vocalization of the nasal to *u*;‡ and lastly by extending the theme with *a*,

* In Zend the long has relapsed into the short vowel, as very frequently occurs in the antepenultimate.

† §. 20. Compare, also, the Gothic *slêpa*, "I sleep," with the Sanscrit स्वपिमि *svapimi*; the Latin *laudo* with वन्द् *vand*, "to praise"; and the Lithuanian *saldù-s*, Old Sclavonic *saldok* (p. 412, Rem. *), "sweet," with the Sanscrit स्वादुस् *svâdu-s*. With respect to the interchange of *v* and *r*, in which the Old High German *birumês*, as contrasted with the Sanscrit भवामस् *bhavâmas*, "we are," affords us a very interesting comparison, and one which has been since established by Graff (II. 325), we will here remind the reader of the relation of the Gothic *razn*, "house" (theme *razna*, with *z* euphonic for *s*, according to §. 86. 5.), to the Sanscrit root वस् *vas*, "to inhabit," whence वास्र *vâsra*, "house," which Pictet recognises in the Irish *fosra* (Journ. As. III. T. II. p. 443).

‡ See §§. 236. 255. *g*. and 307.

which, however, in accordance with §. 135., is suppressed in the nominative. In the first and last respect *LAUDA* coincides very remarkably with the form which, in Latin, the suffix वन्त् *vant* assumes, or may assume, where it does not form pronominal correlatives, but possessive adjectives, as *opulentus* (with the more organic *opulens*), *virulentus*,* &c. The long vowel required in Sanscrit before the suffix *vant*, where it forms correlatives, is retained in the Gothic *hvêlauds*, "*quantus*," the old *â* (§. 69.) being supplied by *ê*; whence it appears that in *hvê-lauds* the instrumental *hvê* is contained. We should expect a demonstrative *thêlauds*, τόσος, as corresponding to *hvêlauds*, πόσος, analogous to the Sanscrit तावन्त् *tâvant* and Latin *tantus*: this *thêlauds*, however, is rendered superfluous by a *swalauds*, formed from the original base of the genderless pronoun of the third person (comp. §. 341.), which, however, has not preserved the original long vowel.

410. The derivative *kâvât*, from the Sanscrit interrogative base *ka*, which is wanting, is supplied by *kiyant*, from the base *ki*; analogous to which is इयन्त् *iyant*, "so much," from the demonstrative base *i*. I conjecture कियन्त् *kiyant* and इयन्त् *iyant* to be abbreviations of *kîvant* and *îvant*. formed by suppressing the *v*; after which, in accordance with a universal phonetic law,† the preceding *î* must become *iy*. This conjecture is supported by the Zend, in so far as the interrogative form under discussion has retained the full suffix *vant*: instead of this, however, an abbreviation has taken place in the base, by suppressing the *i* and weakening the *k* to چ *ch*, hence, in the nominative

* We must avoid referring the *u* to the suffix: it is clearly the final vowel of the primitive word, which, however, through the influence of the liquid, appears in the form of *u* (compare Vocalismus, p. 162, Rem.*).

† Gramm. Crit. §. 51.

masculine *chvâns*, accusative *chvantĕm*,* neuter *chvat*,† To the Sanscrit relative *yâvant* corresponds *yavant*, of which, however, I am unable to quote any case in the masculine, and only the neuter *yavat* and the feminine *yavaiti*. The former occurs tolerably often; the latter I am acquainted with only through a passage given by Burnouf,‡ where, in the lithographed codex (V. S. p. 83), *avaiti* occurs, through an error, for *yavaiti*.§ The *tâvant* which answers to the above interrogative and relative expressions, appears to be wanting in Zend, as in Gothic, and is supplied by analogous derivatives from other demonstrative bases; viz. by *avavant* from *ava*, and *avant* from *a*. The latter forms, in the masculine nominative, not *avans*, according to the analogy of *chvans*, "how much?" and *thwâvans*, "as thou," but *avaô*, which I agree with Burnouf ‖ in explaining by supposing that the *nt* has given place before

* *chvantĕm paś-chaċta zrvânĕm*, "after how much time?" (Vend. S. p. 229). The nominative *chvans* occurs Vend. S. p. 86. From the primitive base *chi* I have still to mention here the neuter *chit*, of which only the enclitic and anti-interrogative use has been mentioned before. But as representing the more common *kat* it occurs l. c. p. 80, *chit avat vachô*, "what (is) that word?"

† Often occurs adverbially, *e.g.* *chvat antarĕ nareus*, "among how many men?" (Vend. S. p. 30).

‡ Yaçna, Note A., p. 12.

§ We should notice also here the expression *frathô* (with *chit*, *frathâs-chit*), since it shews that the *ri*, which is retained full in the Sanscrit *prithu*, is an abbreviation of the syllable *ra* which appears, also, in the Greek πλατύς. I think I have sufficiently proved, in my Vocalismus (Rem. 1. p. 156, &c.), that the Sanscrit vowel *ri* is, in all places, an abbreviation of a syllable, which contains the consonant *r* before or after a vowel.

‖ Yaçna, Note A., p. 11.

the nominative sign *s*, and has been supplied by the lengthening of the *a* to *â*: which latter, with the final sibilant, must produce the diphthong *âo* (§. 56.[b].).

411. The Lithuanian *idant*, which signifies "that" and "thoroughly," is most probably a remnant of the forms which terminate, in Sanscrit and Zend, in *vant*, and in Latin in *ntu-s*; and, indeed, in the *d* of *iDant*, the neuter case-termination appears to be retained, which is replaced in the cognate Asiatic languages by lengthening the preceding vowel: the syllable *ya* of the relative base has, then, been contracted to *i*. The pronominal origin of this *idant* is shewn by its signification "that," and also particularly by the circumstance that other terms also for this conjunction have sprung, both in Lithuanian itself and in the cognate languages, from the relative base under discussion; viz. *yeib* (§. 383.), in the sense of *ut*, Sanscrit *ya-thâ*, Greek ὡς, Gothic *ei* (§. 365.), and *yóg*, in the sense of *quod*, Sanscrit *yat*, Greek ὅτι. The secondary idea of multitude, expressed in Sanscrit, Zend, and Latin, by the formations in *vant*, is represented in *idant* by the signification "thoroughly." From the particular case of the Lithuanian language, however, we could scarcely argue the possibility of a connection between the suffix *ant* of *id-ant*, and that of *kieli*, "how many?" *Kieli* is a masculine plural nominative, according to the analogy of *geri* from *GERA*: the theme, therefore, is *KIELA*, and, for a few cases, *KIELIA* (see p. 251, Rem. †); and *la* the derivative suffix, which admits of being regarded as an abbreviation of *va-nt*, with a similar exchange of *v* and *l*, as we have seen above in the Gothic *hvêlauds*. This conjecture is strongly supported by *kiëlets*, which likewise means "how much?" but is so limited in its use that it can only be applied to living beings. Every letter of the Sanscrit suffix *vat* (the theme of the weak cases) is represented in this *kiëLETs*, and we even find an interrogative expression, in which the *n* also of the strong form वन्त् *vant* is contained;—I mean

kolinta-s, "*der wie vielste?*" "the how manyeth?"* with *ta* as ordinal suffix (§. 321.), probably, therefore, for *kolint-tas;* so that *kolint*, "how many?" by adding *ta-s*, becomes the "how manyeth?" But to return to *id-ant*, its suffix *ant* has lost only the *v* of the original *vant;* but *la*, the suffix of *kieli*, has retained the *v* in the form of *l*, and lost, in place of it, the final *nt*. There is, however, no demonstrative *tieli* corresponding to *kieli*, but "so many" is expressed by *tiek* or *tiekas*,† which has also a corresponding interrogative *kiek*. The suffix of these forms appears connected with that of *tokis* or *toks* (theme *tokia*), "such," and *kôks*, "what kind of one?"

412. Though at §. 409. we commenced with the comparison of the Greek correlatives πότος, τόσος, ὅσος, we must not, therefore, suppose that the Greek suffix ΣΟ is identical with the Sanscrit *vant*, and those related to it in the cognate languages. The transition of T into Σ, as also the increment of an O, would not be extraordinary; but as the vowel of the pronominal base is originally long in this derivative, the retention of this long vowel would be to be expected in Greek; and the rather, as most probably the dropping of the initial sound of the suffix *vant* would have found a compensation in the preceding syllable, even if this had not been naturally long from the first. A form like τοῦσος might be regarded as identical with the Sanscrit *tâvant;* but τόσος appears to me, with reference to its final element, as of a different origin, and I would rather recognise in it the Zend *shva*, which forms words like [Zend] *thrishvâ* "a third," [Zend] *chathrushva*, "a quarter," and is identical with the Sanscrit *sva-s*, "*suus*." From स्व *sva-s*, which, when uncompounded, has become ὅς or σφός, in the preceding com-

* It seems surprising that there should be no word in English for *wievielste*. "Who of the number?" expresses quite a different idea. I have been obliged, therefore, to coin a word.—*Translator's Note.*

† *Tiek*, substantive and indeclinable *tieka-s* adjective, feminine *tieka*

pounds, could hardly come any thing but σός; and πό-σος would, according to this view, originally signify "what part?" or, as possessive compound, "having what part?" from which the meaning "how much?" is not far removed.* Nevertheless, if what has been before said (§. 352.) regarding the origin of τῆμος, ἦμος, is well founded, there are not wanting in Greek points of comparison with the pronominal formations in *vant* or *vat*. In Sanscrit the adverbial neuter accusative तावत् *tâvat* signifies, amongst other things, also "now," "at this time"; and the relative adverb यावत् *yâvat*, also, which serves as prototype to the Greek ἦμος, is used principally with reference to time, and signifies "how long?" "while," "how often?" "how far?" "up to," and "that." It may be cited in the first sense from a passage in the Nalus (V. 23.).—

yâvachcha mê dharishyanti prâṇâ dêhê, śuchismitê,
tâvat tvayi bhavishyâmi; satyam êtad bravîmi tê

"*quam diuque mei constabunt spiritus in corpore, sereno-risu prædita! tam diu tecum ero; veritatem hanc dico tibi.*"

As it frequently happens that one and the same word is divided into several forms, of which each represents one of the meanings which formerly co-existed in the one original form, so may also τέως and ἕως be identical with *tâvat* and *yâvat*; so that the digamma, which has been hardened above to μ, has been here, as usually happens, entirely dropped, but the quantities have been transposed; thus ἕως

* To these formations belongs, also, most probably ἴσος, which originally must have signified "so great," whence the meaning "like" might easily arise. I formerly thought it might be assigned to the demonstrative base *i* (Demonstrative Bases, p. 8): as, however (which was there overlooked), it has a digamma, it would be better referred to the reflective base, and compared with the Sanscrit *svi* (§. 364.; and see Pott's Etymol. Forsch. p. 272).

for ἦ(F)ος, τέως for τῆ(F)ος. But, it is probable that the first syllable has been shortened through the influence of the vowel following; and this reduction, and the abbreviation caused by dropping the digamma, have been compensated by lengthening the syllable following. The common adverbs in ως, also, of which an account has been given at §. 183., have operated by their example on ἕως, τέως. For the rest there exists a form τεῖος, as well as τέως, τείως.

413. Perhaps the Sclavonic pronominal adverbs in *mo* may also be classed here, which express direction to a place (Dobr. p. 430); *ka-mo,* "whither?" *ta-mo,* "thither." The relative *yamo* is wanting, which would coincide with the Sanscrit यावत् *yâvat,* "how far?" in the signification "therein," since the former word likewise expresses the direction to which movement is made. As to the relation in form of the suffix *mo* to वत् *vat,* the *t* in Sclavonic, like all original final consonants, must necessarily disappear (§. 255. *l.*), and *a* in Sclavonic becomes *o* or *e* almost universally; but to the long *â,* which, in Sanscrit, precedes the derivative suffix, the Sclavonic *a* corresponds according to rule (§. 255. *a.*): thus, *ta-mo* answers to the Indian *tâ-vat,* with *m* for *v,* as in the Greek adverbs of time ἦμος, τῆμος, above mentioned. If an origin for the Sclavonic suffix *mo,* different from that here assigned, be sought for, the appended pronoun स्म *sma* might be next adduced, which drops the *s* in Sclavonic. But to take the demonstrative as an example, to the Sanscrit dative *ta-smâi,* and locative *ta-smin,* correspond, in Sclavonic, *to-mû, to-m*; and all that is left to find is an analogous form in Sclavonic to the ablative तस्मात् *ta-smât.* But the ablative is most opposed in meaning to the adverbs in *mo,* expressing direction to a place; and, as regards the form for तस्मात् *ta-smât,* could only be expected a form *toma* or *tomo,* and not *ta-mo.* For as the Sanscrit short *a,* at the end of old Sclavonic bases always becomes *o* (§. 257.), an unweakened

a, in this sole case, cannot but appear surprising; and there appears no reason why *ta-mo* should differ from the analogy of *to-mû* and *to-m*. There only remains one other possible means of deriving adverbs in *mo*, viz. by supposing *mo* to be a more full form of the plural dative termination; so that, of the Sanscrit termination भ्यस् *bhyas*, Latin *vus*, Lithuanian *mus* or *ms* (see §. 215.), which elsewhere, in Sclavonic, has become mere *m*, in the case before us a vowel also is retained. If this opinion be the true one, *kamo*, "whither?" *tamo*, "thither," *inamo*, "to somewhere else," *onamo*, "to that quarter," and similar forms, must be assigned to the feminine gender. *Tamo*, therefore, would correspond to the Sanscrit *tâbhyas*; while *tyem*, which is identical with the masculine and neuter, belongs to the compound base त्य *tya* (p. 499). This last derivation appears particularly supported by the consideration, that, in all probability, the adverbs of quantity in *ma* or *mi* (Dobr. p. 430) contain plural case-terminations, and those in *mi* the instrumental; those in *ma* an unusual and more full form of the dative termination, in which the old *a* of the *bhyas* above mentioned is retained, by which it becomes similar to the dual-termination given at §. 273. It appears to me, however, inadmissible to look for a real dual inflexion in the adverbs under discussion. Examples are: *kolyma* or *kolymi*, "how much?" *tolyma* or *tolymi*,* "so much." All these adverbs, however, have the syllable *ly* (from *li*) in the middle; and this, in my opinion, expresses the secondary idea of multitude, and is an abbreviation of the suffix *liko*, nominative masculine *lik*, e.g. *kolik*, "*quantus*," of which more hereafter. From this *KOLIKO* come, I imagine, the adverbs *kolyma* and *kolymi*, as, in Sanscrit, the plural instrumental शनैस् *śanâis* expresses

* See Kopitar's Glossary to the Glagolita. Dobrowsky gives merely *tolyma*.

the adverb "slowly," but does not occur in its own proper signification, *i.e.* "through the slow." There are also adverbs of quantity in Sclavonic which end in *ly*, without the case-terminations *ma* or *mi*; thus, *koly*, "how much?" *toly*, "so much." With these are also probably connected the adverbs of time in *lye*, which prefix to the pronoun the preposition *do* or *ot*, e.g. *do-kolye*, "how long?" *ot-tolye*, "so long."

414. By the suffix ति *ti* is formed, in Sanscrit, कति *kati*, "how much?" from *ka*; तति *tati*, "so much," from *ta*; and the relative यति *yati*, "as much," from *ya*. The first two expressions are easily recognised in the Latin *quot* and *tot*, which, like the personal terminations of verbs, have lost the final *i*. The full form is preserved, however, in compounds with *dem*, *die*, *dianus*; thus, *toti-dem* (not from *tot-itidem*), *quoti-die*, *quoti-dianus*. The length of the *i* of *quotī-die*, and of its derivative *quotidianus*, is unorganic, and perhaps occasioned by *quoti* appearing, by a misapprehension, as an ablative. But to return to the Sanscrit *kati*, *tati*, *yati*, these expressions, in a certain measure, prepare the way for the indeclinable cognate forms in Latin, as in the nominative and accusative they have no case-termination, but a singular neuter form, while in the other cases they exhibit the regular plural inflexions. In this respect they agree with the numerals from "Five" to "Ten," which have become quite indeclinable in Greek and Latin likewise, as is, in the latter language, the number "Four" also, *quatuor* (§. 313.). In Zend, *kati* frequently occurs after the masculine relative plural, and with a regular plural termination, viz. 𐬫𐬋𐬌 𐬐𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬋 *yôi katayô*, which signifies *quicunque*.

415. Nearly all pronouns are combined in Sanscrit with the adjectives दृश् *dṛiś*, दृश *dṛiśa*, दृक्ष *dṛiksha*, which spring from the root *dṛiś*, "to see," and signify "appearing," "like"; but, as they do not occur either isolated or in combi-

nation, have completely assumed the character of derivative suffixes. The final vowels of the pronominal bases, and of the compound plural themes *asma* and *yushma*, are lengthened before them, probably to make up for the loss of a *T* sound of the neuter of pronouns of the third person and of the ablative of the first and second person singular and plural (comp. §. 404.); hence, *tâ-driś* (nominative *tâdrik*), or *tâ-driśa*, or *tâ-driksha*, "like to this," "such," "*talis*," for *tad-driś*, &c.; *kî-driś*, *kî-driśa*, *kî-driksha*, "*qualis*"? for *kid-driś*, &c.; *yâ-driś*, *yâ-driśa*, *yâ-driksha*, "*qualis*" (relative); *mâ-driś*, *mâ-driśa*, *mâ-driksha*, "like to me," "my equal"; *asmâdriś*, &c., "like to us"; *yushmâdriś*, &c., "like to you." From the demonstrative base *i*, or rather from the neuter *it*, which is not used uncompounded, comes *îdriśa*, &c., "*talis*": from the subjective demonstrative base *sa* comes *sadriś*, &c., which, according to its origin, signifies "resembling this," "appearing like this," but is used to express in general what is "similar." But the reason that there is no form *sâdriś*, according to the analogy of *tâdriś*, &c., is clearly this—that this form springs from the real base *sa*, and a neuter *sat* was not used. It is not, therefore, requisite to assume, with the Indian grammarians, that *sadriś* is an abbreviation of *samâ-driś*, though, perhaps, from *sama* a form *sama-driś* might proceed, as from *sa* the form *sadriś*. The European cognate languages have, in remarkable agreement with one another, exchanged the old *d* for *l* in these combinations; independently, however, of each other, and simply because the interchange of *d* and *l* or *r* is much used,* and weakened sounds in forms encumbered

* See §. 17., where, amongst others, the Gothic *leik* is compared with the Sanscrit *dêha*. If the Gothic expression also means "flesh," it may be observed here, that a word which, in Sanscrit, means simply "flesh," appears in Old High German as a term for the body; while in Lithuanian and Sclavonic the "flesh" has become "blood." In form the nearest

approach

by composition are readily introduced. In this way -λίκος has become so far estranged from the verb δέρκω, that we should have failed to perceive their common origin without the means of comparison afforded by the cognate Sanscrit. We must here again notice a similar fate which has befallen the old *d* of the number "Ten" in several Asiatic and European-Sanscrit languages at the end of compounds (p. 442). And in the preceding case we meet with a concurrent phenomenon in the East; for in Prakrit, in the compound under discussion, we frequently find *r*—which, according to §. 20., is often the precursor of *l*—instead of the Sanscrit *d*; *e.g.* तारिस *târisa*, together with तादिस *tâdisa*, for तादृश *tâdriśa.** The Doric τᾶλίκος closely resembles *târisa*. The *i* of both languages, however, springs, not from the Sanscrit *ri*, for this is an abbreviation of *ar*,† the *a* of which, in Prakrit and Greek, has been weakened to *i*, but the *r* is dislodged entirely. While λίκος is based on the Sanscrit दृश *driśa*, nominative masculine *driśa-s*, the pure radical दृश् *driś*, nominative masculine, feminine, and neuter *drik*, is also represented in Greek, viz. by ἧλιξ and ὁμῆλιξ. The Prakrit *kêrisa* resembles the interrogative πηλίκος very closely; but it must

approach to the Sanscrit *kravya-m*, "flesh," is the Lithuanian *krauya-s*, Sclavonic *krovy*, "blood"; next comes the Old High German base *HRÊWA*, nominative *hrêo*, "body," which preserves the original form more truly than the Greek κρέας and Latin *caro*.

* In my first discussion on this subject I was unacquainted with the resemblance of the Prakrit to its cognate European languages (see Influence of Pronouns in the Formation of Words, pp. 8 and 27). Since then Max. Schmidt, also (De Pron. Gr. et Lat. p. 72), has shewn the agreement of the Sanscrit formations in *driśa-s* with the Greek, Gothic, and Latin, in λίκος, *leik-s*, and *li-s*. But he overlooks, in the Sanscrit forms, the long vowel of the pronominal base, on which is based the Greek η, more anciently ᾱ, and Latin *ā*, whence it is not requisite to make the adverbs ἧ, τῇ, πῇ, the basis of the said formations.

† §. 1. and Vocalismus, Rem. 1.

not be overlooked, that the Prakrit *ê* is a corruption of *î*,* while πηλίκος stands for πᾱλίκος, and is based, not on the Sanscrit *kîdriśa-s*, but on a *kâdriśa-s* to be expected from the base *ka*, and which probably originally existed, to which, also, the Gothic *hvêleiks* belongs.

416. In the *hvêleiks* (theme *hvêleika*) just mentioned, with which our *welcher*, "which," is connected, as also in *hvêlauds* (§. 409.), the Gothic has retained the vowel length, which is thousands of years old, with this difference only, that *â* is replaced by *ê*, a circumstance of rare occurrence (§. 69.). There is no demonstrative *thêleiks* corresponding to *hvêleiks*, but instead of it *svaleiks*, our *solcher*, "such," like *svalauds* for *thêlauds* (§. 409.); but the Anglo Saxon and Old Northern employ *thylic*, *thîlîkr*, corresponding to the Greek τηλίκος and Sanscrit *tâdriśa-s* (Grimm III. 40). The Gothic *leiks*, "similar," however, occurs also in combinations other than the ancient pronominal ones; never, however, by itself, but instead of it is used *ga-leiks*, our *gleich*, from *ge-leich*, which may be looked upon as the continuation of the Sanscrit *sadriśa-s* mentioned above: for as the inseparable preposition स *sa*, सम् *sam*, has, in Gothic, become *ga* (Grimm II. 1018), so may also the pronominal base, from which those prepositions have sprung, be expected as prefix in the form of *ga*. In *analeiks*,† our *ähnlich*, "like," *ana*, in my opinion, stands, in like manner, as a pronoun, not as a preposition, and answers to the Sanscrit-Lithuanian demonstrative base *ana* (§. 372.): *analeiks* therefore signifies "like to this." In the other compounds, also, of this kind, with the exception of *manleika* (theme *-leikan*), "likeness," literally "man-resembling," the first member of the word corresponds more or less to a pronominal idea. These compounds are, *antharleikei*, "variety," which pre-supposes an adjective, *antharleiks*, as

* Hoefer De Pracrita Dialecto, p. 29.

† To be deduced from the adverb *analeiko*

connected in sense with the Sanscrit *anyâ-dṛiśa-s*, "like to another," "of a different kind," whence *alyaleiks*, deducing it from *alyaleikôs*, ἑτέρως, is the countertype in form: *samaleikô*, ἴσως, which pre-supposes an adjective *samaleik(a)s*, "like to the same," analogous to the Greek ὁμῆλιξ and Latin *similis*:* *ibnaleiks*, "equal," like the simple *ibn(a)-s*; according to its origin, the former signifies "seeming equal": *missaleiks*, "various." I cannot avoid expressing here the conjecture that the Gothic prefix *missa*, our *miss*, may be of pronominal origin, and connected with the Lithuanian base *WISSA*, nominative *wissa-s*, "all," and therefore also with the Sanscrit विश्व *viśva*, by the very common exchange of *v* for *m* (§. 63.). According to the explanation given above (§. 392.) of विश्व *viśva*, this word, through the signification of the preposition वि *vi*, would be very well adapted to express the idea of variety. And the Gothic *missa* (the bare theme) might originally have signified *alius*, and still be identical with the Sanscrit-Lithuanian term for "all"; at least its influence in composition is similar to our *aber*, which is akin to the Sanscrit *apara*, "*alius*" (see §. 350.), in compounds like *aberwitz*, "delirium," *aberglaube*, "superstition." Our *missethat*, therefore, Gothic *missadêds*, "misdeed," would be = *Aber-That*, "a deed different from the right"; and *Missgunst*, "ill-will," would be *Aber-gunst*, "wrong-will"; and the *missaleiks* given above would originally signify "like to another." This conjecture is powerfully supported, and confirmed almost beyond doubt, by the adverb *missô*, which springs from the theme *MISSA* (compare p. 384), which signifies "one another": *goleith izvis missô*, ἀσπάσασθε

* The simple *sama* (theme *saman*) means "the same," and corresponds to the Sanscrit *sama-ś*, "equal," "similar," and Greek ὁμο-ς, the theme being lengthened by an *n*. To this head, also, must be referred *sums* (theme *suma*), "any one," which has introduced a *u* on account of the liquid, but to make up for this has dropped the *n*.

ἀλλήλους (1 Cor. xvi. 20). The original meaning "all" is still perceptible in this, as *missó*, in one word, expresses "the one and the other." In German, the *lich*, which is based on the Gothic *leiks*, and which in *welcher* and *solcher* has dropped the *i*, and in *gleich* gives *ei* as answering to the old *í*, is much more extensively diffused, and has completely assumed the character of a derivative suffix in words like *jährlich*, "yearly," *jämmerlich*, "lamentable," *glucklich*, "fortunate," *schmerzlich*, "painful," &c.* The occurrence of the simple word in Northern, Anglo-Saxon, and English, may be explained by its being formed by abbreviating the Gothic *galeiks*, our *gleich*, by removing the entire prefix.

417. An objection against the identity of the Gothic suffix *leika* and Greek λικος could hardly be raised from the non-mutation of sound in the middle tenuis. I refer the reader, on this head, to §. 89., for example to the connection of the Gothic *slêpa* and Old High German *insuepiu* with the Sanscrit *svapimi*, Latin *sopio*, and Greek ὕπνος, in spite of the retention of the old tenuis. The long *i* (in Gothic written *ei*) in the Germanic formation, answering to the short in the Greek λίκος, and Prakrit *risa* or *disa*, will still less be a ground for rejecting the identity of the suffix under discussion in the three languages; for as the original form is *darku* (see p. 598), the rejection of the *r* may well have been compensated by lengthening the preceding vowel; and the Germanic, therefore, in this respect, approaches the original form one degree closer than the cognate Hellenic and Prakrit idiom.

418. The Old Sclavonic exhibits our suffix exactly in the same form as the Greek, in the masculine and neuter *liko*, nominative masculine *lik* (according to §. 257.), neuter *liko*; hence *tolik*, *toliko*, "*talis*," "*tale*," or "*tantus*," "*tantum*,"= Greek τηλίκος, τηλίκον, and Prakrit *tàrisó*, *tàris-aṅ*, Sanscrit

* See the Old High German compounds of this kind in Graff II. 105.

tâdriśas, tâdriśam: *kolik, koliko*, "*qualis*," "*quale*," "*quantus*," "*quantum?*"=Greek πηλίκος, πηλίκον; Prakrit *kêrisô, kêrisaṅ*, Sanscrit *kîdriśas, kîdriśam*: *yelik, yeliko*, relative=Greek ἡλίκος, ἡλίκον, Prakrit *yârisô, yârisaṅ*, Sanscrit *yâdriśas, yâdriśam*. With respect to the relative expression, it is important to remark, that, in this derivative, the base *ye* (euphonic for *yo*), which commonly signifies "he" (§. 282.), has preserved the original relative signification without the elsewhere necessary enclitic *she*. Dobrowsky, however (p. 344), in assuming *ik* alone in this derivative as suffix "*interposito tamen l*," appears not to have noticed the surprising similarity of the Greek forms in λίκος, otherwise he would have assigned to the *l* a more important share in the work of derivation. The Sclavonic forms differ from those of the cognate languages in this, that they do not lengthen the final vowel of the primitive pronoun, or replace *o* by *a*: for, according to §. 255. *a.*, the Sclavonic *o* corresponds to the Sanscrit short *a*, and *a* to the long *â*. We should therefore look for *talik* as answering to the Sanscrit *tâdriśa-s*, and Prakrit *târisô*. It cannot, however, be matter of surprise, that, in the course of thousands of years, which separate the Sclavonic from identity with its cognate idioms, a weakening of the vowel should have taken place in the preceding case; as shortenings, weakenings, and abrasions of sounds, are the most common alterations which time introduces into the original form of a language. There are, however, in Sclavonic, other formations of cognate meaning, in which the base syllable has retained the old weight of the vowels, but the suffix has been abbreviated by dropping the syllable *li*, and appears in combination with the affix of the definite declension: hence *takyĭ*, "*talis*," *kakyĭ*, "*qualis?*" *yakyĭ*, "*qualis*" (relative).* The simple neuters, that is, those

* Dobrowsky (p. 343) incorrectly regards *ak* as derivative, since in respect

divested of the definite affix *tako, kuko*, occur as adverbs, the former with the signification "so," the latter with that of "how?" By the rejection of the syllable *li*, *takyĭ* and its correlatives, in respect to their last element, become identical with the interrogative *kyĭ*, "*quis?*" which is likewise declined definitely; and therefore we cannot entirely set aside the objection, that *takyĭ* is a compound of the demonstrative with the interrogative. The explanation given above is to be preferred, because by it the *a* of the first member of the compound, as also the signification of the whole, is shewn to have a very ancient foundation; while by the second mode we should not be able to see why *tokyĭ, yekyĭ, kokyĭ*, should not be used, or *tkyĭ*,* *ikyĭ*; and why the mere accusative of the interrogative to the pronoun preceding should have the same effect as the suffix under discussion has in the cognate languages.

419. But if the Old Sclavonic correlatives *takyĭ, kakyĭ, yakyĭ*, are abbreviations of *talikyĭ*, &c., then the analogous and æqui-significant Lithuanian forms *toks*, "*talis*," *koks*, "*qualis*" (theme *tok'a, kok'a*, see §. 411.), must also be viewed in this light, and the agreement of the former with the *tockin* (Grimm. III. 40.), which exists in Old Swedish, together with *tolik* and *tolkin*, would consequently not be fortuitous. The Latin suffix *li* in *tālis, quālis, æquālis*,† exhibits a contrary abbreviation, since it has retained the full extent of the original adjective of simi-

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respect to the primitive pronoun he proceeds from the abbreviated nominative masculine *t', k', i*, and, in general, is very obscure regarding the theme of the base words, and the historical relation of the *o* to *a*, which, in §. 255. *a*., is developed through the Sanscrit, as also its length.

* According to the analogy of *kto, chto*, §. 400.

† *Æqualis* is, probably, with regard to its last element, identical with *qualis*, inasmuch as *æquus* is most probably connected with the Sanscrit एकस् *ēka-s*, "*unus*," and the latter is, in its final syllable, identical with the interrogative base *ka* (§. 308.).

larity, as also the long vowel of the pronominal base, but has lost the last syllable, or the guttural only, of तादृक् *tâdrik*, कीदृक् *kîdrik* (§. 415.), ἥλικ-ς, ὁμήλικ-ς. The identity of the formation lies beyond all doubt, and Voss has already shewn that *tâlis* is identical with τᾱλίκος. To the constant occurrence of a long *ā* in these ancient forms may be ascribed the fact, that, in more modern formations of this sort, particularly belonging to the Latin, an *ā* is inserted before the suffix, or added to the primitive base, in case it terminates with a consonant; hence, *regālis, legālis, conjugālis, hiemālis, carnālis, augurālis*, &c. On the other hand, in bases with a short final vowel this is merely lengthened, and the *u* (*o*) of the second declension is changed into a long *i* instead of the short *i*, which is elsewhere introduced before suffixes; hence, *civī-lis, hostī-lis, juvenī-lis*, from *civi, hosti, juveni*;* and so, also, *virī-lis* from *viru*, *puerī-lis* from *pueru*, *servī-lis* from *servu*, &c.: *anī-lis*, also, from the organic *a* of the fourth declension, which is no less subject to be weakened to *i*, as is proved by the dative ablatives in *i-bus*. Here, perhaps, may be classed, also, though with a short *i*, words in *ti-lis* or *si-lis*, which spring either from lost abstracts in *ti-s, si-s*,† or passive participles, the *u* of which must be weakened before the new suffix to *i*; thus, *ficti-lis, missi-lis*, either from the obsolete abstracts *ficti-s, missi-s*—whence the secondary forms *fictio, missio*—or from *fictus* (weakened from *factus*, §. 6.), *missus*. So, also, *simi-lis*, with short *i*, from the lost primitive *simu-s* = Sanscrit *sama-s*, "similar," Gothic *sama* (theme *saman*) and Greek ὁμό-ς; and *humi-lis*,

* From the primitive base *juven* =Sanscrit *yuvan*, comes *juvenālis*; *gentīlis* comes from a base *genti* (compare Lithuanian *gentis*, "kinsman"), the *i* of which, and consequently the *t* also, are suppressed in the nominative *gens*.

† Compare Influence of Pronouns in the Formation of Words, p. 24.

from *humu-s.* The *a* of the first declension, which is originally long (§. 118.), has preserved its length before this suffix; hence, *vitālis, bestiālis, amphorālis.* As the *u* of the second declension, according to its derivation, represents a short *a* (§. 116.), and, in the feminine, passes into *a*, it is not extraordinary that, in this class of words also, adjectives in *ā-lis* occur, instead of *ī-lis*, as *fatā-lis, infernā-lis, liberā-lis.* So, also, *esuriā-lis*, from *esurie-s*, where it is to be observed that the *ē* of the fifth declension springs from *ā* (§§. 151. and 137.): on the other hand, in *fide-lis*, the *ē* is retained. *Famē-licus* stands alone, and is remarkable, as it has preserved our suffix entire, and its *licus* corresponds exactly to the Greek λίκος. If, as I readily assume with M. Schmidt (l. c. p. 73), *fēlic-s*, also, should be classed here, as analogous to ἡ-λιξ, ὁμῆ-λιξ,* still I do not look for its primitive element in the root *fe*, from which come *fe-tus, fe-tura, fe-mina*, &c., but in a lost substantive base, which is, in Sanscrit, भाज् *bhâj*, and signifies "fortune."† *Felix*, therefore, would have lost a guttural, as *ful-men* for *fulg-men*, *lu-men* for *luc-men*; and in respect to its last element, and the signification of its first member, it would agree excellently with our *glück-lich*, "fortunate." Here it is to be observed, that the suffix under discussion does not form, in the cognate languages, any primitive words direct from the root, but only derivatives or compounds. Contrary, therefore, to my former conjecture, I can no longer class words like *agilis, fragilis, docilis*, in respect to their suffix, with words like the abovementioned, *civīlis, virīlis. servīlis.* In the former, the *l* is, perhaps, primitive, and not, as in the latter, a corruption of *d*. In this case, a suffix *la* or *ila*, in Sanscrit, presents itself for comparison, as in

* But with long *i* like the Gothic *leiks* (§. 417).

† Compare *manda-bhâj*, "having bad fortune," "unfortunate." The cognate *bhâgya* is more used.

an-ila-s, "wind," from *an*, "to blow," to which we shall return when treating of the formation of words. I am unable to cite, in Zend, an adjective in combination with pronominal bases, corresponding to the Sanscrit *driś*, *driśi*, or *driksha*; but I find, V. S. p. 39, the expression 𐬓𐬀𐬭𐬆𐬛𐬀𐬭𐬆𐬯𐬀 *hvarĕdarĕsa*, "like the sun"; and by it the opinion is confirmed, that the *ṛ* of the Sanscrit forms is an abbreviation of *ar*.

PRONOMINAL ADVERBS.

420. Locative adverbs are formed, in Sanscrit, by the suffix *tra*, which is attached directly to the true theme; hence, *a-tra*, "here," *ta-tra*, "there," *amu-tra*, "yonder," *ku-tra*, "where?" *ya-tra*, "where" (relative). This *tra*, which is, in Zend, according to §. 47., 𐬚𐬭𐬀 *thra* (*ithra*, "here," *avathra*, "there," *yathra*, "where") is probably a contraction of the comparative suffix *tara*, and, with regard to its termination, perhaps an instrumental (see p. 381). The Latin pronominal adverbs *ci-tra* and *ul-tra*, therefore, are of the same class, excluding the difference of the case-forms, and also the Gothic ablative adverbs in *thrô*, mentioned at p. 384; compare, *tha-thrô*, "thence," with तत्र *ta-tra*, "there"; *hvathrô*, "whence?" with कुत्र *kutra*, "where?" and *alyathrô* "*aliunde*," with अन्यत्र *anyatra*, "*alibi*." Locative pronominal adverbs are also formed in Zend by the suffix 𐬛𐬀 *dha* (see p. 386, &c.), which, in Sanscrit, is abbreviated to *ha*, but is found only in *i-ha*, "here," and *sa-ha*, "with" (Vêda *sa-dha*). In Greek corresponds, as has been remarked, the suffix θα of ἔνθα, ἐνταῦθα;* and probably, also, χο in πανταχό-θεν, &c., as well as σε (p. 388), which expresses direction to a place, unless the latter has been

* Page 387. With respect to the conjecture there expressed regarding a possible thematic identity between ἴθα, 𐬌𐬛𐬀 *idha*, and इह *iha*, refer to §. 373.

abbreviated from त्र *tra*, by rejecting the *r* and weakening the *t* to *s*. In Gothic, the suffix *th* or *d* most certainly corresponds, in forms like *hvá-th* or *hva-d*, "whither," *alya-th*, ἄλλοσε, *yain-d* (for *yaina-d*), ἐκεῖσε. The conjunction *ith*, "but," "if," "for," is completely identical with ادها *idha*, इह *iha*.* The *s* of *c-is* and *ul-s* in Latin has been already compared with θι (§. 395. Note).

421. In Sanscrit, adverbs are formed by the suffix तस् *tas*, not only from pronominal bases, but also from substantives and adjectives, which express removal from, and frequently supply the place of the ablative. The suffix *tas*, as has been before remarked (p. 471, Rem. 5.), is connected also in form with the ablative character, and appears only a continuation of it, or an abbreviation. In Latin, the suffix *tus* corresponds regularly; compare *cœliTUS* with *svargaTAS*, "from heaven." The syllable *tur* of *igitur*, may also be related to it, the *s* being exchanged for *r*. The preceding *igi* would then, as has been elsewhere remarked (Demonstrative Bases, p. 8), admit of comparison with इह *iha*, "here"; to which, with regard to the *g*, it bears the same relation that *ego* does to अहम् *aham*. *Igitur*, therefore, would originally signify "hence," or "from this" (ground). In Sanscrit there is a modification of the suffix under discussion, formed by changing the tenuis to the sonant aspirate in अधस् *a-dhas*, "beneath," and on this is based the Greek θεν and Sclavonic *dŭ* (see pp. 379, 380).† Compare,

* Pp. 386, 388. The Sanscrit ध *dh* requires the Greek θ; but, according to the rules for the permutation of sounds, the Gothic *d* corresponds to the Greek θ: at the end of a word, however, *th* is preferred to *d* (§. 91.)

† I wish to limit what has been said at §. 293. Rem. in this particular, that though *onoŭdŭ* and *ovoŭdŭ* are compounds of *ŭdŭ*, the *ŭ* of *onŭdye* and *tŭdye* has been developed from the *o* of the bases *ONO*, *TO*, precisely as the *ŭ* of *ŭdŭ*, or *yŭdŭ*, and *ŭdye* (for *yŭdye*) from *YO*. I therefore consider the forms

SANSCRIT.	GREEK.	OLD HIGH GERMAN.
ku-tas,*	*πο-θεν*,	*ot-kû-dû.*
ta-tas,	*τό-θεν*,	*ot-tû-dû.*
yatas,	*ὅ-θεν*,	*yû-dû-she.*

The Latin offers for comparison *unde*, for *cunde* (*ali-cunde*) and *inde*, the *de* of which I have no doubt is connected with the Sanscrit suffix *tas* or *dhas*, the Greek *θεν*, and Sclavonic *dû*. *Unde* has, in addition, received a nasal, which is not to be explained by transposition from the Greek *θεν*, as the blending of nasal sounds, which are governed by the organ of the consonant following, is very common. Remark the frequently-mentioned relation of *ambo*, *ἄμφω*, to the Sanscrit उभौ *ubhâu*, and Sclavonic *oba*. *Aliunde*, answering to the Sanscrit *anyatas*, "elsewhere," need not be regarded as a compound of *unde*; but it is probable that the *u* of *aliu-nde* belongs to the theme of *aliu-s*, and corresponds, therefore, to the Indian *a* of *anya-tas*. So, also, *ali-bi* and *aliu-bi* are scarcely compounds of *ibi* and *ubi*, but combinations of the dative termination *bi*, which is contained in *ti-bi*, *si-bi*, *i-bi*, and *u-bi*, with the base *ALIU*, either suppressing the final vowel—whence *ali-bi*—or retaining it as in *aliu-bi*. Whether, however, a nasal has been inserted in *inde*, depends upon whether it springs from the base *i*—whence *is*, *ibi*, &c.—or from *in* = Sanscrit *ana* (§. 273.). The very isolated preposition *de*, in Latin, is, perhaps, an abbreviation of the Sanscrit अधस् *adhas*, "below," and therefore, in origin, identical with the æqui-sonant suffix of *inde*, *unde*, and *aliunde*. A form *hi-nde* or *hu-nde*, *isti-nde* or *istu-nde*, and *illi-nde* or *illu-nde*, might also be expected. But instead of these we

forms *tûdû*, "thence," and *kûdû*, "whence?" which occur only in combination with the preposition *ot*, as simple.

* From the weakened base *ku* (§. 389.), for *katas*, to be expected from *KA*, on which are based the Greek *πόθεν*, from *κόθεν*, and Sclavonic *kûdû*.

find *hinc, istinc, illinc*, regarding which it is unknown whence comes their meaning of separation from a place, unless the syllable *de*, as exponent of this direction, has been removed from them, and the enclitic *c* has assumed its place, which would surprise us least in *hinc*. *Hinc* may, perhaps, be an abbreviation of *hinde*, as the neuter *hoc* of *hode* (§. 395). The locative adverbs *hic, illic, istic*, I regard as datives, of which the character, according to §. 200., has been taken from the Sanscrit locative; and which, in *ruri*, also has retained the original meaning. *Istic* and *illic* are, for the use of language, sufficiently distinguished from the forms *isti* and *illi*, which are used for the dative relation; while for *hic* a distinction from the proper dative must be differently sought in the dropping the euphonic *u* (from *v*).* *Hîc*, therefore, is, in this respect, distinguished from *huic*, as the nominative *hic*, for which *huic* might be expected, from *qui*.

422. Adverbs of time are formed in Sanscrit by the suffix दा *dâ*, hence *kadâ*, "when?" *tadâ*, "then"; *yadâ*, "when?" "at which time"; *êkadâ*, "once"; *sadâ*, "always": the latter springs from the energetic demonstrative base *sa* (§. 345.), whence also *sarva*, "every" (§. 381.). Perhaps the Greek τε is, in an anomalous manner, connected with this *dâ*, by a permutation of sound, which has become a principle in Germanic, since nearly all old medials, as far as they have not experienced a second modification in High German, become tenues. In Sclavonic corresponds the suffix *gda*, which I think must be divided into *g-da*, since I regard it as a derivative of the interrogative base, which has ceased to be used alone, and which may have signified "when," or "once on a time"; and the guttural tenuis has given place to a medial. on account of the *d* following, according to the analogy of *gdye*, "where?" (§. 293. Rem.). This *gda*, unconscious of its derivation, is combined with the interrogative itself; hence

* See p. 549 and §§. 394. 395.

kogde, "when?" and *togda*, "then." But in MSS. is found for *inogda*, "at another time," also the simple *inda*, as a more exact countertype of the Sanscrit *anya-dá*, but with the *o* of the base *INO* suppressed, which is retained in *inogda* and similar forms, to avoid the great accumulation of consonants. Together with *yegda*, ὅτε, occurs, also, the simple *yeda*, but with a change of signification, viz. as an interrogative particle (Dobr. p 432). In Lithuanian the simple suffix appears both in the unweakened interrogative base, and in other pronouns and words, the nature of which borders on that of pronouns, and which, in Sanscrit, are declined like pronouns. Thus, *niekadà*, "never," after withdrawing the negative element, corresponds to the Sanscrit *êkadá*, "once"; *kadà*, "when," and *tadà*, "then," are identical with the Sanscrit expressions of the same sound and signification; *wissadà* means "always," and *anday* (for *anadà*), "at that time." It may be allowed here to mention two other Lithuanian adverbs of time, which are not, indeed, connected with the suffix *dá*, but required previous mention on other accounts;—I mean *dabàr*, "now," and *kómet*, "when?" In the first part of *da-bàr* I believe may be seen a weakened form of the demonstrative base *ta*; in the latter, a remnant of the term for "time," mentioned at p 425; viz. वार *vára*, Bengalí *bár*, and therefore a word akin to the syllable *-ber* in the Latin name for months. As regards, however, the final portion of *kómet*, it recalls, on account of the frequent interchange of *v* and *m*, the suffix *vat* in the Sanscrit adverbs of time, *távat*, "now," *yávat*, "at which time" (§. 412), with which we have endeavoured to compare the Greek τῆμος, ἦμος. We return to the suffix *dà*, in order to remark, that, by a perversion of the language, it is so regarded as though the adverbs formed with it were substantives or adjectives capable of declension. Thus arise the forms in *dôs*, *dai*, and *dais*; the two first with feminine genitive and dative termination, the last with the masculine plural instrumental ter-

mination. For the *niekudà* mentioned above occurs, therefore, also *niekadôs, niekadai*, and *niekadais*. For *dai* is also written *day;* hence *taday* as well as *tadà;* and the form *tad* occurs with *à* suppressed, and *taddà, tadday*, with *d* doubled, just as *kad, kaddà, kadday*, for *kadà*. To the latter, and to the Sanscrit कदा *kadâ*, corresponds, perhaps, the Latin *quando;* so that a nasal would have been inserted before the *T* sound, as above in *unde* (p. 591). The correlative *tando*, however, is wanting. The following table may serve as a general view of the points of comparison obtained:

SANSCRIT.	LITH.	OLD SCL.	GREEK	LATIN.
kadâ,	*kadà,*	*kogda,*	πότε,	*quand*
tadâ,	*tadà,*	*togda,*	τότε,	. . .
yadâ,	. .	*yegda,*	ὅτε,	. . .
anyadâ,	. .	*inda,*	ἄλλοτε,	. . .

423. The suffix *dâ* is combined in Sanscrit with *nîm*, which appears to me to be an accusative form of a feminine pronominal base *nî*, that the masculine and neuter *ni* (p. 335) might easily form in the feminine, as well as *nâ* (see §. 172.). Thus arise *tadânîm*, "then," and *idânîm*, "now." As, however, the simple form *idâ* has become obsolete, the Indian grammarians assume a suffix *dânîm*. As regards the origin of the time-defining *dâ*, it appears to be an abbreviation of दिवा *divâ*, "by day," by the rejection of *iv;* as, in Latin, *ev* is rejected *nolo* (from *nevolo*). I recognise a different kind of abbreviation of this *divâ* in अद्य *a-dya*, "to-day," "now," where the *v* only of *divâ* is removed, and the final *â* shortened, and the *i*, according to a universal phonetic law, changed into य्.

424. There is nothing similar in the cognate languages to the Greek correlatives in νίκα—πηνίκα, τηνίκα, ἡνίκα—besides the Latin *donec, donicum*, before mentioned, unless it be the Sanscrit adverb अनिशम् *aniśam*, "eternal," "perpetual."

Buttmann is inclined to see in *ίκα* an accusative termination from an *ἴξ*, to be conjectured from the Latin *vix*, *vices* (Lexil. II. p. 227). I assent to this explanation only in so far as the recognition of a substantive accusative in the concluding part of these formations. I do not, however, divide *πην-ίκα*, &c., but *πη-νίκα*, and thus make them genuine compounds, of which the first member does not contain a case-termination, but the bare theme. We may regard, therefore, *πη*, *τη*, and *ἥ*, as feminine bases, or, as above, in *τῆμος*, *ἦμος*, lengthened forms of the masculine and neuter.* The latter would be more agreeable to the original principle of the formation of compounds; according to which, pronouns and adjectives, at the beginning of compounds, express no distinction of sex, and therefore never appear in the form of the theme, which is peculiar to the feminine, but in that which is common to the masculine and neuter, in which, properly, there is no sex expressed, and from which the feminine theme is a derivative. In the preceding case, however, the final substantive is really feminine, if, as I conjecture, it is akin to the Sanscrit निश् *niś*, nominative निक् *nik*, "night"; the accusative of which, *niśam*, is contained in the abovementioned *aniśam*, "eternal," literally "without night." It is certain that the Sanscrit accusative *niśam* could, in Greek, take no other form than *νίκα*, as श् *ś* proceeds from क् *k*, and, in Greek, always appears as *κ* (§. 21.). The Greek base *νυκτ*, the Latin *noct*, and the Gothic *nahti* (nominative *nahts*), are, in Sanscrit, represented by *nakt*, of which only the accusative *naktam* = *noctem*, *νύκτα*, remains in use as an adverb ("by night"), and in the unorganic compound नक्तञ्चर *naktan-chara*, "night-walker." We might therefore derive *naktam*, also, from a theme *nakta*. If, then, in Sanscrit, in disadvantageous comparison with its cognate languages, only an obscure remnant of this *nakt* is

* See §. 352.

left in the accusative just mentioned, the reverse case cannot be surprising, that the Greek should have retained of *niś*, *nik*, which is most probably akin to *nakt*, only the accusative in the compounds under discussion. As, then, in तदा *tadâ*, and similar formations, if the explanation of the suffix given above be well founded (§. 423.), there is only a formal expression of "day," and yet time in general is understood in it; so, according to the view here proposed, in τηνίκα, "night" would be selected as the representative of time in general, or of a particular point of time, which might easily take place through the dimming of the primary meaning of the concluding element. So the Sanscrit *adya*, "to-day," "on this day"—its original meaning being lost sight of—is not unfrequently used in the sense of "now," "in this moment." If αὐτίκα is based on the same principle of formation as τηνίκα, &c., it is then an abbreviation of αὐτη-νίκα, which is also Buttmann's conjecture, since he derives it from τὴν αὐτὴν ἴκα, and the omission of the ην would resemble that of the Latin *ev* in *nolo*, and that of *iv* in the Sanscrit suffix *dâ*, from *divâ*. But if we follow C. G. Schmidt (Quæst. Gramm. de Præp. Gr. p. 49) in taking αὐτίκα as an unabbreviated form, we might then, by the same analogy, derive τηνίκα from τῆνος; which we would not, however, do, as there is no form πῆνος, whence we might derive πηνίκα, nor ἧνος, whence ἡνίκα.

425. Adverbs of kind and manner are formed in Sanscrit by addition of the suffixes थम् *tham* and था *thâ*. The former occurs only in कथम् *katham*, "how?" and इत्थम् *ittham*, "so," and it has been before compared with the Latin *tem* in *i-tem* and *au-tem* (§. 378.). To *thâ* answers the Latin *ta* in *ita* and *aliuta*, which latter corresponds to the Sanscrit अन्यथा *anyathâ*, "in another manner." Besides these are formed, in Sanscrit, by this suffix, *tathâ*, "so," *yathâ*, "how?" (relative) and *sarvathâ*, "in every way." A suffix *ti*, of the same signification, forms with the demonstrative base *i* the adverb *iti*, "so," the only analogous form to which is

the preposition अति *ati*, "over," which springs from the pronominal base अ *a*.* In Latin *uti*, "as," and, with the *i* abraded, *ut*, correspond in regard to the suffix. The *i* of *itidem* may first have arisen in Latin as a weakening of *ita*, in Zend ***** *itha*, occasioned by the incumbrance of the *dem* (§. 6.). The suffixes थम् *tham* and था *thâ* are related to one another as accusative and instrumental; the latter according to the principle of the Zend language (§. 158.), and which, contrary to a conjecture given at §. 378., I now believe must be taken in this sense. The Zend, which generally shortens the long *â* at the end of polysyllabic words, uses the suffix under discussion like the Latin, with a short final vowel; hence ***** *itha* like *ita*. I have not met with the suffix *tham* in Zend, for ***** *kutha* is used for कथम् *katham*, and for इत्थम् *ittham* the ***** *itha* just mentioned.

* Berlin Jahrb. Nov. 1830, p. 702.

THE VERB.

426. The Sanscrit has two forms for the active, of which the one is appointed for the transitive and outwardly-operating direction of its powers, and is called by the Indian grammarians *parasmâi-padam*, equivalent to "stranger form";* the other, which is called *âtmanêpadam*, *i.e.* "self form,"† serves, when it stands in its primitive signification, for reflective or intransitive purposes, or shews that the action is to be placed to the credit of the subject, or stands in some near relation thereto. For instance, *dâ*, "give," in the *âtmanêpadam*, in conjunction with the preposition *â*, has the force of "take," *i.e.* "give oneself": the causative *darśayâmi*, "to make to see," "to shew," acquires, through the terminations of the âtmanêpadam, the signification "shew itself"; *śî*, "lie" (*śêtê* = κεῖται), *âs*, "sit" (*âstê* = ἧσται, p. 118), *mud*, "to be pleased," "please oneself," *ruch*, "to shine," "please," "please oneself," are only used in the *âtmanêpadam*; *yâch*, "to require," "pray," has both forms, but the reflective prevails, as we most generally require or pray for our own advantage. In general, however, the language, as it at present exists, disposes of both forms in rather an arbitrary manner. But few verbs have retained the two; and where this happens, the primitive intention of both seldom shews itself distinctly. Of the cognate languages, only the Zend, the Greek, and the Gothic have retained this primitive form; for that the Gothic passive is

* परस्मै *parâsmâi* is the dative of *para*, "the other."

† आत्मन् *âtman*, "soul," of which the dative, *âtmanê*, is used above, in the oblique cases often fills the place of a pronoun of the third person, generally with a reflective signification.

identical in construction, with the Indo-Greek middle has been already shewn in my Conjugation-system.* Grimm has since directed attention to two expressions which have remained unnoticed in former Grammars, and which are of the greatest importance, as having preserved the old medial form also in a medial signification. Ulfilas, namely, twice (Matt. xxvii. 43. and Mark xv. 32.) translates *καταβάτω* by "*atsteigadau*," and once (Matt. xxvii. 43.) *ῥυσάσθω* by "*lausyadau*." Lately, also, v. Gabelentz and Löbe, in their valuable edition of Ulfilas (pp. 187 and 225), have justly assigned the following forms to one lately brought to light, by Castiglione's edition of St. Paul's Epistles, to the middle: *ufkunnanda*, *γνώσονται* (John xiii. 35.); *faianda*, "*vituperant*" (Rom. ix. 19.); *gavasyada undivanein*, *ἐνδύσηται ἀφθαρίαν* (1 Cor. xv. 54.); *vaurkyada*, *ἐργάζεται* (2 Cor. iv. 17.); *ustiuhada*, *κατεργάζεται* (2 Cor. vii. 10.); and *liugandau*, *γαμησάτωσαν* (1 Cor. vii. 9.). Grimm, in the first edition of his Grammar (p. 444), gives the forms *atsteigadau* and *lausyadau*, as I doubt not, justly, as imperatives, but considers them as erroneous transferences of the Greek expressions into the passive form. What, however, could induce Ulfilas to translate the middle *ῥυσάσθω*, not to mention the active *καταβάτω*, by a passive, having so many other opportunities for exchanging Greek middles for passives? In the second edition (I. 855) Grimm asks, "Have we here the third conjugation of a Gothic middle?" Were they, however, conjunctiva media, they must then have retained the characteristic *i* of this word, and, in this respect, have answered to the Indo-Greek media, such as *bharêta* (from *bharaita*), *φέροιτο*. The middle and passive could not be distinguished by the insertion or suppression of the exponent of the conjunctive relation. I explain, therefore, *atsteigadau* and *lausyadau*, as well as the later *liugandau* (*γαμησάτωσαν*), without hesitation, as

* P. 122. Compare Vocalismus, p. 79, and Grimm I. 1050.

imperatives of the middle voice; as they answer excellently well to the Sanscrit medial imperatives, as *bhar-a-tâm*, "he should bear or receive"; *bhar-a-ntâm*, "they should bear or receive." The Gothic *au* has the same relation here to the Sanscrit *âm*, as, in the first conjunctive person active, where, for instance *siyau*, "*ich sei*," "I may be," answers to the Sanscrit *syâm*. The old *m* has merged into *u*, and formed a diphthong with the preceding *a* (compare §. 255. *g*.). In respect to form, however, *atsteigadau*, *lausyadau*, and *liugandau* are passive; and Ulfilas would probably have also rendered "he should be freed" by *lausyadau*. In the translation of the Bible, however, an occasion for the use of the passive imperative rarely occurs.

427. While the Greek and Gothic have carried over the medial form into the passive, so that the passive and middle, with the exception of the Greek aorist and future, are perfectly identical; in the Sanscrit and Zend the passive, indeed, exhibits the more important terminations of the middle, through which the symbolical retro-operation of the action on the subject is expressed, but a practical distinction occurs in the special tenses (§. 109[a].), in that the syllable *ya*—of which more hereafter—is appended to the root, but the characteristic additions and other peculiarities, by which the different classes are distinguished in the two active forms, are resumed. In Greek, δείκ-νυ-ται is as well passive as medial, but in Sanscrit चिनुते *chi-nu-tê*, from चि *chi*, "collect," is only medial, and the passive is *chi-ya-tê*: in Greek, δίδοται, ἵσταται, are as well passive as medial; in Sanscrit the kindred forms दत्ते *dat-tê*, anomalous for *dada-tê*, तिष्ठते *tishtha-tê* only medial, and their passive becomes *dî-yatê*, *sthî-yatê*.* As the Sanscrit and Zend passive, except that with the omission of the class peculiarities

* Some of the roots in *â* weaken that vowel to *i* before the passive characteristic *ya*.

it is formed immediately from the root, answers to other derivative verbs, the causal, desiderative, and intensitive, we, in treating of them, shall return to it. The middle, however, we shall treat *pari passu* with the transitive active form, as it is distinguished from this latter, in nearly every case, only by the extension of the personal terminations.

428. The moods in Sanscrit are five, if we include the indicative, in which, in fact, no mood, but only mere relations of time, are expressed. The absence of modal accessary notions is its characteristic. The other moods are, the potential, imperative, precative, and conditional. Besides these, we find in the Vêdas fragments of a mood, which, in the principle of its formation, corresponds to the Greek subjunctive, and by the grammarians is called *lêṭ*.* The same moods, even to the conjunctive, or *lêṭ*, exist in Zend, only I am not able to lay down the conditional, which stands in nearest connection with the future, and which in Sanscrit, also, is very rare. The infinitive and participle belong to the noun. The indicative has six tenses, viz. one present, three preterites, and two futures. The preterites, in form, correspond to the Greek imperfect, aorist, and perfect. With their use, however, the language, in its present condition, deals very capriciously; for which reason, in my Grammar, I have named them only with reference to their form: the first, single-formed augmented preterite; the second, multiform augmented preterite; and the third, reduplicated preterite. Both futures are likewise indistinguishable in their use, and I name them according to their composition: the one, which answers to the Greek

* The Indian grammarians name the tenses and moods after vowels, which, for the names of the principal tenses, are inserted between ल् *ṭ* and ट् *t*, and, for the names of the secondary, between ल् *l* and ङ् *n*. Thus the names run, *laṭ, liṭ, luṭ, lṛiṭ, lêṭ, loṭ, lan, lin, lun, lṛin*. See Colebrooke's Grammar, pp. 132. 181.

and Lithuanian future, and is most used, the auxiliary future; the other, the participial future, as its first element is a participle which answers to the Latin in *turus*. In the Zend I have not yet detected this tense, but all the other Sanscrit tenses I have, and have given proofs of this in the reviews mentioned in the preface (p. xi). The moods which stand opposed to the indicative have, in Sanscrit and Zend, only one tense; yet the potential aud precative have, in fact, such a relation to each other, as, in Greek, the present and second aorist of the optative; and Pânini embraces both of these modal forms under the name *lin*. The same relation between wishing and praying may also be expressed by the potential, which is in far more general use, though the latter be strictly represented by the precative. In the Vêdas traces are apparent of a further elaboration of the moods into various tenses, and it may hence be inferred, that what the European languages, in their developement of the moods, have in excess over the Sanscrit and Zend, dates, at least in its origin, from the period of the unity of the language.

429. The numbers of the verb are three in most of the languages here treated of. The Latin verb has, like its noun, lost the dual; but the German has preserved the verbal dual in its oldest dialect, the Gothic, in preference to that of the noun; the Old Sclavonic retains it in both; and so has the Lithuanian to the present day. The Pali and Prakrit, otherwise so near to the Sanscrit, have, like the Latin, parted with both the dual and the middle mood of the active. In opposition to the Semitic, there is no distinction of gender in the personal signs of the Sanscrit family; which is not surprising, as the two first persons, even in their simple condition, are without the distinction, while the Semitic dispenses with it only in the first person, as well simple as in the verb, but, in the second and third, in both conditions distinguishes the

masculine from the feminine. The Old Sclavonic has gained a feminine in an inorganic fashion, and by a divergence from the primary type of its class, as well in its simple pronoun of the first person, as in the three persons of the verb. As, namely, *va*, "we two," has the force of a masculine substantive dual, to which the feminine in ѣ *ye* corresponds (§. 273.); so, by the power of analogy, out of that ВА *va* has been developed a feminine ВѢ *vye*, and, in accordance with this, in the verb also; for instance, ѤСВА *yesva*, "we two are" (masculine), ѤСВѢ *yesvye* (feminine), as opposed to the Sanscrit *svas* (contracted from *asvas*), and the Lithuanian *esva*. In the same manner, in the second and third dual persons, which, in the masculine, are both *yesta*, answering to the Sanscrit *(a)sthas*, *(a)stas*, and the Greek ἐστον, a female *yestye* ѤСТѢ has been formed; for as, in virtue of the law by which the terminating sibilant of the Sanscrit form is necessarily rejected (see §. 255. *l.*), the verbal dual ending became identical with that of the noun, and as, moreover, the termination *ta* has precisely the same sound with the independent *ta*, "these two" (men): the way was thus opened to the formation of a feminine personal termination ТѢ *tye*, which is also identical with the independent *tye*, "these two" (women). These feminine verbal terminations are in any case worthy of observation, as they rest on the feeling of the grammatical identity of the verb with the noun, and shew that the spirit of the language was vitally imbued with the principle of close connection, which had of old arisen between the simple pronoun and that which is joined with the verbal bases.

430. With respect to the personal signs, the tenses and moods fall most evidently in Sanscrit, Zend, and Greek, into two classes. The one is fuller, the other more contracted in its termination. To the first class belong those tenses which, in Greek, we are accustomed to call the chief, namely, the present, future, and perfect or reduplicated

preterite, whose terminations, however, have undergone serious mutilations in the three sister languages, which clearly have their foundation in the incumbrance of the commencement by the reduplication syllable. To the second class belong the augmented preterites, and, in Sanscrit and Zend, all the moods not indicative, with the exception of the present of the *lêt* or conjunctive, and of those terminations of the imperative which are peculiar to this mood, and are rather full than contracted. In Greek, the conjunctive has the full, but the optative, which answers to the Sanscrit potential, the contracted. The termination *μι* of *τύπτοιμι* is, as we have elsewhere observed,* inorganic, as appears from a comparison with the *τυπτοίμην* which has sprung from the original form *τύπτοιν* and the conjugation in *μι* (*διδοίην*).

431. In Latin, this double form of the personal termination, although in an inverted relation, makes itself observable in this, that where the fuller form *mi* stood, the termination, excepting in the cases of *sum* and *inquam*, has vanished altogether. On the other hand, the original termination *m*, by itself, has everywhere maintained itself. Hence, *amo, amabo;* but *amabam, eram, sim, amem*, as, in Sanscrit, *a-bhavam* and *âsam*, "I was," *syâm*, "I may be," *kâmayêyam*, "I might love." In the other persons an uniformity of terminations has crept in by the abrasion of the *i* of the primary forms; thus, *legis(i), legit(i), legunt(i)*, as *legas, legat, legant*.

432. In the Gothic, the aboriginal separation into the full and mutilated terminations makes itself principally conspicuous in that the terminations *ti* and *nti* of the primary forms have retained the *T* sound, because it was protected by a following vowel, but have lost the *i*: on the other hand, the concluding *t* of the secondary forms,

* Berlin Jahrb. Feb. 1827, p. 279, or Vocalismus, p. 44.

as in the Greek, has vanished: hence, for example, *bair-i-th, bair-a-nd,* answering to भरति *bhar-a-ti,* भरन्ति *bhar-a-nti* (φέρ-ο-ντι), but *bair-ai,* like φέροι, answering to भरेत् *bhar-ê-t,* (from *bharait*) *fer-a-t.* In the first person singular, the full termination *mi* has, in remarkable accordance with the Latin, quite disappeared: on the other hand, the concluding *m* of the secondary forms has not, indeed, as in the Latin, been retained unaltered, but yet has kept its place in the solution into *u* (compare §. 246.): thus *bair-a,* answering to भरामि *bhar-â-mi,* but *bair-a-u* (from *bairam* for *bairaim*),* answering to भरेयम् *bhar-êy-am, fer-a-m.* In the second person singular, as in the Latin, an identity between the primary and secondary forms has introduced itself, since the first have lost the concluding *i,* and the latter have not brought one from the Asiatic seat of their class; hence *bair-i-s,* answering to भरसि *bhar-a-si,* and also *bair-ai-s* to भरेस् *bhar-ê-s, fer-â-s,* φέρ-οι-σ.

433. In the Old Sclavonic, the secondary forms have, in the singular, been compelled entirely to abandon the personal consonant (see §. 255. *l.*), on account of its being final; hence, in the imperative, which is identical with the Sanscrit potential, the Greek optative, and Roman-German conjunctive, the second person singular ends with the modal-vowel *i,* and, in the preterite, answering to the Sanscrit-Greek aorist, the second and third persons have the same sound, because the concluding *s,* like *t,* was necessarily dropped. Compare, in the preterite iterative, the termination ше *she,* ше *she,* with the Sanscrit सीस् *sîs,* सीत् *sît.* On the other hand, the primary forms give the expression of the second person singular with wonderful accuracy, as ши *shi,* or си, *si*; and out of the ति *ti* of the third we have т, and, in the plural ѫт from *anti.* We now proceed to a closer consideration of the personal signs.

* Compare Vocalismus, p. 203.

FIRST PERSON.

434. The character of the first person is, in the singular as well as plural, in its original shape *m*; but in the dual the languages which possess a first dual person in the transitive active form have softened the *m* to *v*, as we have also found वयम् *vayam* for मयम् *mayam*, in the simple pronoun "we," and similar phenomena in several cognate languages. The full characteristic of the first person singular is, in the primary form of the transitive active, *mi*, and spreads itself, in Sanscrit and Zend, over all verbs without exception: in Greek, however—peculiarities of dialect excepted—only over such as answer to the second chief Sanscrit conjugation, which embraces the classes two, three, five, seven, eight, and nine (§. 109.), but altogether comprises but a small proportion of the verbs (about 200). The other Greek verbs have quite suppressed the personal termination, and their ω (omega), like the Latin *o*, answers to the Sanscrit *â*, which, in forms like *bôdh-â-mi*, "I know," *tud-â-mi*, "I wound," belongs neither to the root nor the personal termination, but is the character of the class, which, when it consists of a short *a*, or of syllables ended by *a*, lengthens that letter before *m* and *v* followed by a vowel: hence, *bôdh-â-mi*, *bôdh-â-vas*, *bôdh-â-mas*, in contrast to *bôdh-a-si*, *bôdh-a-ti*; *bôdh-a-thas*, *bôdh-a-tas*; *bôdh-a-tu*, *bôdh-a-nti*. The Greek has no participation in this lengthening, and makes τέρπ-ο-μεν answer to the Sanscrit *tarp-â-mas*. It is possible, however, that, in the singular, τέρπ-ω-μι may have once stood; and if so, we might conjecture that this ω may have been shortened in the plural and dual (medial) by the influence of the increased weight of the terminations, of which more hereafter; thus, also, in the medio-passive. The supposed τέρπ-ω-μι has, in effect, the same relation to τέρπ-ο-μεν and τέρπ-ο-μαι, as δίδω-μι to δίδο-μεν and δίδ-ο-μαι. If, however, we prefer, which I should not, to

assume *τέρπ-ο-μι* as the primitive form, the length of *τέρπω* may then be considered as a compensation for the loss of the termination. In any case the medial passive *μαι*, which spreads itself over all classes of verbs, proves that they all have had a *μι* in the active; for *μαι* has sprung from *μι*, as *σαι, ται, νται*, from *σι, τι, ντι*; and without the presence either of a *τέρπωμι* or a *τέρπομι* we could have had no *τέρπομαι*. With regard to the all-prevalent conservation of the character of the first person in the medio-passives, the Greek maintains a conspicuous advantage over its Asiatic cognates, which, in the singular of the middle, as well in the primary as in the secondary forms, has suffered the *m* to vanish without leaving a trace. If *τέρπω* be, as it were, amended from the Sanscrit form *tarp-â-mi*, the mutilated Sanscrit form *tarpê* * may be, in like manner, brought back from the Greek *τάρπ-ο-μαι* to its original form *tarp-â-mê*, or *tarp-a-mê*.

435. We find, in what has been said above, a very remarkable confirmation of the maxim, that the various members of the great family of language now under discussion must of necessity mutually illustrate and explain each other, since the most perfect among them have been handed down to us uncorrupted in every part of their rich organism. For while the ending *μαι* is still extant in all its splendour in the Modern-Greek passive, the corresponding Sanscrit form lay in ruins at that period when the oldest existing sample of Indian literature, the Vêdas, was composed, the antiquated language of which has conveyed to us so many other remnants of the primæval type of the family. On the other hand, Homer, in all the variety of his present and future forms, was compelled to forego the terminating *μι*, which was the mother of his *μαι*, which is the only existing termination in the Sanscrit, and

* Such would be the form of *tarpâmi* in the middle voice, in which, however, it is not used.

which to this day the Lithuanian utters in the following verbs.

LITHUANIAN.	SANSCRIT.	GREEK.
esmi, "I am,"	= *asmi*,	ἐμμί, εἰμί.
eimi, "I go,"	= *êmi*,	εἶμι.
dûmi, "I give,"	= *dadâmi*,	δίδωμι.
dêmi, "I lay,"	= *dadhâmi*,	τίθημι.
stowmi, "I stand,"	= *tishṭhâmi*,	ἵστημι.
edmi, "I eat,"	= *admi*,	....
sêdmi, "I sit,"	= *ni-shîdâmi*, "I sit down,"	....
giêdmi, "I sing,"	= *gadâmi*, "I say,"	....
gêlbmi, "I help,"*	= *kalpayâmi*, "make, prepare?"*	....
sêrgmi, "I guard,"	......	....
sáugmi, "I preserve,"	......	....
miêgmi, "I sleep,"	.....	....
tiekmi, "I leave,"	= *rahâmi*, "forsake?"†	....

436. We must take into account that in all these verbs the termination μι, as in the Sanscrit second class (§. 109ª. 3.) and in the verbs which answer to it, such as φημί, εἶμι, is combined directly with the root. The Old Sclavonic also has rescued, in some verbs of this kind, which we would name the Archaic conjugation, the termination *mi*, not, indeed, in its original purity, but under the shape of *my*. Before this *my*, however, as also in the first person plural before *my*, and before the sibilant of the second person singular, a radical *d* is suppressed, which *d*, before terminations beginning with *t*, in analogy with the Zend and Greek (§. 102.), passes into *s*.† ‡ Compare,

* *Kalpayâmi*, on which the Gothic root *halp*, "to help" (present *hilpa*, preterite *halp*), is probably based, is, in all likelihood, akin to the root *kar* (*kri*), "to make."

† Compare p. 441.

‡ *Jad* alone forms an exception, that, in the second and third person dual

OLD SCLAVONIC.	SANSCRIT.
ѥсмь *yesmy*, "I am,"†	अस्मि *asmi.*
вѣмь *vyemy*, "I know,"	वेद्मि *vêdmi.*
вѣдать *vyedyaty*, "they know,"	विदन्ति *vidanti.*
дамь *damy*, "I give,"*	ददामि *dadâmi.*
дадать *dadyaty*, "they give,"	ददति *dadati.*
ѩмь *yamy*, "I eat,"	अद्मि *admi.*
ѩдать *yadaty*, "they eat,"	अदन्ति *adanti.*

Thus also the compound сънѣмь *sn-yemy* for *sn-yamy*,† "*comedo*," "*manduco*,"* and имамь *imamy*, "I have." The Krainisch deserves special attention in respect of the first person singular, as, without exception, it has preserved the personal *m*, although with entire renunciation of the *i*; for instance, *dêlam*, "I labour": thus, in Polish, in the first conjugation, as Bandtke has it, *czytam*, "I read." In Old Sclavonic, however, we find everywhere in the usual conjugation *ѫ*, and we have already remarked that we recognise, in the latter part of this diphthong, the melting of this personal sign *m* into a short *u* sound, which, with the preceding conjugation-vowel, has resolved itself into *ѫ*, as in Greek τύπτουσι from τύπτοντι (§. 255. *g*.). In the same light is to be regarded the Lithuanian *ù* in Mielcke's first and second conjugation; compare *sukù*, "I turn," and *penù*, "I feed," with the plural *suk-a-mè*, *pen-a-mè*. On the other hand, in verbs like *laikau*, "I hold," *yeszkau*, "I seek," *myliu*, "I love," the *u* only belongs to the personal sign. It is otherwise with the Old High German *u* in Grimm's strong and first weak conjugation: in these, *u* is a weakening of the Gothic *a* (Vocalismus, p. 227, ff.), and this is itself a shorten-

dual it inserts an *e* as a connecting vowel; hence, *jad-e-ta* in contrast to *das-ta*, *vyes-ta*. See Kopitar's Glagolita, p. 93.

* Is generally used with a future signification.

† The Sanscrit preposition *sum*, Greek συν, has usually lost the nasal, but has preserved it in the above instances.

ing of the Sanscrit *á*, and so far corresponding to the Greek ω and Latin *o* (see §. 434.). Compare the Gothic *bair-a-*', Old High German *bir-u-*' (*piru*), with भरामि *bhar-á-mi* φέρ-ω-(μι)' *fer-a*. The only verb which, in Gothic, has preserved a remnant of the termination μι, is *im*, "I am," = अस्मि *asmi*, &c. In High German, however, the remains of this old termination are more numerous: in our German *bin* it has to this day rescued itself from total suppression. The Old High German form is *bim*, or *pim*, a contraction of the Sanscrit *bhavámi*, the *v* of which reappears in the shape of *r* in the plural *birumês*. Besides these, the personal sign in Old High German fastens on some other isolated verbs, as on *gâm*, "I go," = जगामि *jagámi*, βίβημι (p. 111); *stâm*, "I stand," = तिष्ठामि *tishthámi*, Zend ᶜᶜᶜ *histâmi*, Greek ἵστημι (p. 111); *tuom*, "I do," = Sanscrit दधामि *dadhámi*, "I place," Greek τίθημι, विदधामि *vi-dadhámi*, "I make"; and, further, on those classes of verbs which exhibit the Sanscrit form *aya* in the shape of *ê* or *ô* (Grimm's second and third conjugations of the weak form, see §. 109ª. 6.). Hence *habêm* (Gothic *haba*), *damnôm*, and *phlanzôm*, are more perfect than the corresponding Latin forms *habeo*, *damno*, *planto*. Yet it is only the oldest monuments which exhibit the *m* termination: the more modern substitute *n*.

437. In the secondary forms the expression of the first person singular, in Sanscrit and Zend, is terminated by *m* without a vowel; and this mutilated ending, which has maintained itself in Latin in preference to the fuller *mi* (§. 431.), has been forced in Greek, by a universal law of sound, to become ν; just as we have seen, in the Old High German, the final *m* of the most ancient examples degenerate into *n*. Compare ἔτερπ-ο-ν with *atarp-a-m*, ἐδίδω-ν and ἔδω-ν with *adadá-m* and *adá-m*; and further, διδο-ίην and δο-ίην with *dadh-yám* and *dê-yám*. In the first Greek aorist the personal sign has vanished; hence, ἔδειξα contrasted with अदिक्षम् *adiksham*. The older ἔδειξαν, from

a still older form ἐδειξαμ, presents itself, however, as out of the resulting medial form ἐδειξάμ-ην. With respect to the Gothic *u* for *m*, we refer the reader to §. 432.

"Remark.—If we have, in the above, dissected *atarp-a-m* after the fashion of the Greek ἔτερπ-ο-ν, we must yet observe, that, according to the Indian grammarians, the full termination of the first person singular of the secondary form is not a simple *m*, but *am*: it would stand, accordingly, *atarpam* for *atarpâm*, from *atarp-a-am*, and we should have to assume an elision of the intermediate syllable *a*. In fact, we find the termination *am* in places where the *a* cannot, as in *atarp-a-m*, *anaś-ya-m*, *adarś-aya-m*, be assigned to the class characters (§. 109[a]. 1. 2. 6.); for we form, for instance, out of *i*, "go," *ây-am*, not *âi-m*, "I went"; from *brû*, "speak,' *abrav-am* or *abruv-am*, not *abrô-m*, "I spoke"; and from the syllables *nu* and *u*, which are appended to the roots of the fifth and eighth class (§. 109[a]. 4.), in the special tenses spring, not *nô-m*, *ô-m*, as we might expect from the present *nô-mi*, *ô-mi*, but *navam*, *avam*; and thus, for instance, we find अस्तृणवम् *astriṇavam*, plural अस्तृणुम *astriṇuma*, answering to ἐστόρνῡν, ἐστόρνυμεν. As the second person in Sanscrit has a simple *s*, the third a simple *t* for its sign, and, for instance, *astri-nô-s*, *astri-nôt-*, answer to the Gr. ἐστόρ-νῡ-ς, ἐστόρ-νῡ(τ); from thence, as well as from the fact that the Greek also, in the first person, has a simple ν, we may deduce that the *a* of *astriṇavam* is inorganic, and imported from the first conjugation, just as, in Greek, we find for ἐστόρνῡ-ν also ἐστόρνυ-ο-ν; and so, in the third person, together with ἐστόρνῡ also ἐστόρ-νυ-ε, to which a Sanscrit *astriṇav-a-t* would correspond. The verbs which unite the personal terminations immediately with roots ending in consonants may have particularly favoured the introduction of an *a* into the first person; thus, for instance, to the present *vêdmi*, "I know," no *avêdm* could be opposed; the personal character must have vanished entirely—as in the second and third person, where, instead of

avêt-s, avêt-t, by §. 94. *avêt* (for *avêd*) is used*—or else the aid of an intermediate vowel must have been sought, as the nominal bases terminating in a consonant use *am* instead of simple *m*, from whence this termination has passed also over to monosyllabic bases terminating with a vowel; so that *nâv-am*, for *nâum*, and *bhruv-am* for *bhrûm*, have the same relation to the Greek ναῦ-ν, ὀφρῦ-ν, as we have seen *astriṇav-am* (for *astriṇâm*) bear to ἐστόρνῡ-ν. In any case, however, the *a* has acquired a firm establishment in the first person singular of the secondary forms; and we, perhaps, practically as well as theoretically, best lay down the rule, that where *a* or *â* does not precede the terminating *m* as the property either of a class, a mood, or a root, that letter is introduced: hence we find *atarp-a-m*, "*placabam*," *adadâ-m*, "*dabam*," *ayâ-m*, "*ibam*" (from the root *yâ*), *ayu-nâ-m*, "*ligabam*," (cl. 9. see §. 109[a]. 5.), *dadyâ-m*, "*dem*"; but also *astri-ṇav-am*, "*sternebam*," for *astri-ṇô-m; and tarp-êy-am*, "*placem*" (§. 43.), for *tarpêm; tishṭhê-y-am*, "*stem*," for *tishṭhêm*, which last would accord more closely with *tishṭhês*, "*stês*"; *tishṭhêt*, "*stet*"; *tishṭhêma*, "*stêmus*"; *tishṭhêta*, "*stêtis*".

438. In the Gothic, as we have before remarked (§. 432.), the *m* of the secondary forms has resolved itself into *u*. This termination, however, has entirely vanished from the Old High German, with the exception of a solitary example, which has preserved the original *m* in preference to the Gothic *u*; namely, *lirnem*, "*discam*," in *Kero*. In the Lithuanian, both the mutilated *m* and the fuller ending *mi* have degenerated into *u*, and therefore just as *laikau*, "I hold," is related to the to be presupposed *laikam* from *laikami*, so is *buwau* to the Sanscrit *a-bhavam*, "I was." With respect to the Sclavonic, I may refer the reader to what has been

* In the second person the form *avê-s* also holds good with the radical consonant suppressed and the termination retained, as in the Latin nominative *pe-s* for *ped-s*.

said generally on the singular secondary terminations, and to what will follow hereafter on the preterite in particular.

439. With regard to the origin of the termination of the first person, I consider *mi* to be a weakened form of the syllable *ma* (compare p. 102), which, in Sanscrit and Zend, lies at the foundation of the oblique case of the simple pronoun as its theme. In the word *dadâmi, mi* has the same relation to the *ma* in which it originates, as the Latin *i* bears in compounds like *tubiCIN*(*-cinis*) to the true radical form *CĂN*. The secondary form rests on a further weakening of *mi* to *m*, which, if it be of most remote antiquity, as would appear from its striking accordance with the sister languages of Europe, still does not belong to those times when the organization of the language was yet flourishing in all its parts, and in full vigour. I do not, at least, believe, that in the youth of our family of languages there was already a double series of personal terminations; but I entertain the conjecture, that, in the course of time, the terminations underwent a polishing process in those places where an accession to the anterior part (in the augment preterites), or an insertion into the interior (in the potential or optative), had given greater occasion for such a process.* The gradual prevalence of the mutilated terminations is illustrated by the fact, that, in Latin, all the plurals end in *mus*, in Greek in μεν (μες), while in Sanscrit the corresponding form मस् *mas* only remains in the primary forms, and even in these shews itself not unfrequently in the mutilated form *ma*, which, in the secondary terminations, has become the rule: hence we have, indeed, *tarp-â-mas, sarp-â-mas*, and occasionally *tarp-â-ma*, &c., corresponding to τέρπ-ο-μεσ, *serp-i-mus* (§. 209[a]. 1.); but constantly *atarp-â-ma, asarp-â-ma*, contrasted with ἐτέρπ-ο-μες, *serpebamus;* constantly *âs-ma* with

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* Compare Vocalismus, Rem. 16.

ἦ(σ)-μες, erâmus, dadyâ-ma with *διδοίη-μες*, and *tishthê-ma* with *stêmus*. To pass, however, to the explanation of the termination *mas*, we might conjecture that it should be divided into *m-as*; that the *m* should stand as theme, but the *as* as a plural nominative termination; for *mas* ends like पदस् *padas*, *μες* like *πόδες*, and the personal endings always express a nominative relation. It is, however, also possible that the *s* of *mas* rests on the same principle as the *s* of the Zend [Zend] *yûs*, "you," for *yûsmê*, and the *s* of the Sanscrit *nas*, *vas*, and Latin *nos*, *vos*.* Then would अद्मस् *ad-mas* signify "I and they eat," as we have seen that अस्मे *a-smê* was considered a copulative compound with the sense of "I and they" (§. 333.). In this view the Vêda termination *masi*, on which rests the Zend *mahi*—for instance, दद्मसि *dadmasi*, [Zend] *dadĕmahi*, "we give"—would appear to be a mutilation and weakening of the dependent pronoun *sma*, or the *i* of *masi* as a mutilation of *ê* ($=a+i$); and *masi* (for *masê*) would thus join itself to *asmê* for *masmê*. The independent *asmê* would have lost the first, and the termination *masi* the second *m*. If, however, the first supposition be the true one, the *i* of *masi* might be compared with the Greek demonstrative *ί*, omitting reference to the difference of quantity.

* §§. 335. 336. 337.

† As in the expression "we" other companions are more usually attributed to the *I* than the person or persons addressed, to whom, in fact, things are usually recounted in which they have had no share; and as, moreover, for the idea "we two," in its simple use, a special form is provided, which perhaps existed before other duals; it seems to me little likely that Pott's conjecture is correct, that the syllable *mas* of the first person plural properly expressed "I and thou"; and that thus, through the *s*, the pronoun of the second person was expressed, in the same form in which it appears in the singular of the verb, which in any case we are obliged to derive from the *t* of *tvam*, since, by the explanation above, the *s* is originally given.

440. The Old High German exhibits the first person plural in the very full and perfect shape *mês*, as well in the primary as in the secondary forms—*i. e.* in the indicative and conjunctive—while the Gothic has in the one merely *m*, in the other *mâ*. In the Lithuanian we find everywhere *mê*; in the Carniolan *mo*, for instance, *délamo*, "we labour"; but the Old Sclavonic has a naked *m* or *my*—the latter, however, only in a few verbs, which have, in the singular, *my* (p. 609); for instance, ıамы *ya-my*, "we eat," = अद्मस् *ad-mas*; вѣмы *vye-my*, "we know," = विद्मस् *vid-mas*. This Sclavonic ы *y*, for е *e* or о *o*, which, according to §. 255. *a.*, we might expect would answer to the Sanscrit अ *a*, is, I believe, produced by the euphonic influence of the original termination of the form *s* (compare §. 271.). It is more difficult to account for the long *e* in Old High German, unless Graff (I. 21) be right in his conjecture, that the termination *mês* may rest upon the termination, peculiar to the Vêdas, *masi*. We should then have to assume, either that the *i* which had been dropped from the termination had been replaced by the lengthening of the antecedent vowel (thus *mês* for *mâs*, as in Gothic *ê* = आ *â*, §. 69.), or that the *i* had fallen back into the preceding syllable; for out of *ai* we have, in Old High German, as in Sanscrit, *ê*. In Gothic, we may be surprised that the more mutilated termination *m* should answer to the fuller Sanscrit termination मस् *mas*, while the shorter *ma* of the secondary forms has remained unaltered; thus *bair-a-m*, "*ferimus*," contrasted with भरामस् *bhar-â-mas* and *bair-ai-ma*, "*feramus*," answering to भरेम *bhar-ê-ma*. Probably the diphthong *ai*, and, in the preterite conjunctive, the long *î* (written *ei*, as in *bar-ei-ma*), was found better able to bear the weight of the personal termination, after the same principle by which the reduplication syllable of the preterite, in the Gothic, has only maintained itself in the long syllabic roots, but has perished in the short. We must consider that the

Sanscrit, in the reduplicated preterite has, in like manner, म *ma*, not मस् *mas;* but the Gothic, in this place, does not share the termination *ma* with the Sanscrit, but—as I believe, for the sake of the shortness of the antecedent vowel—has a simple *m*; hence, for instance, *bund-u-m*, "we bound," answering to बबन्धिम *babandh-i-ma*.

441. In the dual, the Sanscrit has *vas* in the primary forms, and *va* in the secondary, in analogy with the plural *mas*, *ma*. The difference between the dual and the plural is, however, so far an accidental one, in that, as we have before observed (§. 434.), the dual *v* is a corruption of *m*. This difference is, nevertheless, of remote antiquity, and existed before the individualization of the German, Lithuanian, and Sclavonic, which all participate in this peculiar dual form. The Lithuanian universally has *va*, the Old Sclavonic, together with ВА *va*, an inorganic ВѢ *vye* (p. 41§): but the Gothic has three forms, and the most perfect in the conjunctive, where, for instance, *bair-ai-va* has the same relation to भरेव *bhar-ê-va*, as, in the plural, *bair-ai-ma* to भरेम *bhar-ê-ma*. The reason why the dual ending, in this position, has maintained itself most completely, plainly lies, as in the case of the plural, in the antecedent diphthong, which has felt itself strong enough to bear the syllable *va*. In the indicative present, however, the long *â* which, in the Sanscrit *bhar-â-vas*, precedes the personal termination, has, in the Gothic, shortened itself, in all probability, as, in the plural, *bair-a-m*, and, in the Greek, φέρ-ο-μες, contrasted with *bhar-â-mas*: then, however, *v* has permitted itself to be extinguished, and out of *baira(v)as*, by a union of both the vowels, *bairôs* has been generated, as *o*, in Gothic, is the long form of *a* (§. 69.); and hence, in the nominative plural masculine of the *a* class, in like manner *ôs* is produced out of *a* + *as*, so that, for instance, *vairôs*, "men," answers to the Sanscrit *vîrâs*, "heroes" (out of *vîra-as*.) In the indicative preterite we

cannot expect to meet with *ôs*, as this tense has for its connecting vowel not *a* but *u*; nor can we expect to meet with *u-va*, since *va*, like the plural *ma*, can be borne only by diphthongs or long vowels. The next in turn is *u-v*, as analogous to the plural *u-m*. At the end of a word, however, *v* is subject, where preceded by a short vowel, to be changed into *u*. Hence, for instance, *thiu*, "*servum*" (for *thiv*), from the base *THIVA*; and thus, also, from *u-v*, first *u-u*, and next long *û*, may have been generated, by the compression of the two short vowels into one long. I therefore hold the *u* of *magu*, "we two can," *siyu*, "we two are," the only evidence for the form under discussion,* to be long, and write *magû*, *siyû*, as contractions of *magu-u*, *siyu-u*, from *mag-u-v*, *siy-u-v*. Should, however, the *u* of this termination be neither long nor the modern contraction of an originally long *u*, it would then be identical with that which stands as a connecting vowel in *mag-u-ts*, *mag-u-m*, or it would be explainable as *magu* from *magva*, *siyu* from *siyva*. Independently, however, of the phonetic impossibility of the last mentioned form, the immediate annexation of the personal ending to the root is incredible, because the first dual person would thus present a contrast scarcely to be justified to the second, and to all those of the plural, as well as to the most ancient practice of this tense. In Zend I know no example of the first person dual.

442. Of the medial terminations I shall treat particularly hereafter. The following is a summary view of the points of comparison we have obtained for the first person of the transitive active form.

* As *mag* is throughout inflected as a preterite, and also the verb substantive in both plurals, Grimm has, certainly with justice, deduced the form of the first dual person of all the preterites from the foregoing instances.

SINGULAR.

SANSCRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	GERMAN.	LITH.	OLD SCLAV.
tishthâmi,	*histâmi,*	ἵστημι,	*sto,*	**stâm,*	*stowmi,*	*stoyû.*[1]
dadâmi,	*dadhâmi,*[2]	δίδωμι,	*do,*	....	*dûmi,*[1]	*damy.*[1]
asmi,	*ahmi,*	ἐμμί,	*sum,*	*im,*	*esmi,*	*yesmy.*
bharâmi,	*barâmi,*	φέρω,	*fero,*	*baira,*	....	....
vahâmi,	*vazâmi,*	ἔχω,[3]	*veho,*	*viga,*[4]	*weżû,*[4]	*veζû.*
tishthêyam,	....	ἱσταίην,	*stem,*	....	....	....
dadyâm,	*daidhyanm,*[5]	διδοίην,	*dem,*	....	....	....
(a)syâm,	*hyanm?*	ἐ(σ)ίην,	*siem,*	*siyau,*		
bharêyam,		(φέροιν),[6]	*feram,*	*bairau,*		
avaham,	*vazem,*	εἶχον,	*vehebam,*		*weziau,*	....

DUAL.

SANSCRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	GERMAN.	LITH.	OLD SCLAV.
tishthâvas,					*stowiwà,*	*stoïva.*
dadvas,					*dûdawa,*[7]	*dadeva.*
bharâvas,				*bairôs,*	....	....
vahâvas,				*vigôs,*	*weżawà,*	*veζeva.*
bharêva,				*bairaiva,*[8]	....	.....
vahêva,				*vigaiva,*[8]	....	*veζyeva.*[9]
avahâva,					*weżêwa,*[10]	....

PLURAL.

SANSCRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	GERMAN.	LITH.	OLD SCLAV.
tishthâmas,	...	ἵσταμες,	*stamus,*	**stâmês,*	*stowimè,*	*stoim.*
tishthâmasi,[11]	*histâmahi,*	....	....	....	....	....
dadmas,	....	δίδομες,	*damus,*	....	*dûdame,*[7]	*damy.*[1]
dadmasi,[11]	*dadĕmahi,*	....	....	....	....	....
bharâmas,	....	φέρομες,	*ferimus,*	*bairam,*	....	....
bharâmasi,[11]	*barâmahi,*	....	....	....	....	....
vahâmas,	....	ἔχομες,	*vehimus,*	*vigam,*	*weżamè,*	*veζom.*
vahâmasi,[11]	*vazâmahi,*	....	....	....	....	....
tishthêma,	*histaêma,*	ἱσταίημες,	*stêmus,*	....	....	*stoïm.*
dadyâma,	*daidhyâma,*	διδοίημες,	*dêmus,*	....	....	*daschdymy,*[13]
bharêma,	*baraêma,*	φέροιμες,	*ferâmus,*	*bairaima,*[14]	....	....
vahêma,	*vazaêma,*	ἔχοιμες,	*vehâmus,*	*vigaima,*[14]	....	*veζyem.*[9]
avahâma,	*vazâma?*	εἴχομες,	*vehêbamus,*	....	*weżêmè,*[10]	....

[1] See §. 255. *g*. [2] See §. 39. [3] If ὄχος, for Ϝόχος, be related to ἔχω, then ἔχω also stands for Ϝέχω, and belongs to *vahâmi* and *veho*. The signification, also, of movement in the compounds ἀνέχω, διέχω, ἐνέχω, &c., is plainly perceivable; then the Sanscrit root *vah* signifies,

* *Stâm* and *stâmês* belong to the Old High German, the other forms to the Gothic.

also, "to bear," "*tragen*," from which we easily arrive at the idea of "having." In the Greek, however, it seems that, in this verb, two roots of distinct origin have intermixed themselves, namely, 'ΕΧ = वह् *vah*, and ΣΧΕ (ΣΧΗ) = सह् *sah*, "to bear," with transposition of the root vowel, as in *βέβληκα*, as related to ΒΑΛ. If, however, *ἔχω* and *σχή-σω* belong to one root, the first must then stand for *σέχω*, with the loss of the *σ*. We must not, however, consider the spiritus asper of *ἕξω*, and of similar forms, as a substitute for the *σ*, as it is very satisfactorily explained by §. 104. [4] In p. 213 of my Glossary I have made the Sanscrit *vah* correspond to the Gothic *vagyan*, "to set in motion"; but this *vagya* belongs, like the Lithuanian *waz-ó-yu*, to the causal *vâhayâmi* (§. 109ª. 6.): the primitive of *vagya* has weakened in the present the root vowel to *i* (p. 106), and only appears in connection with the preposite *ga* (*ga-vi-ga*, *ga-vag*). In the Lithuanian, the *a* of *wazoyu*, "I ride in a carriage," rests on the long *â* of the Sanscrit *vâhayâmi*; the *e* of *wezû* on the short *a* of *vahâmi*. [5] Though, at the beginning of the Vendidad, (Olshausen's edition,) the form *daidyanm* belong to the Sanscrit root *dhâ*, "to place"—which, if not by itself, at least in conjunction with वि *vi*, has the meaning "to make," "to create"—still we deduce this much from *daidyanm*, that it is also derivable from *dâ*, "to give": unless the *y* has exercised no aspirating power on the antecedent *d*, and thus would necessarily come *daidyanm*. On the roots ددا *dâ* = दा *dâ*, "to give," and ددا *dâ* = धा *dhâ*, "to place," compare Burnouf's pregnant Note 217 to the Yaçna (p. 336), and Fr. Windischman's excellent critique in the Jena Literar. Zeit. July 1834. p. 143. [6] See §. 430. [7] Or, without reduplication, *dûwa*, as the analogue of the singular *dûmi*, together with which, also, a redoubled form, but wanting the *mi* termination, is extant. [8] See §. 441. [9] See §. 255. *e*. [10] See Mielcke, p. 100. 18. [11] Vêda dialect, see §. 439. [12] See §. 440. [13] Euphonic for *dadymy*; see Dobrowsky, pp. 59 and 539. [14] See §§. 440, 441.

SECOND PERSON.

413. The Sanscrit pronominal base *tva* or *tvê* (§. 326.) has, in its connection with verbal themes, split itself into various forms, the *t* either remaining unaltered, or being modified to *th* or *dh*, or—as in Greek, *σύ* has degenerated into *s*—the *v* has either been maintained or removed, the *a* has either remained unaltered or been weakened to *i*, or altogether displaced. The complete

pronominal form shews itself in the middle voice, as this affects weightier terminations, and therefore has guarded more carefully against the mutilation of the pronoun, upon the same principle as that in which, in Sanscrit, the verbal forms which take Guna admit no irregular mutilations of the roots. For it is natural that a form which loves strengthening should at least, under circumstances which prevent that process, repudiate the contrary extreme of mutilation. Hence we say, for example, *asmi*, "I am," with the root undiminished, because the latter would accept Guna in the singular, if *a* would admit of Guna;* but we say, in the dual *svas*, in the plural *smas*, in the potential *syâm*, because the two plural numbers and the entire potential refuse all Guna exaltation, and hence, consistently, all radical mutilation. After the same principle, the pronoun of the second person shews itself in its most complete shape in the

* Upon Guna and Vṛiddhi see §§. 26. 29. I may here append, in justification of §. 29., what I have already indicated in my Vocalismus (p. ix), that I no longer seek the reason why *a* is incapable of Guna, although it may be compounded into long *â* with an antecedent *a*, in the supposition that Guna and Vṛiddhi were identical in the case of *a*—for *a* + *a*, as well as *â* + *a*, give *â*—but in this, that *a*, as the weightiest vowel, in most of the cases in which *i* and *u* receive Guna, is sufficient of itself, and hence receives no increment, according to the same principle by which the long vowels *î* and *û* in most places remain unaltered where an *a* precedes *i* or *u* (Gramm. Crit. §. 34.). It is, moreover, only an opinion of the grammarians, that *a* has no Guna: the fact is, that *a* in the Guna, as in the Vṛiddhi degree, becomes *â*, but on account of its weight seldom uses this capability. When, however, this happens, *i* and *u* for the most part, in the same situation, have only Guna; for instance, *bibhêda*, "he clave," from *bhid*, together with *jagâma*, "he went," from *gam*. It is, however, natural, that where so great an elevation is required as that *i* and *u* become, not *ê*, *ô* (=*a*+*i*, *a*+*u*), but *âi*, *âu*, in such a case *a* should exert the only power of elevation of which it is capable: hence, for instance, we have *mânava*, "descendant of Manu," from *manu*, as *śâiva* from *śiva*, and *kâuravya* from *kuru*.

middle voice, namely, in the plural, where the primary forms end in *dhvê*, and the secondary in *dhvam*, and, in the imperative singular, where the termination *sva* has indeed allowed the *T* sound to vanish into *s*, but has yet preserved the *v* of *tvam*, "thou." As we shall have hereafter to consider the medial forms in particular, we now turn to the transitive active form. This has nowhere completely preserved the semi-vowel of the base *tva*, yet I believe I recognise a remnant of it in the *th*, which stands in the primary forms, as well in the dual as in the plural, and, in the reduplicated preterite, also in the singular. On the other hand, the secondary forms, as they generally have blunter terminations, so also they have, in the two plurals, the pure tenuis; hence, for instance, *tishṭhê-ta*, ἱσταίητε, opposed to *tishṭha-tha*, ἵστατε; and, in the dual, *tishṭhêtam*, ἱσταίητον, opposed to *tishṭathas*, ἵστατον. We see from this, that, in Sanscrit, the aspirates are heavier than the tenues or the medials; for they are the union of the full tenuis or medial, with an audible *h* (§. 12.), and *tishṭhatha* must then be pronounced *tisht-hat-ha;* and I think that I recognise in the *h* of the termination the dying breath of the *v* of *tvam*.

444. The above examples shew that the full termination of the second person, in the dual present, is *thas*, and, in the plural, *tha*: we have, however, seen the dual, in the nominative, arise from the strengthening of the plural terminations (§. 206.). As, however, the personal terminations, being pronominal, stand in the closest connection with the noun, it might be assumed, that the second person plural in the verb was once *thas*, and that the dual termination *thâs* had developed itself from this; but that, in the lapse of time, the *s* had escaped from the *thas*, and the long vowel from the dual *thâs*. We must consider that even, in the first person, the *s* of *mas* has but a precarious tenure, as, even in the primary forms, we often meet with *ma*. If,

however, in the second person plural, *thas* originally stood, the Latin *tis* corresponds well to it, and it would confirm Thiersch's conjecture, derived from the hiatus, that in Homer, instead of τε the termination τεσ may have stood as analogous to μεσ (Third Edition, §. 163.). As to the origin of the *s* of the termination *thas*, it is without doubt identical with that of *mas* in the first person: it is thus either to be divided as *th-as*, and *as* to be explained as a plural nominative termination, or the *s* of *tha-s* is a remnant of the dependent pronoun *sma* (§. 439); as also, in an isolated situation, *yu-shmê*, "you," stands approximate to *a-smê*, "we." If the latter assumption be correct, possibly in the *m* of the secondary dual termination *tam* we may recognise the second consonant of *sma*; so that this dependent pronoun has suffered a twofold mutilation, surrendering at one time its *m*, at another its *s*. In this respect we may recur to a similar relation in the Lithuanian dual genitives *mumû*, *yumû*, opposed to the plural locatives *musûse*, *yusûse* (§. 176.). As, however, the secondary forms, by rule, are deduced by mutilation from the primary, we might still—whether the first or the second theory be the true one of the termination *thas*—deduce the duller *m* from the livelier concluding *s*; as also in Greek, in the primary forms, we find τον, from थस् *thas*; as, in the first person, μεν from *mas*, μες, and, in the Prakrit, हिं *hiṅ* from the Sanscrit भिस् *bhis* (§. 97.). Thus, also, may the dual case-termination भ्याम् *bhyâm* have arisen from the plural *bhyas* originally by a mere lengthening of the vowel (see §. 215.), but later the concluding *s* may have degenerated into *m*.

445. While the Greek already, in the primary form, has allowed the *s* of the dual ending *thas* to degenerate into *v*, in the Gothic the ancient *s* has spread itself over primary and secondary forms; and we are able to deduce from this a new proof, that where, in Sanscrit, in the second

person dual, a nasal shews itself, this did not arise out of *s* till after the separation of languages. The *a* which preceded the *s* has, however, escaped from the Gothic, and, in fact, in pursuance of an universal law, by which *a* before a terminating *s* of a polysyllable is either entirely extinguished, or weakened to *i*. The first of these alternatives has occurred; and thus *ts* answers to the Sanscrit *thas*, as, in the nominative singular of the bases in *a*, *vulfs* answers to the Sanscrit *vrikas* and Lithuanian *wilkas*. Compare *bair-a-ts* with भरथस् *bar-a-thas*, *φέρ-ε-τον*, and further, *bair-ai-ts* with भरेतम् *bhar-ê-tam*, *φέρ-οι-τον*. The Sclavonian has been compelled, according to §. 225. *l.*, to give up the terminating consonant of the termination in question; the Lithuanian has been inclined to do so: both, in fact, make *ta* correspond to the थस् *thas* of the Sanscrit primary forms, as well as to the तम् *tam* of the secondary. Comp. the Sclavonic даста *das-ta* (see §. 436.), the Lithuanian *dů̊s-ta* or *dů̊da-ta*, "you two give," with दत्थस् *dat-thas*, *δίδο-τον*; дадядьта *dashdy-ta*,* "you two should give;" दद्यातम् *dadyâ-tam*, *διδοίητον*; and Lithuanian *dů̊do-ta*, "you two gave," with अदत्तम् *adat-tam*, *ἐδίδο-τον*.

446. In the Zend, I know no example of the second dual person; but that of the plural runs as in the Sanscrit primary forms, ϑ𐬀 *tha*,† and in the secondary 𐬙𐬎 *tu*. The Greek, Latin, and Sclavonic have everywhere *τε*, те, *te*; the Latin has in the imperative alone weakened its *tis* to *te*

* §. 442. [13]. Dobrowsky does not cite any dual: it is plain, however, from the plural *daschdyte*, that the dual, if it be used, cannot sound otherwise than as given in the text.

† In the Zend we might explain the aspiration, according to §. 47., as a remaining effect of the earlier *v*: as, however, in Sanscrit, the semi-vowel is entirely free from this influence, we prefer for both languages the conjecture put forward p. 612, that the *h* contained in *th* is the real representative of the *v*.

(§. 444.). The Gothic has everywhere *th*, with the terminating vowel polished away: this *th* is, however, in my opinion, neither to be identified with the Sanscrit-Zend *th* of the primary forms, nor to be explained by virtue of the usual law of displacement by which *th* is required for the older *t*; but very probably the Gothic personal termination, before it lost the end vowel, was *da*. The Gothic, in fact, affects, in grammatical terminations, or suffixes between two vowels, a *d* for the original *t*, but willingly converts this *d*, after the suppression of the concluding vowel, into *th* (see §. 91.). On the Gothic *d* here mentioned rests also the High German *t* (§. 87.), by a displacement which has thus brought back the original tenuis: hence we find, for instance, Old High German, *wëg-a-t*, answering to the Latin *veh-i-tis*, Greek ἔχ-ε-τε (p. 618. [3].), Lithuanian *weż-a-tè*, Old Sclavonic ВЕЗЕТЕ *veζ-e-te*, Sanscrit वहथ *vah-a-tha*, Zend 𐬬𐬀𐬰𐬀𐬚𐬀 *vaz-a-tha*, and presupposing in Gothic an older *vigid* for *vigith*.

447. We now turn to the singular. The primary forms have here, in Sanscrit, the termination सि *si*, and the secondary only स् *s*. Out of *si*, however, under certain conditions, frequently comes *shi* (§. 21.), which has also been preserved in the Zend, which has changed the original *si* to *hi*; as 𐬠𐬀𐬬𐬀𐬵𐬌 *bavahi* and 𐬀𐬵𐬌 *ahi*, "thou art," opposed to भवसि *bhavasi*, असि *asi* (for *as-si*); but 𐬐𐬆𐬭𐬆𐬥𐬎𐬱𐬌 *kĕrĕnûshi*, "thou makest," opposed to कृणोषि *krinôshi*, as *kri*, according to the fifth class (§. 109[a]. 4.), would form. In the secondary forms, according to §. 56[b]., the concluding sibilant, with a preceding 𐬀 *a*, has become 𐬋 *ô*; and, with 𐬁 *â*, 𐬃 *âô*, but after other vowels has remained; hence 𐬟𐬭𐬀𐬯𐬭𐬁𐬬𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬋 *fraśrâvayô*, "thou spakest," opposed to प्राश्रावयस् *prâśrâvayas*; but 𐬨𐬭𐬀𐬋𐬱 *mraôs*,* "thou spakest," opposed to अब्रोस् *abros*,

* I write 𐬨𐬭𐬀𐬋𐬱 purposely, and render 𐬋 by *ô*, because I now find myself compelled to adopt the remarks of Burnouf, founded on the best

for which irregularly अब्रवीस् *abravîs* (Gramm. Crit. §. 352.). Among the European cognate languages, the Old Sclavonic takes decided precedence for the fidelity and consistency with which it has preserved the primary termination *si* or *shi*, and so distributed them that the first has remained in the archaic conjugation, the latter in all the others. I

and oldest manuscripts (Yaçna, pp. lvii. lviii.), that ڶ as well as ڸ stands for the Sanscrit ओ; the first, however, only for the initial and medial, and always accompanied by the new Guna (§. 26.)—thus always ڶﻌ for an initial and medial ओ,—and the latter only for a terminating ओ and without the appendage of ﻌ; as also before ڛ *ê* at the end of a word no ﻌ *a* is inserted. As a medial letter, ڸ appears sometimes as the representative of the Sanscrit अ *a*, and is then produced by the influence either of an antecedent *v* or *b* (ڸﻭﻭڸﻭ *ubôyô* for उभयोस् *ubhayôs*, p. 277), or it represents in the diphthong ﻭڸ *ôi*, the *a* element of the Sanscrit ए *ê* (=$a+i$). As, however, ڸ in the purest texts prefers a penultimate position, it would seem that, in point of origin, it is the solution of the syllable अस् *as*, as this terminating syllable, in Sanscrit, becomes *ô* only before sonants, in Zend always (§. 56[b].). Yet I do not believe that it has been the intention of the Zend speech or writing to distinguish the Guna ओ *ô*, *i.e.* the *ô* which springs from उ *u* with *a* inserted before it, from that which springs from अस् *as*, by vocalization of the *s* to *u*; for each *ô* consists of $a+u$, and upon the value and the pronunciation the question whether the *u* or the *o* element had precedence can have no influence, or whether an *a* was thrust before the *u* or a *u* after the *a*. The position of a vowel in a word may, however, well have an influence on its value; and it is conceivable that the concluding *ô*, kept pure from the Guna *a*, appeared more important than that which, at the beginning or middle of a word, received the accession of an *a*. If the crude forms in *u*, in Zend as in Sanscrit, had Guna in the vocative (§. 205.), the concluding Guna ओ would also, as I believe, be represented in Zend by ڸ and not by ڶﻌ. I can, however, as it is, discover no reason why a concluding ओ in Sanscrit, produced by Guna out of *u*, should be represented in Zend in the one way or the other.

subjoin the verbs of the archaic conjugation, with several examples of the more usual, for comparison with the Sanscrit.

OLD SCLAVONIC.	SANSCRIT.
ІЄСИ *yesi*, "*es*,"	असि *asi*.
ДАСИ *dasi*,[1] "*das*,"	ददासि *dadâsi*.
ІАСИ *yasi*,[1] "*edis*,"	अत्सि *atsi*.
ВѢСИ *vyesi*,[1] "*novisti*,"	वेत्सि *vêtsi*.
ПІЄШИ *pieshi*, "*bibis*,"	पिबसि *pivasi*.[2]
ЧІЄШИ *chieshi*, "*quiescis*,"	शेषे *śêshê*.
СМѢЄШИ *smyeyeshi(sja)*, "*rides*,"	स्मयसे *smayasê*.[3]
ВѢЄШИ *vyeyeshi*, "*flas*,"	वासि *vâsi*.
ЗНАЄШИ *ȥnayeshi*, "*novisti*,"	जानासि *jânâsi*.[4]
БОИШИ *boishi(sya)*, "*times*,"	बिभेषि *bibhêshi*.
ДѢЄШИ *dyeyeshi*, "*facis*,"	दधासि *dadhâsi*.[5]
ЖИВЕШИ *schiveshi*, "*vivis*,"	जीवसि *jivasi*.
ПАДЕШИ *padeshi*, "*cadis*,"	पतसि *patasi*.
ВЕЗЕШИ *veȥeshi*, "*vehis*,"	वहसि *vahasi*.
СПИШИ *spishi*, "*dormis*,"	स्वपिषि *svapishi*.
РЕЧЕШИ *recheshi*, "*dicis*,"	वचसि *vachasi*.[6]
ТРѦСЕШИ *tryaseshi(sja)*, "*tremis*,"	त्रससि *trasasi*.
БѢДЕШИ *byedeshi*, "*affligis*,"	विध्यसि *vidhyasi*.
НЕСЕШИ *neseshi*, "*fers*,"	नयसि *nayasi*.[7]
ЗОВЕШИ *ȥobeshi*, "*vocas*,"[8]	ह्वयसि *hvayasi*.
ДЕРЕШИ *dereshi*, "*excoris*,"	दृणासि *drinâsi*, "*laceras*."[9]
ПРОШИШИ *proshishi*, "*precaris*,"	पृच्छसि *prichchhasi*, "*interrogas*."
ГАДИШИ *gadishi*, "*vituperas*,"	गदसि *gadasi*, "*loqueris*."
СЛЫШИШИ *slyshishi*, "*audis*,"	शृणोषि *śrinôshi*.[11]
ЗВЕНИШИ *ȥvenishi*, "*sonas*,"	स्वनसि *svanasi*.
ПꙊДИШИ *pûdishi*, "*pellis*,"	पादयसि *pâdayasi*.[12]
ВАРТИШИ *vartishi*, "*vertis*,"	वर्तसि *vartasi*.
БꙊДИШИ *bûdishi*, "*expergefacis*,"	बोधयसि *bôdhayasi*.
СМИЖИШИ *smischisi*, "*nictaris*,"	मिषसि *mishasi*.

[1] See §. 436. [2] Compare ПИВО *pivo*, "beer." [3] A middle

form, which is replaced in Sclavonic by the appended reflective. [4] According to the ninth class (§. 109[a]. 5.), but with irregular suppression of the *n* of the root *jnâ*, which in the second class would form *jnâsi*, to which the Sclavonic form approaches more closely. [5] *Dhâ*, "to place," obtains, through the preposition *vi*, the meaning "to make" (compare §. 442., Rem. 5). Perhaps the Carniolan root *dêlam*, "I work," is based on this root, so that it would stand for *dedam* (§. 17.), retaining the reduplication which is peculiar to the Sanscrit and Greek verb, as also the Lithuanian *dudu* and *dêmi*. [6] Observe the favourite interchange between *v* and *r* or *l* (§. 20. and §. 409., Rem. †); on this perhaps rests the relation of the inseparable preposition РАЗ *raz*—which in several compounds corresponds in sense to the Latin *dis* (Dobr. p. 422, &c.)—to the Sanscrit वहिस् *vahis*, "outer," for ह् *h* is frequently represented by the Sclavonic З *z*, as in Zend by [illegible] *z*; *e.g.* in वहामि *vahâmi*, [illegible] *vazâmi*, ВЕЗЪ *vezŭ*. The Sanscrit *vahis*, however, is found in Sclavonic in another form besides this, viz. with the *v* hardened to *b*; hence БЕЗ *bez*, "without"; in verbal combinations *bz* and *boz* (Dobr. p. 413, &c.) [7] I have no doubt of the identity of the Sclavonic root *nes* and the Sanscrit *nî*, which agree in the meaning "to bring"; and in many passages in the Episode of the Deluge the Sanscrit *nî* may be very well rendered by "to carry." With reference to the sibilant which is added in Sclavonic observe, also, the relation of the root *slys*, "to hear," to the Sanscrit *śru* and Greek ΚΛΥ. [8] In the infinitive *zbati* and preterite *zbach* the Sclavonic form of the root resembles very strikingly the Zend [illegible] *zbayêmi*, a complex but legitimate modification of the Sanscrit *hvayâmi* (§§. 42. 57.). [9] The root is properly *dar*, according to the Grammarians दृ *dṛi*, and णा *ṇâ* (euphonic for *nâ*) the character of the ninth class (§. 109[a]. 5.). Compare Vocalismus, p. 179. [10] Remark the Zend form [illegible] *pĕrĕśahi*. In Russian *s-prĕsity* means "to carry." [11] Irregularly for *śruṇôshi*, from the root *śru*, with the character of the fifth class (§. 109[a]. 4.), and *ṇ* euphonic for *n* (comp. Rem. 7.). [12] The causal form of *pad*, "to go." The Sclavonic has *ŭ* for *â*, according to §. 255. *h*. The Latin *pello* appears to me to belong to this root, with exchange of *d* for *l* (§. 17.), to which a following *y* may have assimilated itself—as, in Greek, ἄλλος from ἄλγος—as a remnant of the causal character अय *aya* (§. 374.).

448. The Lithuanian has, in common with the Greek, preserved the full termination *si* only in the verb substantive, where *es-si* and the Doric ἐσ-σι hold out a sisterly hand to

each other. In other cases the two languages appropriate the syllable in question so that the Lithuanian retains everywhere the *i*, the Greek, in concordance with the Latin and Gothic the *s*. Compare the Lithuanian *dûd-i* with the Sanscrit *dadâ-si*, Sclavonic *da-si*, Greek δίδω-ς, and Latin *da-s*. Just as *dûdh-i* has suppressed its radical vowel before that of the termination, so in Mielcke's first and second conjugation is the connecting vowel removed, while the third and fourth form a diphthong of it with *i*, as in the first person with the *u*; hence *weź-i* for *weźe-i*, opposed to the Sanscrit *vah-a-si*, Zend *vaz-a-hi*, Sclavonic *vez-e-si*, Latin *veh-is*, Gothic *vig-is* (§. 109ª. 1.), Greek ἔχ-εις, and its own plural *weź-e-te*, as *dûda-te* opposed to *dûdh-i*; but *yessk-a-i*, "thou seekest," analogous to the first person *yessk-a-u*. In the Greek, however, the *i* of the second person in the conjugation in ω has hardly been lost entirely, but has very probably retired back into the preceding syllable. As, for instance, γενέτειρα out of γενετερια = Sanscrit *janitrî*; μέλαινα out of μελανια (§. 119.), μείζων, χείρων, ἀμείνων, for μεζιων, &c. (§. 300.); so also τέρπ-ει-ς out of τερπ-ε-σι = Sanscrit *tarp-a-si*. Or are we to assume, that in Greek the *i* has exercised an attractive force similar to that in Zend (§. 41.), and accordingly the antecedent syllable has assimilated itself by the insertion of an *i*, so that τέρπεις is to be explained as arising from an older form τερπεισι? I think not, because of the *i* forms extant now in Greek, no one exhibits such a power of assimilation, and, for instance, we find γένεσις, τέρενι, μέλανι, not γένεισις, &c. The power which is not attached to the living *i* is hardly to be ascribed to the dead.

449. The Lithuanian carries over the *i* of the primary forms also to the secondary, at least to the preterite, or has brought it back by an inorganic path to this place, which it must have originally occupied; so that, for instance, *buw-ai* corresponds to the Sanscrit *a-bhav-as*, "thou wast." On the other hand, in the Sclavonic the secondary forms

are without any personal sign of distinction, since the terminating *s* of the cognate languages has been compelled to yield to the universal law of suppression of terminating consonants (§. 255. *l.*). Hence, for instance, the imperatives дажди *dashdi*, "give," вєзѣ *veζye*, "drive," answering to the Sanscrit *dadyâs*, *vahês*, Zend *daidyâo* (§. 442., observ. 5, and §. 56ᵇ.), *vazois*, Greek διδοίης, ἔχοις, Latin *dês*, *vehâs*, Gothic *vigais*.

450. There remain two isolated singular terminations which require our consideration, धि *dhi* and थ *tha*. The first is found in Sanscrit in the imperative of the second principal conjugation, which answers to the Greek conjugation in μι; the latter in the reduplicated preterite of verbs in general. The termination *dhi* has, however, split itself into two forms; inasmuch as, in ordinary language, consonants alone have the power to bear the full *dhi*, but behind vowels all that remains of the *dh* is the aspiration; hence, for instance, *bhâhi*, "shine," *pâ-hi*, "rule," in contrast to *ad-dhi*, "eat," *vid-dhi*, "know," *vag-dhi*, "speak," *yung-dhi*, "bind." That, however, *dhi* originally had universal prevalence, may be inferred from the fact, that in Greek the corresponding θι spreads itself over consonants and vowels, since we find not only ἴσ-θι, κέκραχθι, ἄνωχθι, πέπεισθι, but also φάθι, ἴθι, στῆθι, &c.: furthermore from this, that in Sanscrit, also, many other aspirates have so far undergone mutilation, that nothing but the breathing has remained; inasmuch as, for instance, the root *dha*, "to lay," forms *hita* in the participle passive; and the dative termination *bhyam* in the pronominal first person, although at an extremely remote period, has been mutilated to *hyam* (§. 215.): finally from this that in more modern dialects also, in many places, a mere *h* is found where the Sanscrit still retains the full aspirated consonant, as also the Latin opposes its *humus* to the Sanscrit *bhúmi*. The opinion I have founded on other grounds, that it is not the ending *hi* which, as the original, has strengthened itself to *dhi* after consonants, but, conversely, *dhi*, which, after vowels, has mu-

tilated itself to *hi** has been since confirmed by evidence drawn from the Vêda dialect, which I have brought to the aid of the discussion; inasmuch as in this it is true the mutilated form *hi* is already extant, but the older *dhi* has not retired so far to the rear as not to be permitted to connect itself also with vowels. Thus, in Rosen's Specimen of the Rig Vêda (p. 6) the form *shru-dhi*, "hear thou," answers remarkably to the Greek κλῦθι.† The Zend also gives express confirmation to my theory, in that it never, as far as is yet known, admits of the form *hi*, or its probable substitute *zi* (§. 97.), but proves that at the period of its identity with the Sanscrit the *T* sound had never escaped from the ending *dhi*. In Zend, in fact, we find, wherever the personal ending is not altogether vanished, either *dhi* or *di*; for instance, *stûidhi*, "praise thou," for the Sanscrit स्तुहि *stuhi*; *kĕrĕnûidhi*, "make thou," for the word, deprived of its personal ending, कृणु *kṛiṇu*; *daz-dhi*, "give thou" (for देहि *dêhi*), euphonic for *dad-hi*, inasmuch as *T* sounds before other *T* sounds pass into sibilants (compare πέπεισ-θι, §. 102.): to soft consonants, however, as Burnouf has shewn, the soft sibilants *z* and *sch* alone correspond.‡ For *dazdhi* we find, also, *dâidi*, for instance, Vend. S. p. 422; but I do not recollect to have met elsewhere with *di* for *dhi*.

451. How much, in Sanscrit, the complete retention of the termination धि *dhi* depends on the preceding portion of the word, we see very clearly from this, that the character of the fifth class (*nu*, §. 109ª. 4.) has preserved the mutilated form *hi* only in cases where the *u* rests against two antecedent consonants; for instance, in *âpnuhi*, "obtain," from *âp*

* See Gramm. Crit. §. 104. and Addenda to §. 315.

† Compare Rosen's Remark on this termination, l. c. p. 22.—B. The retention of धि after a vowel is found also in the Mahábhárata as अपाकृधि "put away," "discard."—W.

‡ Yaçna LXXXVI. ff. and CXXI. ff.

(compare *ad-ipiscor*). Where, however, the *u* is preceded only by a simple consonant, it is become incapable of bearing the *hi* ending; hence, for instance, *çhinu*, "collect," from the root *chi*. In this mutilated form, the Sanscrit goes along with the corresponding verbal class in the Greek, where *δείκνῡ*, according to appearance, is in like manner without personal ending. This coincidence is, however, fortuitous, as each of the languages has arrived independently at this mutilated form subsequently to their separation. Nor is the Greek *δείκνῡ* entirely without termination, but, as I conjecture, the *ι* of the ending *θι* lies concealed in the *ῡ*; for instance, *δαινῦτο*, (Il. xxiv. 665) from *δαινυιτο*. It is not requisite, therefore, to derive *δεικνῡ* from the *ω* conjugation, and to consider it as a contraction from *δείκνυε*; and thus, also, *τίθει*, not from *τιθεε* but from *τίθετι*, the *τ* being rejected, as *τύπτει* from *τύπτετι*, followed out from *τύπτεται*, and as *κέρᾳ*, from *κέρατι*; thus, also, *ἵστη* (for *ἵστῃ*) from *ἵστα(θ)ι*, as *Μούσῃ* from *Μούσαι*, *λόγῳ* from *λόγοι* (compare *οἴκοι*). If, also, *δίδου* be the contraction of *δίδοε*, we find near it, in Pindar, the dialectic form of *δίδοι*, which admits very well a derivation from *δίδο(θ)ι*.*

452. As the उ *u* of the fifth class, where it is not preceded by two consonants, has lost the capacity for supporting the personal ending *dhi* or *hi*; thus, also, the short *a* of the first chief conjugation, both in Sanscrit and Zend, has proved too weak to serve as a support to *dhi* or *hi*, and has laid them aside, as would appear, from the remotest period, as the corresponding Greek conjugation, namely, that in *ω*, and the Latin and Germanic conjuga-

* The relation of *δίδωι* to *δίδου* is essentially different from that which exists between *τύπτοισι*, *τύπτοισα*, and *τύπτουσι*, *τύπτουσα*; for here, as in *μέλαις* for *μέλας*, out of *μέλανς*, and analogous cases, the *ι* represents a nasal, which, in the ordinary language, has been melted down to *υ*, but also, in *τιθείς* for *τιθένς*, has become *ι*. On the other hand, *δίδου* and *δίδοι* do not rest on different modifications of a nasal.

tions, collectively dispense with the personal termination. The Germanic simple (strong) conjugation also surrenders the connecting vowel; hence *vig* for *viga*, Sanscrit *vah-a*, Zend *vaz-a*, Latin *veh-e*, Greek ἔχ-ε.

453. We now turn to the termination थ *tha*, of which it has already been remarked, that it is, in the singular, peculiar to the reduplicated preterite. In the Zend I know no certain evidence of this termination; yet I doubt not that there, also, its prevalence is pervading, and that in a passage of the Izeshne (V. S. p. 311), in which we expect a fuller explanation through Neriosengh's Sanscrit translation, the expression *fra-dadhâtha* can mean nothing else than "thou gavest," as the representative of the Sanscrit *pra-dadâta* (§. 47.); for in the second person plural, after the analogy of the Sanscrit and the Zend first person *dadĕmahi* (§. 30.), the *â* of the root must have been extinguished, and I expect here *daś-ta* for *daś-tha*, insomuch as in the root *śthâ*, answering to the Sanscrit root स्था *sthâ* (compare p. 111), so universally, in Zend, the Sanscrit थ *th* has laid aside its aspiration after *ś*.* Among the European cognate languages the Gothic comes the nearest to the aboriginal grammatical condition, in so far that, in its simple (strong) preterite, it places a *t* as a personal sign, without exception, opposite to the Sanscrit *tha*, which *t* remains exempt from suppression, because it is always sustained by an antecedent consonant (compare §. 91.): we might otherwise expect to find a Gothic *th* answering to the Sanscrit *th*, yet not as an unaltered continuation of the Sanscrit sound, but because थ *th* is a comparatively younger letter (compare p. 621), to which the Greek τ corresponds, and to this

* Burnouf, in his able collection of the groupes of consonants ascertained to exist in the Zend, has not admitted the composite *śth* (*çth*), but only *śt* (*çt*) (Yend. S. p. cxxxviii).

latter the Gothic *th*. If, however, the Greek, in its termination *θα*, appears identical with the Sanscrit थ *tha*, this appearance is delusive, for in an etymological point of view *θ* = ध *dh* (§. 16.). While, however, this rule holds good elsewhere, in the case above, *θ* is generated by the antecedent *s*, on the same principle as that which, in the medio-passive, converts every *τ* of an active personal termination, after the pre-insertion of *σ*, into *θ*. As to the origin of the *σ* which constantly precedes the ending *θα*, I have now no hesitation, contrary to an earlier opinion,* in referring it to the root in *ἦσθα* and *οἶσθα*, and in dividing them *ἦσ-θα*, *οἶσ-θα* (for *οιδ-θα*). The first answers to the Sanscrit *âs-i-tha*, for which we may expect *âs-tha*, without the connecting vowel, which has perhaps remained in the Vêda dialect. If this treatment and comparison, however, be unsound, then is *ἦσ-θα* also a remnant of the perfect, to which also belongs the first person *ἦα* for *ἦσα* = Sanscrit *âsa*, and the ending *θα* thus stands in *ἦσθα* in its true place: just so, also, in *οἶσ-θα*, answering to the Sanscrit *vêt-tha* (for *vêd-tha*), "thou knowest," Gothic *vais-t* for *vait-t* (§. 102.), and very probably to the Zend *vaêsh-ta* (see p. 94). The root विद् *vid* has the peculiarity, demonstrated by comparison with the cognate languages to be of extreme antiquity, of placing the terminations of the reduplicated preterites, but without reduplication, with a present signification. Hence, in the first præterite, *vêda* (not *vivêda*), answering to the Greek *οἶδα* for *Ϝοῖδα*, and Gothic *vait*. In *ᾔδεισθα* or *ᾔδησθα*, I recognise, as in all plusquam perfects, with Pott, a periphrastic construction, and consider, therefore, his *εισθα* or *ησθα* as identical with the simple *ἦσθα*. *Ἤεισθα* is, as to form, a plusquam perfect; nevertheless, to the Sanscrit first augmented preterite *âyam*, *âyas*, correspond *ᾔιον*, *ᾔιες*. In *ἔφησθα*, however, and in dia-

* Annals of Oriental Literature, p. 41.

lectical forms like *ἐθέλησθᾳ*, the termination *θα* appears to me unconscious of its primitive destination, and, habituated by *ἦσθα* and *οἶσ-θα* to an antecedent *σ*, to have fallen back upon the personal sign Σ, which was ready to its hand.

454. In the Latin, *sti* corresponds to the Sanscrit termination *tha*, with a weakening of the *a* to *i*, and the pre-insertion of an *s*, which has even intruded itself into the plural, where the *s* is less appropriate. On which account I consider it as a purely euphonic addition. Compare, for example—

LATIN.	SANSCRIT.
dedi-sti,	*dadi-tha* or *dadâ-tha.*
steti-sti,	*tasthi-tha* or *tasthâ-tha.*
momord-i-sti,	*mamard-i-tha,* "thou crushedst."
tutud-i-sti,	*tutôd-i-tha,* "thou woundedst."
peped-i-sti,	*papard-i-tha.*
proposc-i-sti,	*paprachch-i-tha,** "thou askedst."

The Latin has preserved the ancient condition of the language more faithfully than the Greek in this respect, that it has not allowed the termination in question to overstep the limits of the perfect. The Lithuanian and Sclavonic have allowed the reduplicated preterite, and, with it, the termination, entirely to perish.

455. We give here a general summary of the points of comparison which we have established for the second person of the three numbers of the transitive active form.

* Compare the Sclavonic *proshiti*, "*precari*" (§. 447. Table). The Sanscrit root *prach*, whose terminating aspirate in the case above steps before its tenuis, has split itself into three forms in the Latin, giving up the *p* in one, whence *rogo*, *interrogo*, the *r* in another, whence *posco* (§. 14.), and retaining both in *precor*.

SINGULAR.

SANSCRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	GERMAN.*	LITH.	OLD SCLAV
asi,[1]	*ahi,*	ἐσσί,	*es,*	*ist,*	*êssi,*	*yesi.*
tishṭhasi,	*histahi,*	ἵστης,	*stas,*	†*stâs,*	*stowi,*[2]	*stoïshi.*
dadâsi,	*dadhâhi,*	δίδως,	*das,*	. . .	*dûdi,*[2]	*dasi.*
bharasi,	*barahi,*	φέρεις,	*fers,*[3]	*bairis,*	. . . .	. . . .
vahasi,	*vazuhi,*	ἔχεις,[4]	*vehis,*	*vigis,*	*weźi,*[2]	*veζeshi.*
(a)syâs,	*hyâo,*	ἐ(σ)ίης,	*siês,*	*siyais,*[5]	. . . .	. . . .
tishṭhês,	*histôis,*	ἱσταίης,	*stês,*	. . . .	*stowêki,*	*stoĭ.*[8]
dadyâs,	*daidhyâo,*	διδοίης,	*dês,*	. . . .	*dûki,*[7]	*daschdy.*[9]
bharês,	*bharôis,*	φέροις	*ferâs,*	*bairais,*	. . . .	. . . .
vahês,	*vazôis,*	ἔχοις,	*vehâs,*	*vigais,*	*weſzki,*[7]	*veζi.*[10]
avahas,	*vazô,*	εἶχες,	*vehebas,*	. . . .	*weźei,*[2]	. . . .
êdhi,[11]	*azdhi ?*[12]	ἴσθι.	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .
viddhi,	*vischdi ?*[13]	ἴσθι,	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .
dêhi,[14]	*da~dhi,*[15]	δίδωθι,	.		. . . .	. . . .
shrudhi,[16]	. . . .	κλῦθι,	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	
vaha,	*vaza,*	ἔχε,	*vehe,*	*vig,*	. . . .	
âsitha,	*âoṇhitha ?*[17]	ἦσθα,[18]	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .
vêttha,	*vaêshta ?*[19]	οἶσθα,[18]	*vidisti,*	*vaist,*	. . . .	. . . .
tutôditha,	. . . .	. . .	*tutudisti,*	*staistaust,*[20]	. . . .	. . . .
bibhêditha,	. . . .	. . .	*fidisti,*	*maimaist,*[20]	. . . .	. . . .

DUAL.

SANSCRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	GERMAN.*	LITH.	OLD SCLAV
tishṭhathas,	*histathô ?*[21]	ἵστατον,	. . . .	. . . .	*stowita,*	*stoïta.*
bharathas,	*barathô ?*[21]	φέρετον,	. . . .	*bairats,*	. . . .	. . . .
vahathas,	*vazathô ?*[21]	ἔχετον,	. . . .	*vigats,*	*weźata,*	*veζeta.*
bharêtam,	. . . .	φέροιτον,	. . . .	*bairaits,*	. . . .	. . . .
vahêtam,	. . . .	ἔχοιτον,	. . . .	*vigaits,*	*weſzkita*	*veζyeta.*
avahatam,	. . . .	εἴχετον,	. . . .	. . . .	*weźêta,*	. . . .

PLURAL.

SANSCRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	GERMAN.*	LITH.	OLD SCLAV
tishṭhatha,	*histatha,*	ἵστατε,	*statis,*	‡*stât,*	. . . .	. . . .
bharatha,	*baratha,*	φέρετε,	*fertis,*[22]	*bairith,*[23]	. . . .	. . . .
vahatha,	*vazatha,*	ἔχετε,	*vehitis,*	*vigith,*[23]	*weźatè,*	*veζete.*
tishṭhêta,	*histaêta,*	ἱσταίητε,	*stêtis,*	. . . .	*stowêkite,*	*stoĭte.*
dadyâta,	*daidhyâta,*	διδοίητε,	*dêtis,*	. . . .	*dûkite,*	*daschdite.*
bharêta,	*baraêta,*	φέροιτε,	*ferâtis,*	*bairaith,*[23]	. . . .	. . . .
vahêta,	*vazaêta,*	ἔχοιτε,	*vehâtis.*	*vigaith,*[23]	*weſzkite,*	*veζyete.*
avahata,	*vazata,*	εἴχετε,	*vehebatis,*	. . . .	*weźête,*	. . . .

* See §. 442., Rem. *.

[1] A mutilation from *as-si*. [2] See §. 448. [3] Corresponds, with regard to the immediate connection of the personal termination with the root, to बिभर्षि *bibharshi* of the third class (§. 109[a]. 3.). [4] See §. 442. 3. [5] This form is grounded on *siy* as its root; *a* is the usual connecting vowel (p. 105), and *i* the modal expression. More of this hereafter. [6] *Tishṭhâyâs*, or, with the *â* suppressed, *tishṭhyâs* would correspond with the Greek ἱσταίης: but the root *sthâ* treats its radical vowel according to the analogy of the *a* of the first and sixth class (§. 109[a]. 1.), and contracts it, therefore, with *i* or *î* into *ê*, as in Latin *stes* out of *staïs*. More of this hereafter. [7] The Lithuanian imperative, also, like the Sclavonic, rests on the Sanscrit potential. The *i* is thus here not a personal but a modal expression, but is generally suppressed in the second person singular; and Ruhig declares the form with *i* to be absolute. [8] See Dobr. p. 530. [9] See Dobr. p. 539, and the further remarks on the imperative of the Archaic conjugation. [10] See §§. 255. *l.* and 433. [11] Out of *ad-dhi*, and this euphonic for *as-dhi*, ἴσ-θι (Gramm. Crit. §. 100.); so, below, *dê-hi* out of *dad-dhi*. That, however, the form *dê-hi* has been preceded by an earlier *dâ-hi* or *dâ-dhi*, may be inferred from the Zend form *dâi-di* (see §. 450), the first *i* of which has been brought in by the retro-active influence of the last (§. 41.). In Sanscrit, however, I no longer, as I once did, ascribe to the *i* of *êdhi*, *dêhi*, an assimilating influence on the antecedent syllable, but I explain the *ê* out of *â* thus, that the latter element of *a*+*a* has weakened itself to *i*. I shall recur to this hereafter, when I come to the reduplicated preterite. [12] As एधि *êdhi* has sprung from *ad-dhi* the latter leads us to expect a Zend form [Zend script] *az-dhi*, by the same law which has generated [Zend script] *daz-dhi* from *dad-dhi*. [13] The here supposed [Zend script] *vish-dhi*, from *vid-dhi*, distinguishes itself from [Zend script] *daz-dhi*, out of *dad-dhi*, through the influence of the antecedent vowel; for [Zend script] *sch* and [Zend script] *z* are, as sonant (soft) sibilants, so related to each other as, in Sanscrit, स् *s* and ष् *sh* among the mute (hard), see §. 21., and compare Burnouf's Yaçna, p. cxxi. [14] See §. 450., and above, Nos. 11 and 12. [15] See §. 450. [16] Vêda form, §. 450. [17] I have here, and also §. 632, given a short *a* to the ending *tha*, although the lithographed Codex, p. 311, presents *fradadhâthâ* with a long *â*; but in the passage cited of the Izeshne there are many other instances of the short terminating *a* written long; for which reason I cannot draw from the fashion of writing this word the conclusion that the originally short ending *tha* in Zend has lengthened itself, while in other words the converse has occurred: compare §. 335. As to what concerns the supposed form *âoṅhitha* I have elsewhere already cited the

third person ɹɒɯɹɒ *âonha*'=आस *âsa* and expect accordingly आसिथ *âsitha* to be answered by ɹɒɯɹɒ *âonhitha*. [18] See pp. 632, 633. [19] See §. 102. [20] The Gothic roots *staut* and *mait* have permanently substituted the Guna for the radical vowel, and thus saved the reduplication: their concluding *t* for *d* satisfies the law of substitution, but the first *t* of *staut* is retained on its original footing by the pre-insertion of the euphonic *s* (§. 91.). With regard to the *m* of *mait*, as corresponding to the *bh* of *bhid*, look to §§. 62. and 215., and to the phenomenon, often before mentioned, that one and the same root in one and the same language has often split itself into various forms of various signification; for which reason I do not hesitate to consider as well *bit*, "to bite" (*beita*, *bait*), as *mait*, "to cut off," with its petrified Guna, as corresponding to the Sanscrit *bhid*, "to split." [21] The dual ending *tô*, of which we have evidence for the third person, leaves scarcely room for doubt that *thô* is adapted to the second person of the primary forms. [22] Compare बिभृथ *bibhri tha* of the third class, and above, No. 3. [23] Upon *th* for *d* see § 446.

THIRD PERSON.

456. The pronominal base *ta* (§. 343.) has, after the analogy of the first and second person, weakened its vowel, in the singular primary forms, to *i*, and in the secondary laid it quite aside: the *t*, however, in Sanscrit and Zend, has, with the exception of the termination in *us*, nowhere suffered alteration, while, in the second person, we have seen the *t* of *tva* divide itself into the forms *t*, *th*, *dh*, and *s*. The Greek, on the other hand, has left the *t* of the third person in ordinary language unaltered only in ἐστί=अस्ति *asti*, ɹɒɯɹɒ *aśti*, but elsewhere substituted a σ; so that, for instance, δίδωσι more resembles the Sanscrit second person *dadâsi* than the third *dadâti*, and is only distinguished unorganically from its own second person δίδωσ, by the circumstance that the latter has dropped the *i*, which naturally belonged to it. That, however, originally τι prevailed everywhere, even in the conjugation in ω, is proved by the medio-passive ending ται; for as δίδοται is founded on δίδωσι, so also is τέρπεται on τέρπ-ε-τι = Sanscrit *tarp-a-ti*. The form τέρπει has, however, arisen from a

rejection of τ, as above (§. 451), τίθει from τίθετι, δίδοι from δίδοθι, κέρᾳ from κέρατι;* as, also, in Prakrit, *bhanai*, "*dicit*," is used together with *bhanadi*.† In the secondary forms the Greek, according to the universal law of sound, has given up the concluding *T* sound, and goes hand in hand, in this respect, with the Prakrit, which, with exception of the Anuswâra (§. 10.), has repudiated all consonants at the end of words, as in the Gothic, §. 433., and the Sclavonic, §. 255. *l*; hence ἔχοι answers better to the Prakrit form *vahê*, and to the Gothic *vigai* and Sclavonic вези *vezi*, than to the Sanscrit *vahêt*, Zend [Zend script] *vazôit*, and Latin *vehat*, *vehet*.

457. While the concluding *T* sound—which in the secondary forms in Sanscrit, Zend, and Latin, has survived the injuries of time—has been abandoned by the *i* of *ti*, the more complete termination of the primary forms, it has itself been preserved to the present day in German and in Russian. Nor has the Old Sclavonic allowed the *i* to escape entirely, but exhibits it in the form of a *y*.‡ Compare

OLD SCLAVONIC.	SANSCRIT.
єсть *yes-ty*, "*est*,"	अस्ति *as-ti*.
ꙗсть *yas-ty*,* "*edit*,"	अत्ति *at-ti*.
вѣсть *vyes-ty*,* "*scit*,"	वेत्ति *vêt-ti*.
дасть *das-ty*,* "*dat*,"	ददाति *dadâ-ti*.
везеть *vez-e-ty*, "*vehit*,"	वहति *vaha-ti*.

* Perhaps οἴκοι is also no antiquated dative form, for οἴκῳ, but a mutilation of οἴκοθι.

† In the second imperative person, also, the Prakrit exhibits an interesting analogy to the Greek τίθε(τ)ι, διδο(θ)ι, in the form *bhanai*, "*dic*," for *bhanahi* from *bhanadhi*.

‡ According to Dobrowsky, only in the Archaic conjugation; to Kopitar, also in the ordinary. He notices, namely (Glagolita, p. 62), "*Tertiæ personæ*, ть *tam sing. quam plur. veteres, ut nos hic, per* ть *scribebant. Hodierni per* тъ."   § *S* euphonic for *d* (p. 608).

The Lithuanian has, in the ordinary conjugation, lost the sign of the third person in the three numbers; hence *wéż-a'* corresponding to the Sclavonic *veś-e-ty* and Sanscrit *vah-a-ti;* the same, also, in the dual and plural. Those verbs only, which, in the first person, have preserved the ending *mi* (§. 435.), have, in the third also, partially preserved the full *ti*, or the *ì*, and, indeed, at the same time, in full connection with the root; hence, *esti*, "he is," *důsti*, or *důst*,* "he gives," *ést*.* "he eats," *giest*,* "he sings," *dést*,* "he places," *miegt*, "he sleeps," *sáugt'*, "he preserves," *gelbt'*, "he helps," *sérgt'*, "he protects," *liekt'*, "he lets." This singular ending is also carried over to the dual and plural. The Gothic has, with the exception of *ist*, where the ancient tenuis has maintained itself under the protection of the antecedent *s*, everywhere *th* in the third person of the primary forms. This *th*, however, is not the usual dislodgement of *t*, but stands, as in the second plural person (see §. 446.), euphonically for *d*, because *th* suits the ending better than *d* (§. 91.). In the medio-passive, on the other hand, the older medial has maintained itself in the ending *da*, which also agrees with the Prakrit ending *di*. On these medials rests, also, the Old High German *ʒ*, by a displacement which has again brought back the original form.†

458. For the designation of plurality, *n* is inserted before the pronominal character which has been compared with the accusative plural (§. 236.). Behind this *n*, the Gothic, in contradistinction from the singular, has maintained the older medial, since *nd* is a favourite union. Compare *sind* with सन्ति *santi*, ༄ *hĕnti*, "*sunt*," and

* *S* euphonic for *d*, in harmony with §. 102. and with the Sclavonic.

† In this sense is to be corrected what we have remarked on this head in §. 90.

(σ)εντι. The Sanscrit observes before the same *n* the same principle, which we have noticed above (§. 437.), with respect to the vowel-less *m* of the first person of the secondary forms. It pre-inserts, namely, an *a* when that letter or *á* does not already precede the pluralizing *n* in a class or root syllable: hence, *tarp-a-nti*, like τέρπ-ο-ντι, *tishta-nti* like ἵσταντι, *bhá-nti*, "they shine," like φαντί; but *chi-nv-anti*, "they collect," not *chi-nu-nti* from *chi*; *y-anti*, "they go," not *in-ti** from *i*. Thus the Greek ᾶσι out of αντι in δεικνυ-ᾶσι, ἰ-ᾶσι τιθέ-ᾶσι, διδό-ᾶσι, acquires a fair foundation; for it is scarcely to be admitted that so striking a coincidence can be accidental. For even if the forms τιθεαντι, διδοαντι, ἰαντι, δεικνυαντι, are not maintained in any dialect, yet we cannot doubt that the length of the α in τιθέᾶσι, &c., as well as in ἵστᾶσι and τετύφᾶσι, is a compensation for an extinguished ν, and that σι, as everywhere in the third person, stands for τι. With regard, however, to the interpolated α, δεικνυᾶσι and ἰᾶσι coincide the most closely with the aboriginal type of our family of language, as in τιθέᾶσι the ε, and in διδόᾶσι the ο, stand for the Sanscrit *á* or *a*; for τίθημι = *dadhámi* and δίδωμι = *dadámi*. These two Sanscrit words must originally have formed, in the third plural person, *dadhá-n-ti*, *dadá-nti*, or, with a shortened *a*, *dadhanti*, *dada-nti*; and to this is related the Doric τιθέντι, διδόντι, as ἐντί to सन्ति *santi*. The forms τιθέασι, διδοᾶσι, however, have followed the analogy of δεικνύᾶσι and ἰᾶσι, inasmuch as they

* The Indian grammarians adopt everywhere *anti*, and, in the secondary forms, *an*, as the full ending of the third person plural, and lay down, as in the first person singular of the secondary forms, as a rule, that *a* of the class syllable of the first chief conjugation is rejected before the *a* of the ending; thus, *tarp'-anti*, for *tarpánti*, out of *tarp-a-anti*. The cognate languages, however, do not favour this view; for if the Greek ο of φέρ-ο-ντι is identical with that of φέρ-ο-μες, and the Gothic *a* of *bair-a-nd* with that of *bair-a-m*, the *a* also of the Sanscrit *bharanti* must be received in a like sense as the long *á* of *bhar-á-mas* and the short of *bhar-a-tha*.

have treated their root-vowel as though it had not sprung from *a*. Thus the Ionicisms, ἱστέᾰσι, ἔασι.

459. The Sanscrit verbs of the third class (§. 109ª. 3.), on account of the burthen occasioned by the reduplication, which they have to bear in the special tenses, strive after an alleviation of the weight of the terminations: they therefore give up the *n* of the third person plural, and shorten a long *â* of the root, whence ददति *dada-ti*, "they give," दधति *dadha-ti*, "they place," जहति *jaha-ti*, "they leave." There is, however, no room to doubt that, in the earlier condition of the language, these forms were sounded *dada-nti, dadha-nti, jaha-nti*, and that in this respect the Doricisms διδό-ντι, τιθέ-ντι, have been handed down more faithful to the original type. The Zend also protects, in reduplicated verbs, the nasal; for in V. S., p. 213, we find [Zend] *dadĕntê*, "they give," perhaps erroneously for *dadĕnti*.* If, however, the reading be correct, it is a medial, and not the less bears witness to a transitive *dadĕnti*. The Sanscrit, however, in the middle, not only in reduplicated verbs, but in the entire second chief conjugation, which corresponds to the Greek in μι, on account of the weight of the personal terminations, abandons the plural nasal; hence *chi-nv-atê* (for *chi-nv-antê*) contrasted with the transitive *chi-nv-anti*. This also proves to be a disturbance of the original construction of the language, which dates from an epoch subsequent to its separation; for the Greek maintains in the medio-passive, still more firmly than in the active, the nasal as

* That, however, the suppression of the nasal is not foreign to the Zend is shewn in the form [Zend] *śenhaiti*, "they teach," =Sanscrit शासति *śâsati* from the root शास् *śâs*, which, probably on account of the double sibilant, follows the analogy of the reduplicated forms. In Zend, the nasal placed before the *h* may have favoured the suppression of that of the termination. Upon the [Zend] *e* for [Zend] *ĕ* see Burnouf's Yaçna, p. 480.

an expression of plurality, and opposes to the Sanscrit *tarp-a-ntê* not only τερπ-ό-νται, but also to the Sanscrit *dadatê*, *dadhatê*, δίδο-νται, τίθε-νται. Yet the Greek has, through another channel found a means of lightening the excessive weight of the medial termination, by substituting νται where αντα would naturally occur; hence δείκνυ-νται, not δεικν-ανται, which latter we might expect from δεικνύ-ᾱσι (out of δεικνυ-αντι). The Sanscrit form *stri-nv-âtê*, and the Greek στόρ-νυ-νται keep their completeness respectively, since the one has preserved the *a*, the other the nasal. The extrusion of the α from στορ-νυ(α)νται resembles the η of the optative, inasmuch as, on account of the increasing weight of the personal terminations, in the medio passive, we form from διδοίην not διδοιήμην, but διδοίμην. The Ionicism has, however, in the third person plural, sacrificed the α to the ν, and in this particular, therefore, harmonizes most strictly with the Sanscrit; in remarking which, we must not overlook that, both in their respective ways, but from the same motive, have generated their *atê*, αται, out of *antê*; thus, στορ-νύ-α(ν)ται as compared with στόρ-νυ-(α)νται, the first being analogous to the Sanscrit *stri-nv-a(n)tê*. We do not, therefore, require, contrary to p. 255, to assume that α of πεπαύαται, and similar forms in the vowelization of the ν of πέπαυνται, but πεπαυ-νται and πεπαύ-αται are diverse mutilations of the lost aboriginal form πεπαύ-ανται.

460. The Old Sclavonic has dissolved the nasal in Dobrowsky's first and second conjugation into a short *u* sound, as in the first person singular the *m*, and contracted the latter with the antecedent connecting vowel, which elsewhere appears as є, but here is to be assumed as *ŏ*, to *û*; so that везѹть *veζûty** from *veζonty* has a surprising resemblance to the Greek ἔχουσι from ἔχονσι for ἔχοντι. The Bohemian

* Dobrowsky writes везѹт *veζût*, and gives, as in the singular, the *y* only in the Archaic conjugation (see p. 638. Rem. ‡).

wezau has, on the other hand, preserved the old *a* of the Sanscrit *vah-a-nti*, and the Gothic *vigand*, which, in the Latin *vehunt*, by the influence of the liquids, has become *u*, in contrast to the *i* of the other persons (*veh-i-s*, &c.). The *u* of the Bohemian *wezau*, however, like the last constituent of the diphthong *ų̂* of везѫть *veζûty*, is of nasal origin. In the Archaic conjugation the Old Sclavonic has, with the exception of *sûty* = सन्ति *santi*, "*sunt*," ՚ենտի *hĕnti*, ἐντί, abandoned entirely the nasal of the termination, but, in its stead, has maintained the *a* in its primary shape, yet with the pre-insertion of an unorganic *y* (§. 225[a].); otherwise *dadaty*, for which дадѧть *dadyaty*, would be nearly identical with the Sanscrit ददति *dadati*: as reduplicated verbs have, in Sanscrit also, lost the nasal (§. 459.) вѣдѧть *vyedyaty*, "they know," accords less with विदन्ति *vidanti*, and ıадѧть *yadyaty*, "they eat," with अदन्ति *adanti*. This analogy is followed, also, by these verbs, which correspond to the Sanscrit tenth class (§. 109[a]. 6.), namely, Dobrowsky's third conjugation, as *bûd-ya-ty*, "they make" = Sanscrit बोधयन्ति *bôdh-aya-nti*. Here, however, as the division and recomposition shews, the *a* preceding the *y* is not inorganic, but belongs with the *a* to the character syllable of the conjugation, of which more hereafter.

461. In the secondary forms the vowel has been dropped from the plural ending *nti* or *anti*, as from the singular *ti*, *si*, *mi*, and with this in Sanscrit, after the law had established itself so destructive to many terminations which forbids the union of two consonants at the end of a word (§. 94.), the personal character *t* was obliged to vanish, which in Greek, where a simple *t* is also excluded as a termination, had been already withdrawn from the singular. If thus ἔτερπε finds itself at a disadvantage opposed to *atarp-a-t*—thus, in ἔτερπ-ο-ν, opposed to *atarp-a-n* (for *atarp-a-nt*)—the two languages, if not from the same motives, stand on a similar footing of degeneracy. Ἦσ-αν

accords still better with *ἆσαν*, and aorists like *ἔδειξαν* with Sanscrit tenses like the equivalent *adikshan*, as it would seem that the sibilant of the verb substantive has protected the *a* of the ending *an* from degenerating to *o*; for the usual practice of the language would have given us to expect *ἧσον* like *ἔτερπον*, or *ἧσεν* like *τέρποι-εν*. The Zend goes along with the *εν* of the latter in forms like *anhĕn*, "they were," and *barayĕn*, "they might bear" = *φέροιεν*. We see from this that the Zend also cannot support the weight of the termination *nt*, although it condescends more than the Sanscrit to concluding sibilants sequent on *r*, *c*, *f*, and *ṅ*; and has handed down to us nominatives such as *âtars*, "fire," *druc-s*, "a demon," *kerefs*, "body," *baraṅs*, "bearing." From the Gothic have vanished all the *T* sounds which existed in the previous periods of the German language (see §. 294. Rem. 1.). Hence, if in the present indicative *bair-a-nd* answer to the Sanscrit *bar-an-ti* and Greek *φερ-ο-ντι*, we can nevertheless look for no *bairaind* or *bairaiand* in the conjunctive answering to *φεροιεν(τ)*, Zend *barayen(t)*; and we find instead *bai-rai-na*. as would seem by transposition out of *bairai-an*, so that *an* corresponds to the Greek and Zend *εν*, *ĕn*, out of *an*.* In the medio-passive the lost *T* sound of the active has preserved itself as in the Greek, because it did not stand at the end, but the vowel coming before, and, in Gothic, by transposition, after the *n*, is removed on account of the increscence of the ending; hence, *bairaindan*, as in Greek *φέροιντο*, not *φεροιεντο* (compare p. 642).

462. The ending *un* of the Gothic preterite, as in *haihaitun*, "they were named," may be compared with the

* Or might we assume, that, as in the accusative (§. 149.), an inorganic *a* had been appended to the originally terminating nasal? The supposition of the text, however, accords better with the probabilities of the primitive grammar.

Alexandrine *αν* for *αντι*, *ᾶσι* (*ἐγνωκαν*, *εἰρηκαν*, &c.) with the recollection that the Sanscrit also, in its reduplicated preterite, although the primary endings accrue to it, yet, under the pressure of the reduplication syllable, has been unable to maintain the original *anti* uncorrupted, but puts *us* in its stead. The *s* of this form is without doubt a weakening of the original *t*: with respect, however, to the *u*, it may remain undecided whether it is a vowelization of the nasal, and thus the latter element of the Greek *ου* of *τύπτουσι*, or a weakening of the *a* of *anti*. The Sanscrit uses the ending *us* also in the place of *an*: first, in the potential, corresponding to the Zend-Greek *ĕn*, *εν*, hence भरेयुस् *bharĕyus* (with an euphonic *y*, §. 43.), *baray-ĕn*, *φέροι-εν*; second, in the first augmented preterite of the reduplicated roots, thus, *adadhus*, "they placed," *adadus*, "they gave," for *adadhan* (comp. *ἐτίθεν*), *adudan*; from which it is clear that *us*, since *u* is lighter than *a* (Vocalismus, p. 227. ff.), is more easily borne by the language than *an*; third, in the same tense, but at discretion together with *â-n*, in roots of the second class in *â*, for instance, *ayus*, or *ayân*, "they went," from *yâ*; fourth, in some formations of the multiform preterite, for instance, अश्रौषुस् *ashrâushus*, "they heard."

463. The Old Sclavonic could not, according to §. 255. *l.*, maintain unaltered either the *t* or the *n* of the secondary form *ant* or *nt*: it sets in their place either a simple *a* or *ŭ*, which last is to be derived from *on*. These two endings are, however, so dealt with by the practice of the language, that *a* appears only after *sh*, *ŭ* only after *ch*; for instance, бѣхѫ *byechŭ* or бѣша *byesha*, "they were" (§. 255. *m.*). The secondary form of the Latin has been handed down in most perfect condition, and has everywhere retained the pronominal *t* after the nasal which expresses plurality; thus *erant* outdoes the abovementioned forms आसन् *âsan*, *ἦσαν*, and *anhĕn*; and *ferant*, in respect of the personal sign,

is more perfect than the Greek *φέροι-εν*, Zend *barayĕn*, Gothic *bairai-na* and Sanscrit भरेयुस् *bharêy-us*

464. In the dual of the Sanscrit the primary form is *tas*, and the secondary *tâm*: to the first corresponds, in Greek, *τον* (§. 97.)—thus *τέρπ-ε-τον* = *tarp-a-tas*;—but the ending *tâm* has, according to the variety of the *â* representation (§. 4.) divided itself into the forms *την* and *των*, of which the former is the prevalent one, the latter limited to the imperative; hence *ἐτέρπ-έ-την*, *τερπ-οί-την*, against *atarp-a-tâm*, *tarp-ê-tâm*; *ἐδεικ-σα-την* against *adik-sha-tâm*; but *τερπ-έ-των* against *tarp-a-tam*. From this remarkable coincidence with the Sanscrit, it is clear that the difference in Greek between *τον* on the one hand and *την*, *των* on the other has a foundation in remote antiquity, and was not, as Buttmann conjectures (Gr. §. 87. Obs. 2.), a later formation of the more modern prose, albeit in four places of Homer (three of which are occasioned by the metre) *τον* is found for *την*. The augment, however, cannot be considered as a recent formation merely because it is often suppressed in Homer, since it is common to the Greek and the Sanscrit. In Zend the primary form is regular, *tô*:* for the secondary, however, which will run *tanm*, we have as yet no instance. The Gothic has lost the third dual person, but the Old Sclavonic has ТА *ta*, feminine ТѢ *tye*, as well for the primary

* An instance is found in a passage of the Izeshné (p. 48), the sense of which has been much mistaken by Anquetil:— *staômi maêghêmcha vârĕmcha yâ tê kĕhrpĕm vacsayatô barĕsnus paiti gairinanm*, "I praise the clouds and the rain, which sustain thy body on the heights of the mountains." According to Anquetil, "*J'adresse ma priere à l'année, a la pluie, auxquelles vous avez donné un corps sur le sommet des montagnes.*" *Vacsayatô* is either the future of *vax*, with an inserted *a*—thus for *vacsyatô* = Sanscrit *vakshyatas*—or a derivative from the root mentioned, in the present according to the tenth class; in either case, however, a third person dual.

form तस् *tas* (τον) as for the secondary ताम् *tâm*, τηv, των (compare §. 445.); hence BE3ETA *veζeta*, "they two travel," = वहतस् *vahatas*; BE3OCTA *veζosta*, "they two travelled," = अवाक्ताम् *avâktâm*, euphonic for *avâkshtâm*, p. 98; 3BENѢCTA *ζvenjesta*, "they two sounded," = अस्वनिष्टाम् *asvanishtâm*. As to what concerns the origin of the last letters *s* and *m* in the personal expressions तस् *tas* and ताम् *tâm*, they rest, without doubt, on a similar principle to those of the second person थस् *thas*, तम् *tam*; and if one of the explanations given, §. 444. be valid, we must then abandon the conjecture elsewhere expressed, that *m* of *tâm* sprung indeed originally from *s*, but through the previous intervention of a *v* (for *u*), after the analogy of आवाम् *âvâm*, "we two," युवाम् *yuvâm*, "you two" (see §. 340. Table, Dual, 1).

465. The following comparative table presents a summary of the third person in the three numbers:—

SINGULAR.

SANSCRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	GERMAN.*	LITH.	OLD SCLAV.
asti,	*ashti*,	ἐστί,	*est*,	*ist*,	*esti*,	*yesty*.
tishtati,	*histati*,	ἵστᾱτι,	*stat*,	†*stat*,	*stow*,	*stoïty*.
dadâti,	*dadhâiti*,	δίδωτι,	*dat*,	. . . .	*důsti*,	*dasty*.
atti,	. . . .	. . . .	*est*,	*itith*,	*ěsth*,	*yasty*.
barati,	*baraiti*,	φέρε(τ)ι,[1]	*fert*,[2]	*bairith*,	. .	. . . .
vahati,	*vazaiti*,	ἔχε(τ)ι,[1]	*vehit*,	*vigith*,	*weźa*,[3]	*veζety*.
(a)syât,	*hyat*,	ἐ(σ)ίη,	*siet*,	*siyai*,[4]	. .	. . . .
tishthêt,	*histâit*,	ἱσταίη,	*stet*,	. . . .	. . .	*stoï*.
dadyât,	*daidhyât*,	διδοίη,	*det*,	. . . .	. . .	*daschdy*.
bharêt,	*barôit*,	φέροι,	*ferat*,	*bairai*,	. . .	. . [1] .
avahat,	*vazat*,	εἶχε,	*vehebat*,	.	*weźě*,	. . . .
asvanît,	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	*ζvenye*.

DUAL.

(a)stas,	*shtô*?[1]	ἐστόν,	. . .	. .	. . .	*yesta*.
tishthatas,	*histatô*,[7]	ἵστατον,	. . .	. . . .	. .[8]	*stoïta*.
barêtâm,	. .	φεροίτην,	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . . .
bharatâm,	. . . .	φερέτων,	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . . .
asvânishtâm,	. . . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	*ζvenyesta*.

* See p. 618, Rem. *.

PLURAL.[1]

SANSCRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	GERMAN.	LITH.	OLD SCLAV.
santi,	*hĕnti*,	(ἐ)εντί,	*sunt*,	*sind*,	..[8]	*sûty*.[9]
tishthanti,	*histĕnti*,	ἵσταντι,	*stant*,	*stând*,	..[8]	*stoyaty*.
dadati,[10]	*dad'nti*,[11]	διδόντι,	*dant*,	....	..[8]	*dadyaty*.
bharanti,	*barĕnti*,	φέροντι,	*ferunt*,	*bairand*,	...	....
vahanti,	*vazĕnti*,	ἔχοντι,	*vehunt*,	*vigand*,	...	*veζûty*.[9]
tishthêyus,[12]	*histayĕn*,	ἱσταῖεν,	*stent*,	....	...	....
bharêyus,[12]	*barayen*,	φέροιεν,	*ferant*,	*bairaina*,[13]	...	....
âsan,	*anhĕn*,	ἦσαν,	*erant*,	...	...	....
atarpishus,	....	ἔτερψα,	..	....	[2]..	*terpyesha*.[14]
asvanishus,	....	....	..	....	...	*ζvenyesha*.
alikshan,	....	ἔλειξαν,	..	..	...	*lokasha*.

[1] See §. 456. [2] Agrees with बिभर्ति *bibharti*, third class, p. 636, 3. [3] Without personal sign: see §. 457. [4] See p. 636, 5. [5] P. 636, 6. [6] First person, *asvanisham*, "I sounded." [7] See §. 464. [8] As in the singular: see §. 457. [9] See §. 225. *g*. [10] See §. 459. [11] See §. 459. [12] See p. 645. [13] See p. 644. [14] *Tarpyeti* is called "suffering," "bearing," so that the original signification appears to be inverted: compare the Gothic *thaurban*, "to need" (Vocalismus, p. 170). The Sanscrit root *tarp* (*trip*) means, according to the fifth class *tripyâmi*, "to be content, satisfied"; according to the first (*tarpâmi*), tenth (*tarpayâmi*), and sixth (*tripâmi*), "to content," &c.

MEDIAL TERMINATIONS.

466. The medial terminations, in which the passive participates, distinguish themselves throughout from those of the active form by a greater fulness of form, even though the mode of formation be not always the same. Sanscrit, Zend, and Greek accord together in this, that they extend a concluding *i*, in the primary forms, by the pre-insertion of *a*: hence, μαι from μι, σαι from the σι which remains uncorrupted only in ἐσσι of the second person (§. 488.), ται from τι, and, in the plural, νται from ντι. The Sanscrit and Zend make their diphthong *ê* correspond to the Greek αι; and this applies to the rare cases in which the *ê* produced by *a* + *i* is represented in Greek by αι, as usually the first element of the Indo-Zend diphthong appears, in Greek, in the shape of

e or *o* (see Vocalismus, p. 196). The weightier and original *a* seems, however, in the extant endings of the middle voice, where the expressive fullness of form of the language comes most into evidence, to have been purposely guarded. The Gothic has lost the *i* element of the diphthong *ai*; hence, in the third person, *da* for *dai*; in the second, *za* (euphonic for *sa*, §. 86. 5.) for *zai*; and in the third person plural, *nda* for *ndai*. The first person singular and the first and second of the plural have perished, and are replaced by the third, as our German *sind*, which pertains properly to the third person plural, has penetrated into the first. The *a* which precedes the personal ending, as in *hait-a-za*, "*vocaris*," *hait-a-da*, "*vocatur*," as opposed to the *i* of *haitis*, "*vocas*," *haitith*, "*vocat*," appeared formerly mysterious, but has since, to my mind, fully explained itself by the assumption that all Gothic verbs of the strong form correspond to the Sanscrit first or fourth class (p. 105), and that the *i* of *haitis*, *haitith*, is a weakening of an older *a*, conformable to rule, and the result of a retro-active influence of the terminating *s* and *th* (§. 47.). The medio-passive, however, found no occasion for a necessary avoidance of the older *a* sound, and it therefore continues, in this particular, in the most beautiful harmony with the Asiatic sister idioms.

467. The Sanscrit and Zend have lost in the first person singular, as well of the primary as the secondary forms, the pronominal consonant, and with it, in the first chief conjugation, the *a* of the class syllable (see § 435.); hence बोधे *bôdhê*, "I know," for *bôdh-â-mê* or *bôdh-a-mê*, in the case that the weightier personal ending in §. 434. has impeded the lengthening of the class vowel there mentioned. Compare—

SANSCRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	GOTHIC.
भरे *bhar-ê*,	*bair-ê*,[1]	φέρ-ο-μαι,	. . . .
भरसे *bhar-a-sê*,	*bar-a-hê*,	(φέρ-ε-σαι), φέρῃ,	*bair-ă-za*,
भरते *bhar-a-tê*,	*bar-ai-tê*,[1]	φέρ-ε-ται,	*bair-a-da*,
भरन्ते *bhar-a-ntê*,	*bar-ai-ntê*,[2]	φέρ-ο-νται,	*bair-a-nda*.

[1] See §. 42. [2] In the passive the third person plural often appears as [illegible] *uzzayĕintĕ* (Vend. S. p. 136), with *ĕ* for *a*, through the influence of the antecedent *y* (§. 42.). For the middle I have no instance of this person; we might at best be in doubt whether we might use *barĕntĕ* after the analogy of the transitive *barĕnti* or *barainte*. Both are possibly admissible, but *barainte* appears to me the safest, as in the active transitive, also, *ainti* is extant as well as *ĕnti*, especially after *v*, where *ĕnti* would, perhaps, not be allowed; hence, [illegible] *jvainti*, "they live," = Sanscrit जीवन्ति *jîvanti*; [illegible] *bavainti*, "they are," = भवन्ति *bhavanti*. We find, also, without *v* preceding, *yazainti* = *yajanti* in a passage cited from the Tashter-Yesht by Burnouf (Yaçna, Notes, p. 74). Or should we here read *yazaintĕ*, as *yaz* is specially used in the middle.

468. In the secondary forms the terminating diphthong in Sanscrit and Zend weakens itself in the same manner as in Gothic already in the primary; the *i* element, namely, vanishes, but the *a* remaining appears, in Greek, as *o*; hence, ἐφέρ-ε-το, opposed to अभरत *abhar-a-ta*, [illegible] *bar-a-ta*; in the plural, ἐφέρ-ο-ντο, to अभरन्त *abhar-a-nta*, [illegible] *bar-a-nta*. The Sanscrit-Zend forms have a striking likeness to the Gothic *bair-a-da, bair-a-nda*. Yet I am not hence disposed, as formerly * to accommodate the Gothic primary to the Sanscrit secondary forms, and to make the comparison between *bair-a-da, bair-a-nda*, and *abhar-a-ta, abhar-a-nta*, instead of *bhar-a-tê, bhar-a-ntê*. The ending *au*, in the Gothic conjunctive, is puzzling; for instance, *bair-ai-dau*, opposed to the Sanscrit *bhar-ê-ta*, Zend *bar-aê-ta*, Greek φέρ-οι-το; and thus, in the plural, *bair-ai-ndau* opposed to φέρ-οι-ντο ;† and, in the second person singular, *bair-ai-zau*

* Conjugation System, p. 131.

† In Zend the active *bar-ay-ĕn* would lead us to expect a medial *bar-aê-nta* (compare §. 461.). The Sanscrit, departing from the sister languages, has the ending *ran*, thus *bhar-ê-ran*, which seems to me a mutilation of *bhar-ê-ranta*. The root *śî*, "sleep," "lie," inserts anomalously such an *r*, as here precedes the proper personal ending, in the third person of all special tenses (§. 109ª.), suppressing, however, in the present impe-

to *φέρ-οι-(σο)*. It is not probable that this *au* has arisen out of *a* by the inorganic addition of a *u*, as the degenerations of a language usually proceed, rather by a wearing off than an extending process. I think, therefore, that the ending *au* of the imperative, where it has already attained a legal foundation (p. 597), has insinuated itself into the conjunctive; that thus the speakers, seduced by the analogy of *bair-a-dau*, *bair-a-ndau*, have used *bair-ai-dau*, *bair-ai-ndau*, also in the conjunctive; and that thence the *au* has made its way into the second person singular, thus *bair-ai-zau* for *bair-ai-za*. This ought not to surprise, as the medio-passive in the Gothic has got into confusion in this respect, that the first person, and, in the plural, the second also, has been entirely displaced by the third.

469. In the second person singular of the secondary forms the Sanscrit diverges from the principle of the third and first. Just as *ta* stands opposite to the primary *tê* and the secondary *t* of the transitive active, we should expect *sâ* as a counterpart to *sê* and *s*. In its place, however, we find *thâs*; thus, for instance, *abhôdh-a-thâs*, "thou knewest," *bhôdh-ê-thâs*, "thou mightest know." That, however, originally there was a form *sa* co-existent with this *thâs* is indicated, not only by the Greek, in which *ἐδίδο-σο*, *δίδοι-σο* accord exactly with *ἐδίδο-το*, *δίδοι-το*, but also by the Zend, which exhibits ࡄࡅ *hu* in places where, in Sanscrit, स *sa* is to be expected, the *h* being a regular correspondent to *s* (§. 53.),

and 𐬱𐬀 *sha* after such vowels as, in Sanscrit, require the conversion of the *s* into *sh* (p. 20). The ending *ha* has, according to §. 56ª, an *n* prefixed, and thus it occurs in my first Zend attempt (Berlin Annual. March 1831. p. 374), in the passive form, hitherto unique, *uśnyanha*, "thou wast born" (Vend. S. p. 42). Anquetil translates the passage, which cannot admit two interpretations, [Zend script] *hê tûm uśazayanha*, "to him thou wast born," by "*lui qui a eu un fils célèbre comme vous*," and thus conceals the true grammatical value of this remarkable expression, which was perhaps not intelligible even to Anquetil's Parsi instructors. I have since been unable to find a second instance of this form; but Burnouf (Yaçna Notes, p. 33) has brought to light a middle aorist form of no less importance, namely, [Zend script] *urûrudhusha*, "thou grewest," to which we shall recur hereafter. At present we are concerned only with the substantiation of the ending *sha*, the *s* of which stands under the euphonic influence of an antecedent *u*.

470. We return to the Sanscrit ending *thâs*. This stands in obvious connection with the active ending *tha*, described §. 453., which probably had, in its origin, an extension in the singular, and from which the form *thâs* arose, by elongation of the vowel and the addition of *s*; which *s*, as observed Gramm. Crit. §. 301. *d*, probably stands also to designate the second person. If this be so, then either the first or the second personal expression would designate the person, which sustains the operation of the action or its interest, which in all middle forms is forthcoming at least in the spirit if not in the body. Thus in *ádat-thâs*, "thou gavest to thee" (tookest), either "thou" is designated by *thâ*, and "to thee" by *s*, or the converse. If this be so, and if in the Greek first person the *ν* of the ending *μην* (Doric *μᾱν*) be organic, *i. e.* not a later nugatory addition, but intentional, and a legacy of the primeval period of our race of languages, then ἐδιδόμην also signifies "I gave to me," whether it be that *με* (*μᾱ*) or, as

seems to me more probable, the *ν* expresses the subjective relation: in either case, however, *μῆ-ν* (*μᾶ-ν*) stands, even with respect to the length of the vowel, in perfect analogy to the Sanscrit *thâs*. To this we must add, as an analogy for the third person, the ending तात् *tât* of the Vêda dialect, where the expression of the third person stands doubled. I therefore hold this remarkable ending for a middle, although Pânini (VII. 1. 35.) gives it out as a substitute for the transitive imperative endings *tu* and *hi** which precede blessings; for instance, *bhavân jîvatât*, "May your honour live!" (respectful for "mayest thou live!"). It is true the root *jîv*, and perhaps many others with the ending *tât*, is not used in the ordinary language in the middle voice, but the ending may be a remnant of a period in which all verbs had still a middle voice. The middle is, moreover, in its place in blessings, in which some good or advantage is always imprecated for some one. Finally, *tât*, in a formal respect, is much nearer to the usual medial imperative ending *tâm* than the transitive *tu*; yet I do not believe that *tât* has arisen out of *tâm*, but rather that the converse has taken place, perhaps by the intervention of an intermediate *tâs* (compare §. 444). However this may be, the ending *tât*, which Burnouf's acuteness has detected also in Zend,† is of importance, because it affords an ancient foundation for the Oscan imperative in

* Possibly the representation of the ending *hi* by *tât* may be so understood, as that in sentences like *bhavân jivatât*, "May your honour live!" the person addressed is always meant. Examples are not adduced in which the actual second person is expressed by *tât*. Should such exist, we should be obliged here to bring back the two *t*'s to the base *tva* of the second person, while in the *tât* of the third person both belong to the demonstrative base *ta* (§. 343.).

† Only in one instance of value, [Zend script] *us-varstât* (Yaçna, p. 503, Note).

tud,* preserved to us in the table of Bantia, as *licitu-d* for *liceto*, *estu-d* for *esto*, ἔστω.† To the Greek imperative ending τω a middle origin is otherwise ascribable; for in the plural, τερπ-ό-ντων accords perfectly with the Sanscrit middle *tarp-a-ntâm*, and is related to it as τερπ-έ-των to the purely active dual *tarp-a-tâm*. Should, however, τερπ-ό-ντων be identical with the transitive *tarp-a-ntu*, this would be a solitary instance in the entire grammar of the Greek language, in which ω corresponded to a Sanscrit *u*, with, moreover, an inorganic accession of a nasal. We should be more inclined in τερπέτω—if we accommodate it to the medial *tarp-a-tâm*—to admit the abrasion of a nasal sound, as in ἔδειξα, opposed to अदिक्षम् *adiksham*. I now, however, prefer to identify τερπέτω with the Vêda word *tarpatât*, for the abandonment of the τ were compulsory, that of the nasal an accidental caprice. The relation of τερπ-έ-τω to *tarp-a-tât* would be similar to that of ἐδίδω, ἔδω, to *adadât*, *adât*. If, however, τερπέτω be identical with *tarpatât* and Oscan forms like *licitud*, *estud*, the view we have mentioned above, that the Vêda ending *tât* belongs properly to the middle, acquires a new support; for if τερπόντων supports itself on *tarpantâm*, and so far is of middle origin, then its singular counterpart, also, can belong to no other verbal genus, and has asserted to itself a similar origin to that of its Asiatic prototype *tarpatât*.

471. The first person singular of the secondary forms ought,

* Compare the ablative in *ud* to the Sanscrit-Zend in *at*, *ât*, and the Old Latin in *o-d*

† It deserves remark, that Dr. Kuhn, in his work "Conjugatio in μι, linguæ Sans. ratione habita" (p. 26, obs.), has ascribed to this Oscan form, without recognising its Vêda analogue, a passive origin. The Oscan affects a concluding *d* for *t*, but has maintained the old tenuis under the protection of a preceding *s*; hence the conjunctive forms such as *fust*, opposed to *fuid* (see Müller's Etrusker, p 37). Compare, in this particular, the Gothic *ist* (§. 45.) with *bairith*, *bairada*

in Sanscrit, after the analogy of the third in *ta*, to be *ma*, so that *bharêma* would be the counterpart of the Greek φεροίμᾱν (-μην). This form must also, if not the oldest, have been of long standing in Sanscrit. In the condition, however, of the language as preserved, the *m*, as everywhere in the singular of the middle, has given way, and for *bharê(m)a* we find *bharê-y-a*, with an euphonic *y*, which is inserted before all personal endings beginning with vowels, in both active forms of the potential (compare §. 43.). In the forms burthened with an augment, the ending *a*, already much mutilated, has experienced a further weakening by the transition of *a* to *i*; hence *astṛi-ṇv-i*, "*sternebam*," for *astṛi-ṇv-a*, and this from *astṛiṇu-ma*, or a still older *astṛi-ṇu-mam*, which would answer to the Doric ἐστορ-νύ-μᾱν.

472. We return to the primary forms, in order to remark, that, in Sanscrit, not merely those forms end in *ê* which, in the transitive active, end in *i*, and above have been classed opposite the Greek middle forms in αι; but also those which, in the transitive active, exhibit no *i*, and, in the Greek middle, no αι. The collective primary forms run—

SING.	DUAL.	PLURAL.
(m)ê = μαι,	*vahê*,	*mahê* = μεθα.
sê = σαι,	*âthê*,	*dhvê*.
tê, = ται,	*âtê*,	*ntê* or *atê* = νται, αται (§. 459.)

The Zend follows, as far as evidence exists, the analogy of the Sanscrit, yet the first person plural is not ܡܙܐ *mazê*, as would be expected from मद्दे *mahê*, but ܡܝܕܗܐ *maidhê* (§. 41.);* from which it is clear, that as, before I studied Zend, I had inferred from the Greek μεθα, the Sanscrit *mahê* is a mutilation of मधे *madhê*. The Greek μεθα, however, has on its side lost the terminating

* *Maidê*, also, occurs with the aspiration dropped.

i, and thus ranks with the Gothic forms, mentioned §. 467. In the secondary forms, महे *mahê* weakens itself by the loss of the initial element of the diphthong *ê* to *mahi*; on the other hand it extends itself, in a manner which argues a propensity to the greatest fullness of form, in the first person imperative to आमहै *âmahâi*; and analogous to this the dual exhibits together with वहे *vahê* the forms *vahi* and *âvahâi*. The Zend contains, also, in the special forms, the full ending *maidhê*; at least there is evidence of this last in the potential بوئدهيوئمئدهئ *bûidhyôimaidhê*, "we might see," (Vend. S., p. 45) repeatedly.

473. If, in Sanscrit, all the endings of the middle primary forms resolve themselves into *ê*, I am not of opinion, therefore, that all these rest on the same principle: as to those to which, in the transitive active, *i*, and, in the Greek middle, *αι*, corresponds, I am much inclined to assume the dropping of a pronominal consonant between the two elements of the diphthong,* and, indeed, to explain (*m*)*ê*, *μαι*, out of *mami*; *sê*, *σαι*, out of *sasi*; *tê*, *ται*, out of *tati*; as we have before seen *τύπτει* arise out of *τύπτετι*, and, in the Prakrit, *bhaṇai* out of *bhanadi*; and as, also, in the Greek, the medial *τύπτεσαι* has mutilated itself further into *τύπτῃ*, and, in Sanscrit, *mê* into *ê*. In this *ê* the expression of the first person is thus contained in a twofold manner, once out of *a* for *ma*, and then out of *i* for *mi*; and thus, also, the reduplicated preterite in the third person exhibits *ê* opposite the Greek *ται* for *τατι*, and the Vêda dialect gives us, even in the third person for *shê-tê* = *κειται* of the ordinary language, the form *shay-ê* (euphonic for *shê-ê*,) and other similar mutilations of the endings of the middle voice, as *aduh*, "they milked," for *aduh-ata*; *duham*, "he should milk," for *dug-dhâm*, and this last euphonic for *duh-tâm* (Pânini VII. 1. 41.) If we now refer (*m*)*ê* = *μαι*, *sê* = *σαι*, and *tê* = *ται*, to

* So, also, Kuhn in his Tract (p. 25), mentioned at p. 654.

the probably pre-existing forms *mami*, *sasi*, *tati*, perhaps, also, *mâmi*, *sâti*, *tâti*,* the question arises which of the two pronouns expressed the subjective, and which the objective relation. Does *dat-sa(s)i*, *δίδο-σα(σ)ι* signify "give thee thou," or "give thou thee"? If we assume the former, we obtain the same order as in *δίδοσθε*, *δίδοσθον*, &c., of which more hereafter; and the remarkable case would occur, that, after the suppression of the second pronominal consonant, the first, which, with its vowel, expressed the pronoun standing in the relation of the oblique case, has obtained the appearance of designating the subjective, or of belonging to the proper personal ending; for, in *δίδο-μα(μ)ι*, the feeling of the language would better dispense with the expression of the "to me" or "me" (accusative) than with that of "I." I believe, whichever of the two explanations be the true, that we recognise in *δίδο-μαι* the same *μ*, as in *δίδωμι*. That this should so appear is, however, no proof of the real state of the case; for if, as much resembles the case in question, and as has often occurred in the history of language, reduplicated forms undergo interior mutilation, by extrusion of the consonant of the second syllable, the first syllable then acquires the appearance of belonging to the root itself. No one misses, from the point of sight of our current language, from preterites like *hielt* the initial consonant of the root: every one holds the *h* of *hielt* as identical with that of *halte*; and yet, as Grimm's acuteness has discovered (I. 103, 104.), the syllable *hi* of *hielt* has gained this place by reduplication. The Old High German form is *hialt*, *hi(h)alt*, and the Gothic *haihald*, whose second, and thus radical *h*, has escaped from the younger dialects. I now hold, contrary to my earlier opinion, the initial consonants of Sanscrit forms like

* Compare §. 470. *thâ-s*, *tâ-t*, *μα ν*

têpima, "we expiated," for reduplicative, and I assume an extrusion of the base letter *t* of *tatapima*, producing *tâpima*=*taapima*, and hence, by weakening of the *â* (=*a*+*a*) to *ê* (=*a*+*i*), *têpima*. In the Sclavonic *damy*, "I give," also, and in the Lithuanian *dûmi*, the first syllable has sprung from a reduplication, and the radical syllable has entirely vanished. More of this hereafter.

474. Let us now turn to those middle endings in *ê*, to which, in Greek, no *αι* corresponds, and we believe, that we recognise in the plural *dhvê* a pronominal nominative form in the sense of §. 228.; thus *dhvê* out of *dhva-i*, of the base *dhva* for *tva*. The dual endings *âthê*, *âtê*, accord, on the other hand, with neutral dual forms; such, for instance, as *tê*, "these two." In the secondary forms, *dhvam*, distributed into *dhu-am*, may, in regard of its ending, be compared with *yû-y-am*, "you," *vay-am*, "we;" but the dual expressions *âthâm*, *âtâm*, are related, in regard of their finals, to *dhvam*, as, by §. 206., *âu* (out of *âs*) is to *as*, and accord with *âvâm*, "we two," *yûvam*, "ye two." For the rest, आथे *âthê*, आते *âtê*, आथाम् *âthâm*, आताम् *âtâm*, appear to me mutilations of *tâthê*, &c. (see Kuhn, l. c., p. 31); just as we have found above in the Vêda dialect, in the third person singular imperative *âm* for *tâm* (p. 681). The syllables (*t*)*hâ*, (*t*)*â*, which express the pronoun residing in the relations of the objective cases, are represented in Greek by the *σ* in *δίδο-σ-θον*, *ἐδίδο-σ-θον*, *ἐδιδό-σ-θην*, which *σ*, after §. 99., explains itself very satisfactorily as out of *τ*, as *θ* with a preceding aspirate, or *σ*, is a very favourite union. If we oppose *δίδο-σ-θον*, &c., to the Sanscrit *dadh-*(*th*)*â-thê*, we perceive that the two languages, in dealing with their aboriginal form, so divide themselves, that the one has preserved only the consonant, the other only the vowel of the pronominal expression of the oblique case relation. In the second person plural the Sanscrit has dropped the vowel as well as the consonantal element of the inter-

mediary pronoun; but I believe that *dhvê*, *dhvam*, in the condition of the language immediately anterior, were *d-dhvê*, *d-dhvam*; thus *bhar-a-d-dhvê*, *abhar-a-d-dhvam* = φέρ-ε-σ-θε, ἐφέρ-ε-σ-θε; for *T* sounds are easily suppressed before *tv* and *dhv*: hence we find in the gerund for *dat-tvâ*, "after giving," *bhit-tvâ*, "after clearing," more commonly *da-tvâ*, *bhi-tvâ*; and in the second aorist form the second person plural of the middle exhibits both *id-dhvam* (out of *is-dhvam*) and *i-dhvam*; finally, before the ending *dhi* of the second person imperative singular, a radical *s* is converted into *d*: this *d* may, however, also be suppressed; hence *śâ-dhi*, as well as *śâd-dhi*, "reign thou," for *śâs-di*. The root *as* forms merely *ê-dhi** for *ad-dhi*, out of *as-di*. As, then, this *ê-di* is to the Greek ἴσ-θι, so is *bharadhvê* for *bharaddhvê* to φέρεσθε, only that in the latter place the Greek θ represents, not the Sanscrit *dh* (§. 16.), but the Greek τ, through the influence of the antecedent *s*. Hence, also, in the imperative, φερέσθω, as a medial after growth. For after φερέτω, a medial itself by origin, had been applied in practice with a purely active signification, the necessity arose of forming from it a new medio-passive on the old principle. Even the infinitives in σθαι appear to me, by a misdirected feeling, to have proceeded out of this principle; for after the true signification of the σ extant in speech was extinguished, the spirit of the language found it adapted, everywhere by its insertion before a τ, and the conversion of the latter into θ, to call forth a medio-passive signification. If, however, we disrobe the form δίδοσθαι of its *s*, and bring back the θ to τ, we arrive at δίδοται, which admits of comparison with the Sclavonic-Lithuanian infinitive in *ti*, just as this last may itself be brought back by other channels to abstract substantives in *ti*

* As I think, immediately from *â-dhi*, with a weakening of the *â* to *ê*.

in Sanscrit. The Vêda dialect also supplies us with infinitives in ध्यै *dhyâi*, as dative feminine abstractions in धि *dhi*, in which I can only recognise a transposition of the ordinary suffix ति *ti* (Gramm. Crit. §. 640. Obs. 3.).

475. If we cast a glance back over the attempts we have made to explain the origin of the endings of the middle voice, the theory, that they depend on the doubling of each personal designation as it occurs, will be found to rest principally on the fact, that, in the Greek ἐφερόμην, the Sanscrit *abharatâs*, and Vêda dialect *bharatât*, one and the same personal expression is doubled, as also on the principle that it is most natural so to express ideas like "I give to me," "I rejoice me"; in such a manner that the "I," as well as the "me," or "to me"—the subjective as well as the objective case relation—should find a formal representative in one and the same pronominal base. Apart, however, from ἐφερόμην, forms like φέρεστε, and the supposed Sanscrit *bharaddhwê* for the existing *bharadhwê*, would admit yet another exposition, namely, that the Greek σ did not stand euphonically for τ, but on its own account, and as the base consonant of the reflective (§. 341.); which, although belonging to the third person, yet willingly undertook the functions of both the others. In Sanscrit, the *s* of the reflective base before the personal endings *dhwê* and *dhvam*, by the universal laws of sound, would either become *d*, or be dropped; and so far in this way, also, the Greek φέρεσθε, ἐφέρεσθε, would go along with a Sanscrit *bhara(d)dhwê*, *abhara(d)dhvam*; for the above supposed forms, such as *bharatâthê*, opposed to φέρεσθον, we should have to assume *bharasâthê*, out of *bharasvathê*. Were this assumption founded, as probably a similar principle would have prevailed in all the medial products, the finals (*m*)*ê*, *tê*, μαι, ται, would have to be explained as not from *mami*, *tati*, but from *masi*, *tasi*, or *masvi*, *tasvi*. The

† Influence of Pronouns in the Formation of Words.

second person would remain *sasi*, but the second *s* would pertain, not to the second person, but to the reflective, and we should then refer, also, the *s* of *abharathâs* to the reflective, and necessarily suffer the μην of ἐφερόμην to stand totally isolated, without sympathy with the old principle.

476. With respect to the Latin, it was in the "Annals of Oriental Literature" (London, 1820. p. 62), that it was first observed that the passive *r* might owe its origin to the reflective. I am now the more decided in giving a preference to this hypothesis over that which resorts to the verb substantive that I have since recognised in the Lithuanian and Sclavonic, which I had not then drawn within the circle of my inquiries into comparative language, a similar, and, in truth, universally recognised procedure; not, however, necessarily that aboriginal one which, in the remotest æra of the formation of the language, must have governed those medial forms which are common to the Greek and Asiatic sisterhood, but I rather assume a gradual inroad of the reflective of the third person into the second and first, as a substitute for some older and more decided expression of each person, on whom the action works retro-actively. The Old Sclavonic appends the accusative of the reflective to the transitive verb, in order to give it a reflective or passive signification; for instance, чтѹ *chtû*, "*lego*," becomes *chtûsya*, "*legor*"; and thus in the second and third person чтешиса *chteshisya*, чтетьса *chtetysya*, plural чтемса *chtemsya*, &c. (Dobrowsky, p. 544. Kopitar's Glag. p. 69. xvii.). In the Bohemian, *se* is not so much as graphically connected with the verb, and may stand as well before as after it, but is used by preference for the expression of the passive only in the third person (Dobr. Böhm. Lehrg. p. 182), which may also be the case with the Old Sclavonic. In the Lithuanian such verbal expressions have merely a reflective signification, but bear more the appearance of a

grammatical unity, and therefore more resemble the Latin passive, because it is not a positive case of the reflective pronoun, whose accusative is *sawen* (p. 477),* but only its initial consonant, which is appended to the verb, either immediately, or with an *e* prefixed. The latter occurs in the persons which end in *e* or *i*, the former of which, before the appended *es*, becomes *i*. Compare, in this respect, the Old Latin *amari-er* from *amare-er*, with forms like *wadinnati-es* for *wadinnate-es*. The dual endings *wa* and *ta* convert their *a* into *o*, and a simple *u* of the first person becomes *û*. I annex here the present of *wadinnûs*, "I name myself,"† opposite the simple transitive.

SINGULAR.

1.	*wadinnu*,	*wadinnûs*.
2.	*wadinni*,	*wadinnies*.
3.	*wadinna*,	*wadinnas*.

DUAL.

1.	*wadinnawa*,	*wadinnawos*.
2.	*wadinnata*,	*wadinnatos*.
3.	like sing.	like sing.

PLURAL.

1.	*wadinname*,	*wadinnamies*.
2.	*wadinnate*,	*wadinnaties*.
3.	like sing.	like sing.

* It would appear that, together with this *sawen*, or, in the dative, *saw*, a kindred form *si* co-existed, as, in Old Sclavonic *si* with *sĕbye*, and from this *si* it is plain that the suffix of the verba reflexiva proceeded; and in the third person, instead of a simple *s* the full *si* may stand; for instance, *wadinnas* or *wadinnasi*, "he names himself." With verbs, also, beginning with *at*, *ap*, and some other prepositions, or the negation *ne*, the reflective is interposed in the shape of *si*, but may also be appended to the end; for instance, *issilaikaus* (*is-si-laikaus*), "I sustain me."

† Compare Sanscrit *vad*, "speak."

477. To these forms the Latin passive is strikingly similar, only that here the composition is already obscured, as the sense of independence of the reflective pronoun is not here maintained by its mobility, as in the Lithuanian, where, under the above-cited conditions, it is placed before the verb. By the favourite interchange, also, between *s* and *r*, a scission has occurred between the passive suffix and the simple reflective; for the persons ending with consonants, a connecting vowel was necessary towards the adjunction of the *r*, as such stands in *amatur*, *amantur*, as seems to me through the influence of the liquids. The imperative forms *amato-r* and *amanto-r* required no auxiliary vowel. In *amamur* the *s* of *amamus* has given way before the reflective, which is not surprising, as the *s* does not belong to the personal designation, and, in Sanscrit, is given up also in the simple verb, in the secondary forms, and occasionally even in the primary. In *amer*, on the other hand, the personal character is itself sacrificed to the suffix, for *amemr* was not possible, and *amemur* was forestalled for the plural (instead of *amemusr*). In *amaris*, *ameris*, &c., there is either a conversion from *amasir*, or the personal character *s* has been unable to withstand the inclination to become *r* when placed between two vowels (§. 22.); and the reflective has protected its original *s*, like as the comparative suffix in the neuter exhibits *ius* opposed to *ior* (§. 298.), and *i* instead of *ĕ* comes before as a connecting vowel.* In the singular im-

* That the *i* of *amaris* belongs to the original ending *si*, as Pott conjectures (Etym. Forsch. p. 135), I cannot admit, because I hold this kind of passive formation far younger than the period when the *i* of the active expression in Latin was still extant, as it has also vanished in Greek without a trace, except in ἐσσί. In the secondary forms, however, it had disappeared before the individualization of the languages here compared, and yet we find *amabaris*, *ameris*.

perative person *ama-re*, the reflective, in preference to the other passive forms, has protected its vowel; and if we commute this *re* for *se*, we obtain the perfect accusative of the simple pronoun. We have already attended to the old infinitive form *amari-er*, produced by transposition for *amare-re* (p. 662). If we prefer, however, which I do not, to exempt the imperative *amare* from the universal principle of the Latin passive, we might recognise in it a remnant of the Hellene-Sanscrit and Zend construction, and accommodate *re* as a personal ending to *σο*, स्व *sva*, [Zend] *ha*, of which more hereafter.

478. That the second person plural *amamini* steps out of all analogy with the other passive persons is easy to observe, and nothing but the circumstance, that the earlier procedure of grammar did not trouble itself at all with the foundation of lingual phenomena, and that the relationship between the Greek and Latin was not systematically and scientifically traced out, can account for the fact, that the form *amamini* had so long found its place in the paradigms, without raising the question how and whence it came there. I believe I was the first to bring this under discussion in my Conjugation System (Frankf. a. M. 1816. p. 105. ff.); and I repeat with confidence the explanation there given, namely, that *amamini* is a passive participle in the masculine nominative plural; thus *amamini* for *amamini estis*, as, in Greek, *τετυμμένοι εἰσί*. The Latin suffix is *minu-s*, and corresponds to the Greek *μενος* and Sanscrit *măn-as*. From the fact, however, that these participles in Latin are thrust aside in ordinary practice, *mini* has, in the second person plural—where it has continued as if embalmed, as far as the practice of the language is concerned—assumed the existence of a verbal termination, and has thus also, having lost the consciousness of its nominal nature, renounced its distinction of gender, and its appendage *estis*. If we found *amaminæ* for the feminine

and *amamina* for the neuter, we should be spared the trouble of seeking an explanation for *amamini*, inasmuch as it would partly be afforded by the language itself. It may be suitable here to bring to remembrance a similar procedure in Sanscrit: this assumes for *dâtâ* (from the base *dâtâr*, §. 144.) properly *daturus*, the sense of *daturus est*, without reference to gender; thus, also, of *datura* and *daturum est*, although this form of word, which is also a representative of the Latin nomen agentis in *tor*, has a feminine in *trî* at its command (see *trî-c*, §. 119.), and the giveress is as little called *dâtâ* as the giver in Latin *dator*. In the plural, also, *dâtâras*, used as a substantive, stands for "the givers," and in the character of a verbal person, "they will give;" this in all genders; likewise in the dual, *dâtârâu*. The procedure of the Sanscrit is thus still more remarkable than that of the Latin, because its *dâtâ*, *dâtârâu*, *dâtâras*, has maintained itself in the ordinary nominal usage of the language. It is therefore due merely to the circumstance, that the language, in its condition as handed down to us, could no longer deal *ad libitum* with the forms in the sense of future participles, that *dâtâ*, *dâtârâu*, *dâtâras*, where they signify *dabit*, *dabunt*, have lost all consciousness of their adjectival nature, and their capacity for distinction of gender, and have assumed altogether the character of personal terminations. To return, however, to the Latin *amamini*: the Reviewer of my Conjugation System, in the "Jena Literaturzeitung (if I mistake not, Grotefend), supports the explanation given by the forms *alumnus*, *vertumnus*, which evidently belong to these participial formations, but have lost the *i*. This, however, has been preserved in *terminus*, if, as Lisch, correctly and beyond dispute, lays down, we consider it as expressing "that which is overstepped," and identify its root with the Sanscrit *tar* (*tṛi*).* *Fe-mina*

* Vocalismus, p. 174.

(as giving birth, and therefore middle) I had before recognised as a formation belonging to the same category: the root is *fe*, from which also *fetus*, *fetura*, and *fecundus*. *Gemini*, moreover, as "the born together," (of the root *gen*) may be considered as a mutilation of *genmini* or *genimini*.

479. How stands the case now with the imperative *amaminor*? Are we to consider its *r* as identical with that of *amor*, *amator*, *amantor*? I think not; for it was not necessary to express here the passive or reflective meaning by an appended pronoun, as the medio-passive participial suffix was fully sufficient for this purpose. At most, then, we seek in *amaminor* for a plural case-ending as in *amamini*; and this is afforded us, as I have observed in my Conjugation System (p. 106), by the Eugubian Tables, where, for instance, we find *subator* for the Latin *subacti*, *screhitor* for *scripti*.* The singulars, however, of the second masculine declension in the Umbrian end in *o*: we find *orto* for *ortus*, *subato* for *subactus*. Now it is remarkable that, in accordance with this singular form in *o*, there are extant also, in Latin, singular imperatives in *mino*, namely, *famino* in Festus, and *præfamino* in Cato de R. R. To these forms, before described, we can add *fruimino*, which Struve (Lat. Decl. and Conj. p. 143) cites from an inscription in Gruter, "*is eum agrum nei habeto nei fruimino*," where the form in question plainly belongs to the third person, by which it still more conclusively proclaims itself to be a participle, in which character it may with equal right be applied to one as to the other person.

"Remark.—Græfe, in his work, 'The Sanscrit verb compared with the Greek and Latin from the point of view of Classical Philology,' remarks, p. 120, that he once considered, as I do, the form in *mini* as a participle in the

* The ending *or* accords perfectly with the Sanscrit *âs* (*a*+*as*) and Gothic *ôs* (§. 227.); while the Latin *i* has obtruded itself from the pronominal declension (§. 228.).

category of the Greek μενος, but now considers it, with confidence, as a remnant of an old analogy of the Greek infinitive in εμεναι, which, having been originally passive, had first been applied to the imperative in Latin, and thence had been further diffused. How near the imperative and infinitive come together, and how their forms are interchanged, Gräfe thinks he has shewn. l. c. p. 58. ff., where, namely, the Greek second person in ον (τύψον) is deduced from the Sanscrit first person singular in *âni*; but which is followed by the remark, that however *tisthâni* ('I should stand') is manifestly and strikingly like the infinitive ἱστάναι, if we, moreover, consider that *ai* in Sanscrit is only the diphthong nearest to *i* (in Greek, however, the rarest, see Vocalism. p. 193).* We have, however, to remember, that in ἱστάναι, the α belongs to the root, and that, therefore, for comparison with the Sanscrit imperative, if such be admitted, we can retain nothing but ναι, as opposed to *âni*. Gräfe goes on: 'It would be easy to imagine that the first person plural तिष्ठाम *tishthâma* had its counterpart in the other infinitive form ἱστάμεν, properly ἱστάμε,* i.e. *stare*. Finally, it may not be left unobserved, that the Greek and Sanscrit imperative in θι, *dhi*, is again the form of the infinitive in the Sclavonic dialects,† and that custom admits the frequent use of the infinitive for the imperative in Greek.' I could hardly have expected that the personal endings of the Sanscrit imperative could lead to so many and various comparisons. It appears, however, to me ill suited to the spirit of classical philology, without necessity to attribute to the Greek, among others, that it has borrowed its second person imperative in ον from any

* I consider the ν very essential, just because I deduce μεν and μεναι from the medial participial suffix μενος.

† I explain their *ti* as identical with the abstract substantive suffix ति *ti*.

Sanscrit first person. I find it still less congenial to the spirit of a more universal comparative philology, that Gräfe, who has before overlooked, in his comparisons, many laws of sound incontrovertibly established, should give too willing an ear to mere similitudes of sound; for instance, when he explains the root चर् *char*, 'to go,' by the periphrasis, 'to move scraping along on the ground,' and, p. 32, places together लप् *lap*, 'speak,' *lappen*, 'to patch,' *schlabbern*, 'to slabber,' and λαππω. I was not aware that a German *sch* anywhere corresponded to a Sanscrit *ch*, but I knew that it did so to *f* (or *v*), in observance of the law of displacement (§. 87.), and of the favourite practice of exchange between gutturals and labials. Remark the relation of *chatvâras* to the Gothic *fidvôr* and our *vier*, as also that of *panchan* to *fünF*, and you will be satisfied with the identification of the Sanscrit *char*, 'go,' and Gothic *farya* (preterite *fôr*), 'go,' 'wander,' *fahren*. If, however, we are to admit that any infinitive has arisen out of any imperative person, it would be the least far-fetched supposition which derived the Sanscrit infinitive and the Latin supine in *tum* from the third person imperative तु *tu*, with the addition of *m*; for instance, *bhâtum*, 'to shine,' from *bhâtu*, 'let him shine'; *pâtum*, 'to rule,' from *pâtu*, 'let him rule.' In *kartum*, 'to make,' from *karôtu*, 'let him make,' the class vowel only would be thrust aside. As, however, Gräfe (l. c. p. 58) has found a jest in what I have elsewhere said, and mean to repeat, of the first person imperfect, I must take care that he does not take for earnest what I mean as a jest. We do not, in truth, go so far in deriving *bhâtum* from *bhâtu* as in deducing ἱστάναι from तिष्ठानि *tishthâni* (Zend *histâni*), 'I should stand'; but I can find no other relationship between *bhâ-tu* and *bhâ-tum* than this, that in the infinitive, as an abstract substantive, the action is personified through a form which comes near the expression of the third person in the imperative. I recognise in the suffix *tu*, as also in *ti*

(another class of abstracts, with which the Sclavonic and Lithuanian infinitive is connected), various gradations of one and the same pronoun of the third person—as in the interrogative we find the forms *ka, ki, ku,*—and so far a relationship between the nominal classes in question and the endings *ti* and *tu* of *bhâti,* 'he shines,' and *bhâtu,* 'he may shine.' The coincidence is thus in any case not quite so fortuitous as that between ἱστά-ναι and *tishthâni.* Whosoever derives the former from the latter cannot escape from bringing into this family the Gothic infinitive in *an,* especially as the *a* of *stand-an* does not, like that of ἱστά-ναι, belong to the root. Historically, however, as I doubt not, the German infinitive belongs to the class of the Sanscrit abstracts in *ana,* as *bandh-ana,* 'the binding' = Gothic *bind-an.*"

INFLUENCE OF THE WEIGHT OF THE PERSONAL TERMINATIONS.

480. The weight of the personal terminations exercises, in Sanscrit and Greek, and, as far as we have evidence, also in Zend, an influence on the antecedent radical or class syllable, obvious and comprehensive, though till lately unobserved.* Before light terminations extensions are frequent, which, before the heavier, are withdrawn; so that in many anomalous verbs the entire body of the root can only be maintained before the light terminations, but, before the heavy, mutilation occurs. For instance, the root अस् *as,* "be," retains its *a* before the one, but rejects it before the other, as if it had been overgrown by the augment; hence, *asmi* "I am," but *smas,* "we are," *stha,* "you are," *santi,* "they are." We see, however, that this mutilation had not yet established itself

* I was first led to the observation of this interesting phenomenon in my investigation of the origin of the German Ablaut (Berlin Jahrb. Feb. 1827, p. 259, and Vocalismus, p. 13).

at the period of the unity of the language; for the Greek protects, in the verb substantive, the radical vowel degenerated to ε, even before the heavier terminations, and opposes ἐσμές, ἐστέ, ἐστόν, to the Sanscrit *smas, stha, sthas, stas*. The Lithuanian and Sclavonic, also, testify to the comparatively recent loss of the Sanscrit *a* before the weightier terminations. Compare

SINGULAR.

SANSCRIT.	GREEK.	LITH.	SCLAVONIC
अस्मि *as-mi*,	ἐμ-μί,*	*es-mi*,	ѥсмь *yes-my*.
असि *a-si*,†	ἐσ-σί,	*es-si*,	ѥси *ye-si*.
अस्ति *as-ti*,	ἐσ-τί,	*es-ti*,	ѥсть *yes-ty*.
		DUAL.	
स्वस् *s-vas*,	. . .	*es-wà*,	ѥсва *yes-va*.
स्थस् *s-thas*,	ἐσ-τόν,	*es-ta*,	ѥста *yes-ta*.
स्तस् *s-tas*,	ἐσ-τόν,	like the Sing.	ѥста *yes-ta*.
		PLURAL.	
स्मस् *s-mas*,	ἐσ-μές,	*es-me*,	ѥсмы *yes-my*.
स्थ *s-tha*,	ἐσ-τέ,	*es-te*,	ѥсте *yes-te*.
सन्ति *s-anti*,	(σ)-εντί,	like the Sing.	сѫть *s-ŭty*.

"Remark.—It is possible that the suppression of the radical vowel may have begun with the third person plural, whose termination *anti* is also the heaviest of all, and it may have existed in this position even before the migration of the language, and its manifold individualizations; at least all the languages under comparison exhibit in this case a wonderful harmony scarcely attributable to chance: and, in addition to these, the Latin *sunt*, as opposed

* By assimilation out of ἐσ-μι, as, before, ἄμμες, ὔμμες, out of ἄσμες ὔσμες. Vêda dialect *asmê*, *yashmê*.

† Irregular for *as-si*, on which rest the Greek and Lithuanian forms. The Sclavonic, however, has likewise dropped one of the sibilants.

to *estis*, as well as the Gothic *sind*, are in accordance. On the other hand, the dropping of the *e* in *sumus* first appears on Roman ground, and, in the singular likewise, *sum* for *esum* is quite solitary. After the falling away of the initial and terminating vowels of *asmi* in the Latin, the appendage of an auxiliary vowel became necessary, and the influence of the liquids prevailed in favour of *u*. This *u* remained, also, in the plural, where *smus* was possible, but not favoured, as the Latin has generally gone out of its way to avoid the immediate connection of the ending *mus* with roots ending in consonants; whence we have *vol-u-mus* opposed to *vultis*; *ferimus* to *fer-tis, fers, fert,* (Sanscrit *bibhṛi-mas, bibhṛi-tha, bi-bhar-si, bibhar-ti* from *bhṛi* class 3); *edi-mus* opposed to *estis, ês, es-t* (Sanscrit *ad-mas, at-tha, at-si, at-ti*). To the Greek, in the case of the third person plural, ἐντί, if, as I scarcely doubt, it stands for σ-εντί (= Zend *h-ĕnti*), nothing has remained but the termination, as in the Sanscrit, in the second medial person, *sê* for *a(s)-sê*. The Gothic we have excluded from the above comparison, although *i-m, i-s, is-t,* rest upon *as-mi, a-si, as-ti;* but, in the plural, *sind* alone is organic, for *siy-um, siy-uth* Dual *siy-yâ*, (see §. 441,) *siy-uts* have the ending of the preterite, and belong to a secondary root *siy*, which proceeds from a Sanscrit potential *syâm*, in which *sy* (= *si*) has changed itself to *siy*.

481. All Sanscrit roots of the third class in *â* (§. 109ª. 3.) depend, on account of the anterior burthen created in the reduplication syllable, on the influence of the weight of the personal endings, so that they retain their *â* only before the light endings, but before the heavier either altogether suppress or shorten it, or transpose the length of the *â* sound into that of the lighter *i*; and this is one of the evidences, from which I deduce the maxim—very important for the history of language—that the organism of the lingual body sustains a greater weight in the *a* than in the *i*

sounds, the long *â* being heavier than the long *î*, and the short *a* heavier than the short *i* (see Vocalismus, Obser. 12, p. 214). The roots *dâ*, "give," and *dhâ*, "place," suppress their *â* before heavy terminations, with exception of the third person plural, if, as I prefer, we make the division *dada-ti*, not *dad-ati* (compare §. 458.); for originally *dadâ-nti* certainly stood, out of which we never could obtain *dad-nti*, but well might *dada-nti*, and, out of this, a new sacrifice to the reduplication syllable, *dada-ti*. The Greek only shortens the long vowel before the increasing terminations, and makes *διδο*, *τιθε*, *ἱστᾰ*, out of *διδω*, *τιθη*, *ἱστα*. In the Latin, Sclavonic, and Lithuanian, the influence of the personal endings on the antecedent syllable has utterly vanished, and *dă* has also lost the original length of its vowel and the reduplication syllable. The Lithuanian and Sclavonic have, on the other hand, saved their reduplication, but have absolutely suppressed the root vowel, which the Sanscrit only does before heavy terminations. As, however, the *d* also vanishes before endings which commence with *m* and *s*—in Lithuanian also with *w*—but before *t* passes into *s* (§. 457.), the reduplication in these verbs is almost totally overlooked, and in *dûmi*, ДАМЬ *damy*, which are mutilations of *dû-dh-mi*, *da-dh-my*, the reduplication has, by thrusting out the most essential element of the entire form, acquired the appearance of a radical syllable. It is, however, certain, that in *dûmi*, *damy*, the syllables *dû*, *da*, are identical with those of *dû-s-ti*, *da-s-ty*, for *dû-d-ti*, *da-d-ty*, thus merely reduplicators.*

* We here confirm the observations of §. 442., Obs. 7. In *dûdu*, according to the usual conjugation, *dûd* has constituted itself as root, and the *a* of *dûd-a-wa*, *dûd-a-me*, has thus nothing more to do with the *â* of the Sanscrit *dadâmi*, or the *ω*, *ο* of the Greek *δίδωμι*, *δίδομεν*, but belongs to a class with the *a* of *wež-a-wa*, *wež-a-me*.

SINGULAR.

SANSCRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LITH.	OLD SCLAV.	LATIN.
dadâ-mi,	*dadhâ-mi,*	*δίδω-μι,*	*dů(d)-mi,*	*da(d)-my,*	*do.*
dadâ-si,	*dadhâ-hi,*	*δίδω-ς,*	*dů(d)-i,*	*da(d)-si,*	*da-s.*
dadâ-ti,	*dadhâi-ti,*	*δίδω-τι,*	*důs-ti,*	*das-ty,*	*dat.*

DUAL.

SANSCRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LITH.	OLD SCLAV.	LATIN.
dad-vas,	....	....	*dů(d)-wa,*	*dad-e-va,*	...
dat-thas,	*daś-tô?* [1]	*δίδο-τον,*	*důs-ta,*	*das-ta,*	...
dat-tas,	*daś-tô?* [2]	*δίδο-τον,*	like Sing.	*das-ta,*	...

PLURAL.

SANSCRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LITH.	OLD SCLAV.	LATIN.
dad-mas,	*dad-ĕ-mahi,* [3]	*δίδο-μες,*	*dů(d)-me,*	*da(d)-my,*	*da-mus.*
dat-tha,	*daś-ta?* [4]	*δίδο-τε,*	*důs-te,*	*das-te,*	*da-tis.*
dada-ti,	*dadĕ-nti,* [5]	*διδό-ντι,*	like Sing.	*dad-yaty,*	*da-nt.*

In the Greek the influence of the weight of the personal ending over the root syllable has penetrated further than in Sanscrit, in this respect, that even the aorist forms, set free from reduplication, ἔθην and ἔδων, have shortened their vowel before the increasing ending, while ἔστην (=ἔστᾱν), in accordance with similar Sanscrit aorist forms, allows no influence to the weight of the endings. In Sanscrit, from the first augmented preterite *adadâ-m* comes the plural *adad-ma,* as, in Greek, ἐδίδο-μεν from ἐδίδω-ν; but from *adâm* comes not *adma,* but the root remains undiminished. It may be convenient to give here in full the two augmented preterites, which are distinguished in the two languages by retaining and laying aside the reduplication syllable.

[1] If, also, the second dual person in Zend is not yet identified, it can nevertheless be deduced with tolerable certainty from the third person, which is extant in *tô* (§. 464.), for which, in the second person of the primary forms, we may expect *thô,* the aspirate of which, however, has been forced to vanish in [Zend script] *daśtô* (see §. 453.). Upon [Zend script] *ś* for [Zend script] *d* see §. 102.   [2] See §. 102.   [3] §. 30.   [4] §. 102. and §. 453.
[5] §. 459.

SINGULAR.		DUAL.		PLURAL.	
adadâ-m,	ἐδίδω-ν,	*adad-va*,	....	*adad-ma*,	ἐδίδο-μες.
adadâ-s,	ἐδίδω-ς,	*adat-tam*,	ἐδίδο-τον,	*adat-ta*,	ἐδίδο-τε,
adadâ-t,	ἐδίδω-(τ),	*adat-tâm*,	ἐδιδό-την,	*adad-us*,*	ἐδίδο-ν,
adâ-m,	ἔδω-ν,	*adâ-va*,	....	*adâ-ma*,	ἔδο-μες,
adâ-s,	ἔδω-ς,	*adâ-tam*,	ἔδο-τον,	*adâ-ta*,	ἔδο-τε,
adâ-t,	ἔδω-τ,	*adâ-tâm*,	ἐδό-την,	*ad-us*,*	ἔδο-ν.

482. The Sanscrit roots *hâ*, "leave,"† *hâ*, "go," and *mâ*, "measure" (compare μέ-τρον, μιμέομαι, &c.)—the two last have the medial, the first only the pure active form—weaken, before most of the heavy endings, their *â* to *î*, and the two last substitute also, in their reduplication syllable, a short *i* for short *a*; for instance, *jahî-mas*, "we leave," opposed to *jahâ-mi*, "I leave"; *mimê* (from *mimî-mê*), "I measure," *mimî-mahê*, "we measure." The roots स्था *sthâ*, "stand," and घ्रा *ghrâ*, "smell," follow a peculiar path, inasmuch as a vowel shortening, which probably at its origin, as in the Greek ἵστᾱμι, ἵστᾰμεν, only obtained before heavy endings, has extended itself to the other persons through which the radical *a*, thus shortened, would be treated just like the unradical of the first and sixth class (109ᵃ. 1.). The Indian grammarians thence reckon these roots as under the first class, although they assume a reduplication syllable, which, however, substitutes an *i* for *a*, as I doubt not, on the ground that the reduplication syllable, which is seeking generally for relief from weight, and therefore, converting long into short vowels, may not mix up the heaviest among the short vowels with the length derived from position; hence, *tishthâmi*, *tishthasi*, *tishthati*, &c., Zend *histâmi*,

* See §. 462.

† Compare, with Pott, χήρα, "widow," as the "abandoned" or "left." In Sanscrit *vi-dhavâ* is "the manless."

histasi, histati; jighrâmi, jighrasi, jighrati, &c. The Greek follows this principle of the weakening of the vowel, also, where there is not, as in the cases of ἵστημι, κίχρημι, any immediate reason for it by the doubling of consonants. Πίμπλημι and πίμπρημι are, however, striking and peculiar in appending a nasal, a stranger to the root, to the reduplicating syllable. These forms, however, accord with the Sanscrit intensive verbs, which love a great impression in the repeated syllable, and hence change to the Guna letters the vowels susceptible of Guna, but double the whole root in roots ending with nasals, and, in some cases, also represent the liquids *r* and *l* by the nasal liquids which accord with the organ of the chief consonants; for instance, *jangam*,* from *gam*, "go"; *chanchal*, from *chal*, "totter"; *chanchur* (for *chanchar*), from *char*, "go." In this sense I assume πίμπρημι, πίμπλημι, for πίρπρημι, πίλπλημι: thus, also, βαμβαίνω, with the kindred form βαμβάλω (compare *balbus*).

483. The roots of the second class (§. 109[a]. 3.), in Sanscrit do not load themselves with reduplication, neither do they subject a concluding *â* to the influence of the weight of the personal endings. The Greek, however, has here also again permitted a wider range to that influence, inasmuch as φημί (φᾱμί), in this respect, follows the analogy of ἵστημι. Compare—

SINGULAR.		DUAL.		PLURAL.	
bhâ-mi,	φᾱ-μί,	*bhâ-vas,*	....	*bhâ-mas,*	φᾰ-μές.
bhâ-si,	φή-ς,	*bhâ-thas,*	φᾰ-τόν,	*bhâ-tha,*	φᾰ-τέ.
bhâ-ti,	φᾱ-τί,	*bhâ-tas,*	φᾰ-τόν,	*bhâ-nti,*	φᾰ-ντί.
abhâ-m,	ἔφᾱ-ν,	*abhâ-va,*	....	*abhâ-ma,*	ἔφᾰ-μες.
abhâ-s,	ἔφᾱ-ς,	*abhâ-tam,*	ἔφᾰ-τον,	*abhâ-ta,*	ἔφᾰ-τε.
abhâ-t,	ἔφᾱ-(τ).	*abhâ-tâm,*	ἐφά-την,	*abhâ-n,*	ἔφᾰ-ν.

* Compare with this the Gothic *gagga* (=*ganga*), "I go," where the chief syllable has lost the nasal.

This analogy is followed in Sanscrit, among other roots, by *yâ*, "go," on which the Greek ἵημι, properly "make to go," rests, to which the syllable of reduplication has lent a causative signification, as to the Latin *sisto* opposed to *sto*, while the Greek ἵστημι (=σίστημι) unites the primitive with the causative signification. While in ἵ-στημι the spiritus asper, as it so often does, stands for σ, in ἵημι it is the representative of the lost semi-vowel *y*, as among others in ὅς for यस् *yas*, "who" (§. 382.); thus, ἵ-ημι for *yι-yημι*: on the other hand, compare the future discharged of the reduplication ἥ-σω with the Sanscrit *yâ-syâmi*. This ἵημι still bends to the weight of the endings; thus ἵεμες, ἵετε opposed to *yâ-mas*, *yâ-tha*. To the root *yâ*, I think with Pott (Etym. Forsch. p. 201), we must refer the middle of εἶμι, which itself belongs to the root इ *i*, "go," which in Greek, by analogy to ἵ-μες, should form ἵμαι, ἵσαι, ἵται, opposed to the Sanscrit *i-yê* (from *i-mê*), *i-shê*, *i-tê*. The form ἵε-μαι, however, explains itself out of *yâ* by a vowelization of the semi-vowel, and thinning of the *a* to *e*. In duly considering, what I think I have proved, that the personal endings exercise a more comprehensive influence on the preceding syllable in Greek than in Sanscrit, and that roots ending in vowels shorten one originally long before heavy endings, the verbs ἧμαι and κεῖ-μαι might surprise us, since in these the heavy medial endings have not shortened the antecedent vowel. Of κεῖμαι we shall treat hereafter; but ἧ-μαι owes the retention of the length of its vowel to the circumstance that its root was originally terminated by a consonant, and I have already, in my glossary, identified it with the Sanscrit *âs*, "sit," the *s* of which has remained in the Greek only before τ; hence ἧσ-ται = आस्ते *âs-tê*, ἧσ-το = आस्त *âs-ta*.* It accords, however, with the system of

* On the other hand, εἷ-σα, &c., belong to the root ἙΔ (ἕδ-ρα), Sanscrit *sad* (compare Pott, Etym. Forsch. p. 278, and Kühner. p. 242). The spiritus

equilibrium that *κάθημαι* cannot bear the *σ* of *ἧσ-το*, together with the burthen of the augment; hence *καθῆσ-το*; but *ἐκάθη-το*.

484. The Sanscrit root शास् *śâs*, "rule," exhibits a peculiar capability for the weight of the personal endings, inasmuch as its long *â* remains undisturbed before those heavy endings which begin with the weakest consonants (semi-vowels and nasals), thus *śâs-vas*, "we two rule," *śâs-mas*, "we rule;" but, before the strong consonants of heavy endings, weakens itself to the shortness of the lightest vowel, namely, to *i*, whence, for instance, *sish-tha*, "*regitis*," opposed to *śâs-si*, "*regis*," *śâs-ti*, "*regit*." We may recognise in this a forerunner of the German conjugation forms, such as *binda*, *bindam*, *bundum*, opposed to the monosyllabic singular preterite *band*, *bans-t*, p. 100.

485. The roots of the ninth class (§. 109[a]. 5.) are so far in accordance with the principle of the roots *hâ* and *mâ*, mentioned in §. 482., in that they weaken to *i* the *â* of the class syllable *nâ*, in the same places in which those roots experience the same relief in their radical syllable. The Greek, on the other hand, shortens the long Doric *ᾱ* (*η*) to *ᾰ*. Compare—

SINGULAR.		DUAL.	
krî-ṇa-mi	*πέρ-νᾱ-μι*.	*krî-ṇî-vas*,	. . . .
krî-ṇâ-si,	*πέρ-νᾱ-ς*.	*krî-ṇî-thas*,	*πέρ-νᾰ-τον*.
krî-ṇâ-ti,	*πέρ-νᾱ-τι*.	*krî-ṇî-tas*,	*πέρ-νᾰ-τον*.
akrî-ṇâ-m,	*ἐπέρ-νᾱ-ν*.	*akrî-ṇî-va*,	. . . . .
akrî-ṇâ-s,	*ἐπέρ-νᾱ-ς*.	*akrî-ṇî-tam*,	*ἐπέρ-νᾰ-τον*.
akrî-ṇâ-t,	*ἐπέρ-νᾱ-(τ)*.	*akrî-ṇî-tâm*,	*ἐπερ-νά-την*.

spiritus of *ἧμαι* is inorganic, *i. e.* not from *σ*; as, for instance, in *ὕδωρ* opposed to उद *uda*, *unda*.

PLURAL.

krî-ṇî-mas,	πέρ-νᾰ-μες.
krî-ṇî-tha,	πέρ-νᾰ-τε.
krî-ṇa-nti,	(περ-νά-ντι).
akrî-ṇî-ma,	ἐπέρ-νᾰ-μες.
akrî-ṇî-ta,	ἐπέρ-νᾰ-τε.
akrî-ṇa-n,[2]	(ἐπέρ-νᾰ-ν).

[1] क्रीणामि *krîṇâmi,* "I purchase," has *ṇ* for *n* in the middle syllable through the euphonic influence of the antecedent *r*. The relationship to πέρνημι rests on the favourite exchange between gutturals and labials, through which the Greek verb has assumed an apparent relationship to περάω, "to sail through" (=Sanscrit *pârayâmi,* where the π is primitive.

[2] If we make the divisions *krî-ṇ'-anti, akrî-ṇ'-an* (§. 458.), we must assume that the middle syllable suppresses its vowel before all those heavy endings which themselves begin with a vowel; thus, also, in the middle, *krî-ṇ'-ê* from *krî-ṇî-mê*. For the special purposes of Sanscrit Grammar this rule may hold good; but in considering the historical developement or decay of the language, I am more inclined to the belief that the syllable *ṇâ* has shortened itself before *nti* and *n* (older *nt*) instead of converting itself into the long form of the lighter *i* sound, in order to avoid combining length of vowel and position. The middle-dual endings *âthê, âtê, âthâm, atâm* did not require the weakening of the *ṇâ* to *ṇî*, since without this, by the ordinary rule of sound, two homogeneous vowels melt into one long one; so that *nâ+âthê* gives a lighter form than *nî + âthê*, which latter would give *ny-âtê*, while from *nâ+âtê* we get merely *nâtê*.

486. With Sanscrit verbs of the second and third class, with a radical vowel capable of Guna,* the influence of the weight of the personal endings is shewn in this, that Guna takes place before the light (§. 26.), but before the heavy the pure radical vowel reappears. The same law

* The Sanscrit conjugation system only allows the Guna to short vowels before simple consonants, and to long at the end of roots. On the other hand, Guna never takes place in the middle of the roots, where there is length by nature and position.

is respected by the Greek, which, however, affords no example, except that of εἶμι (§. 26.), of a verb with a radical vowel capable of Guna, which, in the special tenses (§. 109.[a]), connects the personal sign directly with the root. Compare—

SING.		DUAL.		PLURAL.	
ê-mi,	εἶ-μι.	*i-vas,*	. . .	*i-mas,*	ἴ-μες.
ê-shi,	εἶ-ς.	*i-thas,*	ἴ-τον,	*i-tha,*	ἴ-τε.
ê-ti,	εἶ-τι.	*i-tas,*	ἴτον,	*y-anti,*	ἴ-ασι (from ἴ-αντι).

That the middle ἴεμαι belongs to another root has been already remarked (p. 676).

487. An exception from the law of gravity is found in the root *shi,* class 2 ("lie," "sleep,") in that, although only used in the middle, despite the weight of the medial endings, it everywhere exhibits Guna; in which respect the Greek κεῖμαι runs pretty parallel to the Sanscrit: hence κεῖ-σαι = *śê-shê,* κεῖ-ται = *śê-tê,* plural κεί-μεθα = *śê-mahê.* We might also present *śê,* as the root for the Sanscrit verb, as the pure vowel *î* nowhere appears, and the construction, also, of the word exhibits no expression, which made a root *śî* necessary, rather than *śê,* unless, perhaps, we assumed *śîta,* "cold," in the sense of resting, motionless, and hence chose to derive it from *śî.* The Old Sclavonic exhibits the old diphthong in the shape presented by the Greek κοίτη, κοιμάω, in покой *pokoĭ,* "*requies,*" "*pax.*" * On the other hand, чию *chijû,* "*quiesco,*" has undergone a double weakening; first, that of κ to ч *ch,* and next the thinning out of the diphthong to its concluding element. It must not be overlooked that *pokoĭ* is not the primitive shape of the base, but *po-koyo,* out of which, in the uninflected nominative and accusative, after suppression of the final vowel of the base (§. 257.), *po-koĭ* necessarily came:

* Kopitar's Glagolita, p. 86.

the theme *pokąyo*, however, accords excellently with Sanscrit *śaya*; as the adjective "lying," "sleeping;" or as the substantive "sleep."

488. The roots of the fifth and eighth class admit the Guna form of the उ *u* of the class syllable *nu* or *u* before the light terminations, and, before the heavy, reject the same vowel: the Greek sanctions the same principle, only, instead of extending *υ* into *ευ*, it lengthens the *υ*. Compare—

SINGULAR.		DUAL.	
*stṛi-ṇo-mi,**	στόρ-νυ-μι.	*stṛi-ṇu-vas,*	.
stṛi-ṇo-shi,	στόρ-νῦ-ς.	*stṛi-ṇu-thas,*	στόρ-νῠ-τον.
stṛi-ṇó-ti,	στόρ-νῦ-τι.	*stṛi-ṇu-tas,*	στόρ-νῠ-τον.
astṛi-ṇav-am,	ἐστορ-νῦ-ν.	*astṛi-ṇu-va,*	....
astṛi-ṇó-s,	ἐστόρ-νῦ-ς.	*astṛi-ṇu-tam,*	ἐστορ-νύ-τον.
astṛi-ṇó-t,	ἐστόρ-νῦ-(τ).	*astṛi-ṇu-tám,*	ἐστορ-νύ-την.

PLURAL.	
stṛi-ṇu-mas,	στόρ-νῠ-μες.
stṛi-ṇu-tha,	στόρ-νῠ-τε.
stṛi-ṇv-anti;	στορ-νύ-ντι.
astṛi-ṇu-ma,	ἐστόρ-νῠ-μες.
astṛi-ṇu-ta,	ἐστόρ-νῠ-τε.
astṛi-ṇv-an,	(ἐστόρ-νύ-ν.)

489. The Sanscrit reduplicated preterite receives guna before the light endings, and restores the pure root vowel again before the heavy. In this the German, and most evidently in the Gothic, stands in closest accordance with the Sanscrit, inasmuch as all verbs, with a root vowel

* The grammarians assume a root स्तृ *stṛi* and another स्तॄ *stṝi*, both of which signify "strew," and have, properly, for their root syllable *star* = Greek ΣΤΟΡ, Latin *STER*, the *a* of which is subject to suppression (Vocalismus, Obs. I. p. 157, and on the root in question, especially, l. c. p. 179.

susceptible of Guna (*i.e.* with *i* or *u*), insert before this, in the singular of the simple (strong) preterite, the original Guna vowel *a*; but before the increasing endings of the plurals, as also in the entire conjunctive, which is burthened by the exponent of the mood, and also in the singular polysyllabic, again reject the foreign strengthening vowel. Compare—

SANSCRIT.	GOTHIC.	SANSCRIT.	GOTHIC.
ROOT.	ROOT.	ROOT.	ROOT.
bhid, "to split."	*bit*, "to bite."	*bhuj*, "to bend."	*bug*, "to bend
SINGULAR.	SINGULAR.	SINGULAR.	SINGULAR.
bibhêda,	*bait*,	*bubhôja*,	*baug*.
bibhêditha,	*baist*,	*bubhôjitha*,	*baugt*.
bibhêda,	*bait*,	*bubhôja*,	*baug*.
DUAL.	DUAL.	DUAL.	DUAL.
bibhidiva,	*bitû*,	*bubhujiva*,	*bugû*.
bibhidathus,	*bituts*,	*bubhujathus*,	*buguts*.
bibhidatus,	. . .	*bubhujatus*,	. . .
PLURAL.	PLURAL.	PLURAL.	PLURAL.
bibhidima,	*bitum*,	*bubhujima*,	*bugum*.
bibhida(tha),	*bituth*,	*bubhuja(tha)*,	*buguth*.
bibhidus.	*bitun*,	*bubhujus*,	*bugun*.

490. On the law of gravity rests also the phenomenon, that those Gothic roots ending in two consonants, which, without protecting the reduplication, have preserved a radical *a* in the singular of the preterite, weaken this down to *u* before the heavy plural and dual endings, and those of the whole conjunctive (Vocalismus, Obs. 16. p. 227) The Sanscrit exhibits a remarkable counterpart to this phenomenon, which had not come under my notice in my earlier treatment of the theory of gravity, and is here for the first time considered in this point of view;—I mean the root *kar*, "make," which—not indeed in the redupli-

cated preterite, but still in the special tenses before heavy endings, and in the whole potential, which answers to the Gothic conjunctive—weakens its *a* to *u*, and only before light endings retains the heavy *a* sound. Hence *karômi*, "I make," stands in equal relation to *kurumas* or *kurmas*, "we make," and to *kuryâm*, "I might make," as, in Gothic, *band* to *bundum*, and *bundyau*. We place here the Gothic preterite *band* in the same category with the Sanscrit *babhandha*, which everywhere leaves its vowel unaltered, and with *karômi* as regards the change of vowel.

SINGULAR.			DUAL.		
SANSCRIT.	GOTH.	SANSCRIT.	SANSCRIT.	GOTHIC.	SANSCRIT.
babandha,	*band*,	*karômi*,	*babandhiva*,	*bundû*,	*kuruvas*.
babandhitha,	*banst*,	*karôshi*,	*babandhathus*,	*bundùts*,	*kuruthas*.
babandha,	*band*,	*karôti*.	*babandhatus*,	. . .	*kurutas*.

PLURAL.

babandhima,	*bundum*,	*kurumas*.
babandha(tha),	*bunduth*,	*kurutha*.
babandhus,	*bundun*,	*kurvanti*.

POTENTIAL.

SINGULAR.		DUAL.		PLURAL.	
Sanscrit.	*Gothic*.	*Sanscrit*.	*Gothic*.	*Sanscrit*.	*Gothic*.
kuryâm,	*bundyau*,	*kuryâva*,	*bundeiva*,	*kuryâma*,	*bundeima*.
kuryâs,	*bundeis*,	*kuryâtam*,	*bundeits*,	*kuryâta*,	*bundeith*.
kuryât,	*bundi*,	*kuryâtâm*,	. . . .	*kuryus*,	*bundeina*.

"Remark 1.—As all verbs which follow the analogy of *band* have a liquid for their penultimate consonant, and liquids have a preference for the vowel *u*, we may attribute to them here an influence on the generation of the *u*: it remains, however, not the less true, that the conditions under which, in the foregoing scheme, *a* and *u* are interchanged, rest only on the laws of gravity, and on a

maxim sufficiently, as I believe, demonstrated in my Vocalismus (p. 227), that the weight of the *u* is more easily supported by these languages than that of *a*. For were this not so, it were difficult to see why exactly, in the monosyllabic singular, the old *a* was protected; and why the condition of monosyllabism is so enforced in the preservation of the *a*, that, in Old High German, where the second person singular is designated by *i* instead of *t*,* and also, in the form which becomes dissyllabic, the lighter *u* should give way to the heavier *a*; and thus *bundi* of the first and third person stands in contrast to *band*, and to the Gothic second *banst*. In like sense may, in the Sanscrit form *kur*, exchanged for *kar*, a certain share be attributed to the liquid in the generation of the *u*, while the distribution between the *a* and *u* forms depends on the weight of the endings alone. Beyond the range, however, of the special tenses, the root *kar*, in the forms which seek for alleviation, dispenses entirely with the *a*, so that the *r* becomes the vowel *ṛi*. The mutilated form *kṛi* thus produced—as, for instance, in *kṛi-ta*, 'made,' opposed to *kar-tum*, 'make'—is considered by the grammarians as the original, and this holds good in analogous cases;—a view which I have, in my Vocalismus, endeavoured to demonstrate as historically unsustainable, in the first Observation of that work. In special Sanscrit grammars, this system may be maintained; a *kar* may still pass for a Guna form of *kṛi*; as also we may be compelled to treat the *a* of the Gothic *band* as the Guna form of *i*, in *bindu*, as we must, if, reversing the real historical course of the language, we recognise, in the singular *a* of the preterite, a first, and, in the plural, a conjunctive *u* of the preterite, a second *ablaut* of the *i* of the present *bindu*.'

* For the origin of this *i* I refer to my Vocalismus, p. 23.

"Remark 2.—It may appear surprising that these Gothic verbs with a radical *a*, which, in the preterite, have protected the old reduplication, do not equally weaken their *a* to *u* before the heavy endings; that, for instance, *haihald*, in the plural, should form, not *haihuldum*, but *haihaldum*, although the root has equally a liquid for its penultimate; and we might imagine that the burthening of the root by reduplication would occasion still more susceptibility for the weight of the endings; as we have seen, in Sanscrit, that the reduplicating roots of the third class in *â* either weaken or totally remove that vowel before the heavy endings (§. 181.), but the non-reduplicators experience no diminution. With the Gothic reduplication of the preterite we find in this a peculiar relation: it can only be borne by the strongest radical structure, and has hence only been perpetuated, first, by verbs with a long or diphthongal radical vowel; as *haihaït*, 'I was named,' present *haita*; *hlaihlaup*, 'I ran,' present *hlaupa*; secondly, by roots with the heaviest of the short vowels (*a*), united with length by position; for instance, *vaivald*, 'I directed,' present *valda*.* Under these conditions, it was a necessity of the language to retain the reduplication of the root in all its strength, and by this the weakening of the *a* to *u* was provided against."

491. The Greek exhibits the Guna modification of the ι in two forms, namely, where the original *a* sound is represented either by ε or ο, but αι never becomes the counterpart of the Sanscrit *ê* in roots in which diphthongs are exchanged with a pure ι.† Where, however, αι and οι, next to ι, are exchanged

* *Faifah*, from the base *fah*, "to seize," and *haihah*, from *hah*, "to hang," make an exception, but appear, on the evidence of cognate dialects, to have lost a nasal.

† Vocalismus, Obs. 2. p. 193.

with each other in one and the same root, then *οι*, as the heavier of the two Gunas, takes its place in the perfect, where also frequently the simple *ο* is opposed to the simple *ε*; hence, for instance, λέλοιπα opposed to λείπω, ἔλιπον; πεποίθα to πείθω, ἔπιθον, as τέτροφα to τρέφω. Thus *οι* answers to the Gothic Guna through *a*, and *ει* to that through *i* (§. 27.); and πείθω and πέποιθα are related to each other, as *beita* (i.e. *bîta* from *biita*, p. 105) to *bait* from the root *bit*; then, also, τρέφω to τέτροφα, as *lisa* to *las* from the root *LAS* (p. 106). It appears, also, thus, that the Greek bears more willingly the burthen of a stronger than of a weaker root syllable. The susceptibility of the weight of endings has, however, almost entirely vanished from the Greek perfect. A remnant of it is still found in οἶδα, opposed to the Sanscrit *vêda*, "I know," and the Gothic *vait**—in all three languages a present as to sense, with the terminations of the reduplicated preterite. Yet the Sanscrit verb, in this signification, dispenses with the reduplication, and so does the Greek; for οἶδα for Ϝοίδα is merely the Guna of the root (Ϝ)ιδ. Compare—

SANSCRIT.	GOTHIC.	GREEK.
वेद *vêd-a*,	*vait*,	οἶδ-α.
वेत्थ *vêt-tha*,	*vais-t*,	οἶσ-θα (see §. 453).
वेद *vê-da*,	*vait*,	οἶδ-ε.
विद्व *vid-i-va*,	*vit-û*,	. . . .
विदथुस् *vid-a-thus*,	*vit-u-ts*,	ἴσ-τον,
विदतुस् *vid-a-tus*,	. . . .	ἴσ-τον,
विद्म *vid-i-ma*,	*vit-u-m*,	ἴδ-μεν,
विद(थ) *vid-a-tha*,	*vit-u-th*,	ἴσ-τε.
विदुस् *vid-us* (see §. 462.),	*vit-u-n*,	ἴσ-α-σι.

* In the case of this verb our present language has preserved the operation of the influence of the endings; hence, *wissen*, *wisset*, *wissen*, against *weiss*, *weisst*, *weiss*; while elsewhere the plural has everywhere made itself equal in weight to the singular.

"Remark.—The Sanscrit base *vid* is not without a proper present—वेद्मि *vêdmi*, the plural of which, *vid-mas*, *vit-tha*, *vid-anti*, might have equally given, in Greek, ἴδ-μεν, ἴσ-τε, ἴσ-ασι (from ἴδαντι, p. 640); as also out of the duals *vit-thas*, *vit-tas*, we could hardly obtain in Greek any thing other than ἴσ-τον. The present forms resemble the Greek much more than those of the preterite. Nevertheless, I am not of opinion that the Greek plural and dual endings can belong to the present in their origin, for the intermediate vowel *a*, whose rejection gives to ἴδμεν the appearance of a present (compare ἐσ-μέν), is no essential element of the perfect, and is wanting, among other instances, in ἔϊκ-τον; which, moreover, through the restoration of the pure radical vowel, bears the same relation to ἔοικε, as ἴστον to οἶδε. We shall recur to this subject."

492. After what we have hitherto remarked on the laws of gravity, it becomes scarcely necessary to quote instances to shew which are the light terminations, and which the heavy. It is self-evident that the dual and plural endings have more body and compass than the singular of the transitive active form, and that in the middle voice the weight of endings communicates itself also to the singular; for μαι, σαι, ται, are obviously richer in sound than μι, σ(ι), τι: in the same manner, in the secondary forms, μην, σο, το, are heavier than ν, σ, (τ). We have, however, to observe, that several terminations, originally heavy, but which have, in the course of time, become abbreviated, have nevertheless left behind them the effect of their former state. This is the case especially in the Sanscrit, in which the middle *abibhr-i* (see p. 461) is much weaker in its termination than the transitive *abibhar-am*; so that, according to the present state of the language, we should rather expect *abibhr-am* answering to *abibhar-i* than the reverse. The second person plural of the transitive reduplicate preterite, like the first and third of the singular, has lost the true personal sign, and retained only the

intermediate vowel. Nevertheless, we find above *vida*, "ye know," answering to the singular *vêda*, "I know," "he knows." In the second person plural of the primary forms, *tha* is, in its present state, heavier than the singular *si*, as *a* is heavier than *i*, and the Sanscrit aspirates are evident combinations of an *h* with the full tenues or media (§. 12.). In Greek, all the terminations (if we except, perhaps, the relation of τε to θα, as in ἴσ-τε contrasted with οἶσ-θα), which I reckon heavy have still, in their actual state, more weight than those which, according to the theory which has been brought forward, belong to the light class. Compare—

LIGHT END.			HEAVY ENDING.
mi,	μι.	*vas, mas, ê, vahê, mahê,*	μες, μαι, μεθον, μεθα.
si,	σ(ι).	*thas, tha, sê, âthê, dve,*	τον, τε, σαι, σθον, σθε.
ti,	τι.	*tas, nti, tê, âtê, ntê,*	τον, ντι, σθον, νται.
m(am),	ν.	*va, ma, a, i,* vahi, mahi,*	μες, μην, μεθον, μεθα.
s,	ς.	*tam, ta, thâs, âthâm, dhvam,*	τον, τε, σο, σθον, σθε.
t,	(τ).	*tâm, n(an), ta, âtâm, nta, (ata),*	την (των), ν, το, σθην (σθων), ντο.

DIVISION OF CONJUGATIONS.

493. Sanscrit verbs admit of an easy distribution into two conjugations; the first—which, if not the oldest, existed before the separation of languages, and is almost alone represented in the European cognate languages—comprehends the great majority of all the verbs, viz. classes 1, 4, 6, 10 (§. 109[a].), which, in the special tenses, annex to the root a simple *a* (cl. 1 and 6), or syllables which terminate with *a*, viz. *ya* and *aya* (cl. 4 and 10). This conjugation is followed also, as will hereafter appear, by nearly all derivative verbs and by all denominatives. In Greek, the conjugation in ω corresponds to it, in which too much stress must not be laid on the ω answering to the Sanscrit *mi*, for

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* See §. 471.

if the μι is restored to the τέρπω, compared above (§. 434) with *tarp-â-mi*; and if τέρπεις, τέρπει, are carried back to the forms τέρπ-ε-σι, τέρπ-ὲ-τι, which, in all probability, once existed; still this verb, and all of similar construction, remain sufficiently distinguished from all classes of the so-called μι conjugation, which does not contain any verbs that insert between the root and the personal terminations an ε which is interchanged with ο, or larger syllables terminating with this vowel. The second Sanscrit conjugation separates, like the Greek, into three divisions. It takes first, those verbs which append the personal terminations direct to the base (Cl. 2, 3, 7), as *ê-mi* = εἶ-μι; *dadâ-mi* = δίδωμι; *yunaj-mi*, "*jungo*," plural *yunj-mas*, "*jungimus*" (§. 109[a]. 3.), to which there is no analogy in Greek; secondly, verbs with *nu* or *u*, in Greek νυ, υ, as the intermediate syllable; thirdly, those with *nâ* (weakened *nî*), in Greek νᾱ (νη), νᾰ (see pp. 109, 677). All these divisions are, in Sanscrit as in Greek, subjected to the influence of the weight of the personal terminations, while the first conjugation is free from it. Other peculiarities will be presented hereafter, in which the Sanscrit and Greek second conjugation coincide with one another, and are distinguished from the first conjugation.

494. The Greek first conjugation contains a greater variety of subdivisions than the Sanscrit, which consists of only four classes. This, however, has no influence on the inflection, since τέρπ-ο-μεν* is inflected just like τύπ-το-μεν, δάκ-νο-μεν, ἰζ-άνο-μεν, λαμβ-άνο-μεν, πράσ-σο-μεν, δαμ-άζο-μεν, ὠθ-ίζο-μεν; as it is the same, with regard to the conjugation, whether the formation, which is added to the base, consists simply of one ε, which, before nasals, is replaced by ο, or of syllables which terminate with this vowel, as, in San-

* I give the plural, as the abbreviation of the singular primary termination renders the character of formation not easily perceptible.

scrit, the formations *a*, *ya*, and *aya* are inflected similarly, for this very reason, that they all end in *a*. It appears to me, however, wrong to separate, in Greek, the consonants from their vowels, and in τύπτομεν to add, first a τ and then a conjunctive vowel ο; while, according to the course of the development of the language, the base τυπ, in the special tenses, combines with the syllable τε or το, δακ with νε or νο, and λαβ with ανε or ανο. The addition of a bare consonant, or of a syllable terminating with a consonant, would have been too cumbrous for the conjugation: a τυπ-τ-μεν or δακ-ν-μεν can never have existed. But if we are right in dividing thus, δείκ-νυ-μεν, and do not regard the ν merely as the element of formation, and the υ as the conjunctive vowel, there is no reason to distribute τύπτομεν according to a different principle. What the syllable το is in the latter verb, the syllable νυ is in the former. For this reason I cannot admit that mode of distinguishing the conjugation in ω from that in μι, which consists in terming the latter "with a conjunctive vowel"; as the μι conjugation also, though not in all the classes of which it consists, has syllables of conjunction, if they are to be so called, that are inserted in δείκ-νυ-μεν, δάκ-να-μέν, between the base and the personal termination.

495. It is hardly possible to state any thing satisfactory regarding the origin of these syllables. It appears to me most probable that the majority of them are pronouns, through which the action or quality, which is expressed in the root *in abstracto*, becomes something concrete; *e.g.* the expression of the idea "to love" becomes the expression of the person, "who loves." This person, however, is more closely defined by the personal termination, whether it be "I," "thou," or "he." Proceeding from this point of view, we may regard the character of the Sanscrit ninth class *nâ* (§. 109ᵃ. 5.) = Greek νᾱ, νη, νᾰ, as the lengthening of the pronominal base, न *na*, (§. 369.) and

nu = Greek νυ, as the weakening of this *na*, as, in the interrogative, together with *ka* the forms *ku* and *ki* occur. The *u* of the eighth class is easily perceived to be the abbreviation of the syllable *nu*, which arises from the circumstance that the few roots of this class terminate with *m*; thus *tan-u-mas* for *tan-nu-mas*. The sole exception is *kri*, "to make," which, however, as may be deduced from the Zend *kĕrĕ-nâo-mi*, likewise had *n* originally before the appended *u*. From *nâ* it seems that *ân* has arisen by transposition, which is further combined with the character *a* of the first or sixth class, and belongs to the first conjugation; but it occurs only in the second person imperative singular of the transitive active form of the ninth class, in which the first conjugation is without the personal termination; hence, *aś-âna*, "eat," answering to the first person *aś-nâni*, and the third *aś-nâtu*. This *aś-âna* would lead us to expect a present *aś-ânâ-mi*, *aś-âna-si*, *aś-âna-ti*, for *aś-nâ-mi*, &c. The circumstance that the Vêda dialect has not preserved forms of that kind, affords no certainty that they have never existed; for although several other ancient forms of speech have been preserved in the Vêda dialect, still it is very far from having retained, in their perfect state, all that existed at the period of the unity of language; *e.g.* there are no middle forms in *mê* for the abbreviated *ê*. But if the Sanscrit, in its formations in *âna*, actually took its departure from the second person imperative, where it also remained, the Greek has completed the formation thus commenced; for I have scarce any doubt that forms like *aś-âna* are the prototypes of the Greek ἵζανε, δάρθ-ανε, &c. Both languages agree in their conjugational addition almost as exactly as possible; for a Greek ᾰ refers rather to a Sanscrit long *â* than to a short one, as अ *a* is more frequently represented by ε than by ο. For the rest, the original length of quantity is still left in ἱκᾱνω. In

Lithuanian, verbs in *enu* and *inu*, and also those with doubled *n*, *innu*, belong to this class, though they retain the nasal, also, in the future and infinitive, which verbs in *nu*, of which hereafter, do not, *e.g.* *gab-enù*, "I bring," *gad-inù*, "I destroy," future *gabeñ su*, *gadiñ su* (§. 10.), infinitive *gabénti*, *gadinti*.

496. If, in the Sanscrit seventh class (§.109.[a]3.), that form, which appears before light terminations, is older than that which occurs before heavy ones, *e.g.* *bhi-na-d* from *bhi-nad-mi*, "I cleave;" older than *bhi-n-d* from *bhi-nd-mas*, "we cleave," then it might be assumed, as I am much inclined to do, that this syllable *na* is nothing else than the syllable *nâ* of the ninth class, which has been transposed into the interior of the root, and abbreviated; thus, *bhinadmi* for *bhidnâmi*, as *bhid* would form according to the ninth class. In Greek verbs, like λαμβάνω, μανθάνω, both forms occur together; and in them the nasal of derivation has a second time been reflected into the middle of the root, just as, in Zend, an *i* or *y* imparts to the preceding syllable also an *i* (§. 41.) It has been already remarked (§. 109[a].5.), that verbs, like δάκ-νο-μεν, τέμ-νο-μεν, by weakening the syllable of derivation, *i.e* by changing the organic α of δάμ-νᾰ-μεν for the unorganic ε or ο, have entered into the ω conjugation. Here belongs, also, the Latin formation *ni* (before *r* : *ne*) of *ster-ni-mus*, *cer-ni-mus*, *sper-ni-mus*, *li-ni-mus*, *si-ni-mus*. Compare, for instance, *ster-ni-mus* with स्तृणीमस् *stri-nî-mas*; but the resemblance must not be rated too high, for the Latin *nĭ* is not a shortened form of the Sanscrit *nî* (see §. 485), but *a* weakened as *leg-i-mus* for *leg-ă-mus* (§. 109[a]. 1.). In Old Sclavonic, correspond verbs in *nû*, *nĕshi*, which reject this appended syllable in the preterite, *e.g.* гыбнѫ *gyb-nû*, "*pereo*," second person *gyb-ne-shi*, preterite *gy-boch* (Dobr. p. 355.); in Lithuanian, correspond verbs in *nu*, plural *na-mè*, which, though sparingly, are retained in roots in

au (Mielke, p. 101, 25.); e.g. *gáu-nu,* "I avow," plural *gáu-na-me,* preterite *gawau,* future *gausu.* Compare—

GREEK.	OLD SCLAV.	LITHUAN.	LATIN.	SANSCRIT.
δάκ-νω,	*gyb-nû,*[1]	*gáu-nu,*[2]	*ster-no-'*	*stri-ṇâ-mi.*
δάκ-νει-ς,	*gyb-ne-shi,*	*gáu-n'-i,*	*ster-ni-s,*	*stri-ṇâ-si.*
δάκ-νε-(τ)ι,	*gyb ne-ty,*	*gáu-na-'*	*ster-ni-t,*	*stri-ṇâ-ti.*
. . . . .	*gyb-ne-va,*	*gáu-na-wa,*	. . . . .	*stri-ṇî-vas.*
δάκ-νε-τον,	*gyb-ne-ta,*	*gáu-na-ta,*	. . . . .	*stri-ṇî-thas.*
δάκ-νε-τον,	*gyb-ne-ta,*	*gáu-na-'*	. . . . .	*stri-ṇî-tas.*
δάκ-νο-μεν,	*gyb-ne-m,*	*gáu-na-me,*	*ster-ni-mus,*	*stri-ṇî-mas.*
δάκ-νε-τε,	*gyb-ne-te,*	*gáu-na-te,*	*ster-ni-tis,*	*stri-ṇî-tha.*
δάκ-νο-ντι,	*gyb-nû-ty,*[1]	*gáu-na-'*	*ster-nu-nt,*	*stri-ṇa-nti.*

[1] Here an entirely legitimate division is impossible, since the personal termination has likewise a share in the *û* of derivation, its nasal being contained in it: see §. 255. *g.* [2] See p. 609.

497. The addition τε, το (τύπ-το-μεν, τύπ-τε-τε), appears peculiar to Greek, which, however, except πέκτω, τίκτω, occurs only after labials. Its τ is, perhaps, a corruption of ν, as elsewhere, also, we have seen mutes proceed from nasals of corresponding organ; *e.g.* βροτός from μροτός; in Lithuanian and Sclavonic, *dewyni,* ДЕВѦТЬ *devyaty* (§. 317.), from *newyni, nevyaty;* and (which comes tolerably near to the case in question) the Greek suffix ματ, used in the formation of words, corresponds to a formation in *n* in the kindred languages; *e.g.* ὀ-νοματ answers to the Sanscrit *nâman,* Latin *nomen,* to the Gothic *namô, namin-s,* and Sclavonic ИМѦ *imya,* genitive ИМЕНЕ *imen-e* (§. 269.). In Sanscrit, also, we must remark that the *n* is replaced by the tenuis of its organ, since, for instance, from *han,* "to slay," comes the causal *ghât-ayâ-mi* for *hân-ayâ-mi.* If, then, the τ of τύπ-το-μεν, κρύπ-το-μεν, &c., stands in this manner for ν, then these verbs, just as those in νο-μεν, νε-τε

(§. 109[a]. 5.), lead back to the Sanscrit ninth class. But if the τ is organic, which is less probable, then, according to the principle laid down in §. 495., the syllable τε, το, leads to the pronominal base το = Sanscrit त *ta* (§. 343.).

498. In Lithuanian there are some verbs which resemble Greek verbs like τύπτω in this point, that they insert between the root and the personal termination an additional syllable beginning with *t* and terminating with a vowel, though they reject it again in the preterite, which answers to the Greek imperfect, and in which the class syllables are still retained. Thus *klys-tu* (euphonic for *klyd-tu*, compare §. 457.), plural *klys-ta-me*; preterite *klyd-au*, future *klysu*, as ἐρεί-σω for ἐρείδ-σω; *plús-tu* (for *plúd-tu*), "I swim" (compare *plu*, p. 114), plural *plús-ta-me*, preterite *plúd-au*; *lósz-tu*, "I am petulant" plural *lósz-ta-me*, preterite *lószau*; *mirsz-tu*, "I forget,"* plural *mirsz-ta-me*, preterite *mirsz-au*; *plysz-tu*, "I tear to pieces," plural *plysz-ta-me*, preterite *plysz-au*. Some verbs prefix to the *t* a nonradical *s* also, for which the way is perhaps prepared by cases in which a sibilant, or a *d* which changes into *s*, is already in the root, or because *st* is in general a favourite termination (compare §. 94.); as, *rim-stu*, "I am quiet" (Sanscrit *vi-ram*, "to rest"), plural *rim-sta-me*, preterite *rimm-au*, future *rim-su*.

499. I believe a pronominal origin must be ascribed, also, to the ε, ο of verbs like τέρπ-ο-μεν, τέρπ-ε-τε, which is usually called a conjunctive vowel; for the अ *a*, which answers to it in Sanscrit, is deducible from a pronominal base more easily than any other conjugational adjunct, and it proceeds, in fact, from the base from which we have above seen *a-smâi*, "to this," *a-smât*, "from this," *a-sya*, "of this," and *a-smin*, "in this," proceed. For a mere conjunctive vowel *a*, as the heaviest of the three primary

* Compare Sanscrit *smar* (*smṛi*), "to remember," Vocalismus, p. 164.

vowels, appears to me least of all adapted; and I think that the origin of conjunctive vowels, which are inserted between two consonants to facilitate pronunciation, belongs to a later period of the language than that to which the coincidences of the Sanscrit with its European cognate languages conducts us back. The अ *a* in question, however, coincides with the Gothic *a*, which is interchanged with *i*, with the Greek ε interchangeable with ο, Old Sclavonic Е *e*, Lithuanian *a*, and Latin *i* (§. 109[a]. 1.); *e.g.* in the second person dual, वहथस् *vah-a-thas*, answering to the Gothic *vig-a-ts*, Greek ἔχ-ε-τον, Old Sclavonic ВЕЗЕТА *vez-e-ta*, Lithuanian *wež-a-tà*; second person plural वहथ *vah-a-tha*, answering to the Greek ἔχ-ε-τε, Old Sclavonic ВЕЗЕТЕ *vez-e-te*, Lithuanian *wež-a-tè*, Latin *veh-i-tis*, Gothic *vig-i-th*. The case is different with the lightest of the primary vowels, *i*, with which we shall hereafter become acquainted in considering the Sanscrit auxiliary future. No analogous vowel can be assigned to this *i* in the kindred languages, and we must therefore fix its origin in the period succeeding the division of languages. In Zend, we see some conjunctive vowels arise, as it were, under our eyes, *i.e.* vowels which enter between two consonants that were formerly combined: this never occurs, however, with an *a*, but with the unorganic ĕ *ĕ* (§. 30.), for which *i* is sometimes found; *e.g.* *uś-ĕ-histа*, "stand up," in which an *i* is inserted between the preposition and the verb, which never happens in Sanscrit.

500. The adjuncts of the fourth and tenth classes, य *ya* and अय *aya*, must, I believe, be regarded as auxiliary verbs: य *ya* is, at the same time, the character of the passive, and we shall recur to it in treating of that voice. In Gothic, we have already found a representative of the Sanscrit fourth class (§. 109[a]. 2.): in Latin, verbs in *io*, of the third conjugation, correspond to it. These, in disadvantageous comparison with the Gothic, have permitted the

vowel of the syllable *ya* to disappear almost everywhere; *e.g*, in all the cases in which the *a* of the first and sixth class has been weakened to *i*, before *r* to *ĕ*; hence, *spec-i-o*, *spec-i-unt*, contrasted with the Sanscrit *paś-yâ-mi*, *paś-ya-nti*, but *spec-i-s*, *spec-i-t*, *spec-i-mus*, *spec-i-tis*, contrasted with *paś-ya-si*, *paś-ya-ti*, *paś-yâ-mas*, *paś-ya-tha*. In the participle present, the *a* of the syllable *ya* has been retained under the protection of two consonants; hence, *spec-ie-ns*, *spec-ie-ntem*, contrasted with *paś-ya-n*, *paś-ya-ntam*. *Facio*, according to its origin, should follow the fourth conjugation, as it is based on the Sanscrit causal form, *bhâvayâmi*, "I make to be" (§. 19.): on account, however, of the trifling difference in form between *-yâmi* and *-ayâmi*, it cannot surprise us that the said Latin verb has deserted its original class, and migrated to that next adjoining. Thus, *vice versâ*, *cupio*=*kup-yâ-mi*, "I am angry," has partly changed into the fourth conjugation, which corresponds to the Sanscrit tenth class; and to this conjugation belong *cupîvi*, *cupîtum*, while the present has remained in the class to which this verb originally belongs. In Lithuanian, correspond verbs in *iu*, *yu*, of Mielke's first conjugation (p. 96, &c.); *e.g.* *liepyu* "I order," which, like similar verbs with a labial termination to the root, rejects indeed the *y* before the *i* of the second person, but otherwise retains the class syllable inviolate throughout the whole present. In Sclavonic, Dobrowsky's first conjugation belongs here, which, in the present, with the exception of the first person singular, and third person plural, exhibits the syllable য *ya* in the form of ѥ *ye*, but only after vowels: after consonants, only the *e* of the ѥ *ye* is left, as in other parts, also, of grammar, є *e* is very frequently the remnant of the syllable ѥ *ye*, as the euphonic product of *yo* (§. 255. *n.* and 258.). In the first person singular and third person plural, we find, both after vowels and consonants, *yû*, *yûty*, from *yo-m*, *yo-nty* (§. 255. *g.*), and, in the gerund (participle) present *ya*,

feminine *yûskchi*, answering to the Sanscrit *yan*, *yantí*. Examples are: *pi-yû*, "I drink,"* second person *pi-ye-shi*,"† third person *pi-ye-ty*; *ʐna-yû*, "I know" (Sanscrit *jnâ*, "to know") *ʐna-ye-shi*, *ʐna-ye-ty*; *or-yû*, "I plough," *or-e-shi*, *or-e-ty*. Compare—

SANSCRIT.	LITH.	OLD SCLAV.	GOTHIC.	LATIN.
lubh-yâ-mi,[1]	*liep-yu*,	*ʐna-yû*,[2]	*haf-ya-*[3]	*cap-io-*.
lubh-ya-si,	*liep-i*,	*ʐna-ye-shi*,	*haf-yi-s*,	*cap-i-s*.
lubh-ya-ti,	*liep-ya-*	*ʐna-ye-ty*,	*haf-yi-th*,	*cap-i-t*.
lubh-yâ-vas,	*liep-ya-wa*.	*ʐna-ye-va*,	*haf-yô-s*,[4]	.....
lubh-ya-thas,	*liep-ya-ta*,	*ʐna-ye-ta*,	*haf-ya-ts*,	.....
lubh-ya-tas,	*liep-ya-*	*ʐna-ye-ta*,	.....	.....
lubh-yâ-mas,	*liep-ya-me*,	*ʐna-ye-m*,	*haf-ya-m*,	*cap-i-mus*.
lubh-ya-tha,	*liep-ya-te*,	*ʐna-ye-te*,	*haf-yi-th*,	*cap-i-tis*.
lubh-ya-nti,	*liep-ya-*	*ʐna-yû-ty*,[2]	*haf-ya-nd*,	*cap-iu-nt*.

[1] "I desire," compare *lubet*, *libet*, Gothic *liubs*, "dear." [2] See p. 692, Rem. [1]. [3] The Gothic *haf-ya*, our *heben*, "to raise," is radically identical with the Latin *capio*, the law of transposition being followed (§. 87.). [4] A completely legitimate division is impossible in this word (see §. 255. *g*.).

501. As the Lithuanian readily assimilates the semi-vowel *y* to a stronger consonant preceding it (compare p. 353), it need not surprise us if this case occasionally occurs in the class of verbs also under discussion. To this we refer verbs in *mmu* (according to Mielke, p. 101. 23.), which, in the preterite, again restore their second *m* to the *y*, whence it arose,

* The Sanscrit root *pî* is used only in the middle, but belongs, in like manner, to the fourth class; hence, *pî-yê*, *pî-yasê*, &c.

† Dobrowsky writes, p. 321, *bieshi*, *biety*, from the root *bi*, "to cut"; but Kopitar, whom I follow, gives *biyeshi*, &c. If the first reading were correct, it must be assumed that after *i* the *y* of the class syllable would be dropped before *e*.

but, in the future and infinitive, according to the old principle, entirely withdraw the class syllable; as, *immu*, "I take," preterite *ėmyau*, future *imsu*, infinitive *imti*. *Gemmu*, "I am born," has, in the preterite, together with *gimyau* also the assimilated form *gimmau*. The root *gim* agrees with the Sanscrit जन् *jan*, which, in the sense of "to be born," is likewise included in the fourth class, but which regularly suppresses the *n* before the character य *ya*, and, in compensation, lengthens the vowel. As, however, *jan*, "*nasci*," is used only in the middle, and the passive, on account of its character *ya*, is identical with the middle of the fourth class, nothing prevents us from regarding जाये *jâyê*, "*nascor*," as passive; and thus, in Lithuanian, *gemmu* is recognised as a remnant of the Sanscrit passive, with the loss only of the middle terminations. We should also remark the admirable agreement between the Lithuanian *luppu*, "I peel," "skin," and which is based on assimilation, and the Sanscrit *lup-yâ-mi*, from the root *lup*, "to cleave," "destroy," "trouble." Hence the transition is close to Greek verbs with double consonants, in the special tenses; for the form ἄλλος, as contrasted with the Gothic *ALYA*, has furnished us with the first proof, that, in Greek, the semi-vowel *y* still exists in the form of a retroacting assimilation,* for comparatives like κρείσσων, ἐλάσσων, are traced back to this principle (§. 300.), to which, also, verbs with σ or λ doubled in the special tenses are subjected; thus λίσσομαι from λιτyομαι, as κρείσσων from κρειτyων or κρατyων; φρίσσω from φρικyω, as γλύσσων from γλυκyων (γλυκίων); πτύσσω from πτυχyω, as πάσσων from παχyων (παχίων). According to this principle, γ also becomes σ; *e.g.* τάσσω from ταγyω, to which the comparatives do not supply any analogy, as might have been expected in μέγας. As, however, μείζων is used for μεγίων from μεγyων, so also in the ζ of some verbs the retroactive influence of an earlier

* Demonstrative Bases, p. 20.

y might be conjectured; thus ἅζω (with ἅγιος = Sanscrit यज् *yaj*, "to adore," "to sacrifice,") from ἁγγω; φράζω from φραδγω; ἵζω from ἱδγω; βράζω with βράσσω from βραδγω or βραχγω.

502. Most verbs in σσω are denominatives; and it is here important to remark, that, in Sanscrit also, the syllable य *ya* forms denominatives, as *chirâ-yâ-mi*, "I hesitate," from *chira*, "slow"; *śabdâ-yâ-mi*, "I tune," from *śabda*, "sound"; *asû-yâ-mi*, "I curse," from *asu*, "life"; *namas-yâ-mi*, "I adore," from *namas*, "adoration." Thus, in Greek, amongst others, αἱμάσσω from αἱματγω from ʽΑΙΜΑΤ; κορύσσω from κορυθγω from ΚΟΡΥΘ; ταράσσω from ταραχγω from ΤΑΡΑΧΗ; πτερύσσομαι from πτερυγγομαι from ΠΤΕΡΥΓ; κηρύσσω from κηρυγγω from ΚΕΡΥΓ. The numerous denominatives, also, in αζω and ιζω might be referred to this class, the semivowel य *y* being represented by ζ.* The question is, whether the α and ι of forms like εὐνάζω, ἀκμάζω, δικάζω, ἀγελάζω, ἀγοράζω, πολεμίζω, ἀθροίζω, ἀφρίζω, belong to the primitive noun, or to the verbal derivative. It must be considered an important argument in favour of the former view, that αζω, in that kind of denominatives, for the most part occurs only where an α or η is already contained in the base noun, but η according to its origin = *â* (§. 4.). If, therefore, δικάζω comes from δικη (δικᾱ), then the final vowel of the base word has only been weakened in the most natural manner, and it would therefore be also only a weakening of the vowel, if *o*, springing from short *a*, should become ι (§. 6.), and *e.g.* πολεμί-ζω should stand for πολεμό-ζω. And it need not surprise us if η (ᾱ) were at times weakened a stage further than to ᾰ, viz. to ι, and αὐλί-ζομαι were derived from αὐλή, by changing the η into ι. Bases ending with a consonant

* See §. 19. From this interchange an affinity of the Greek ζεά, ζειά, to the Sanscrit यव *yava*, "barley," may be deduced; thus ζεά, for ζεϜά.

observe, if this opinion be just, a double course of procedure: either the final consonant is suppressed, or an ι added to it as a conjunctive vowel. The former occurs principally in words which have already become accustomed, through the nominative (accusative), to the loss of their final consonant; the latter principally in those words that retain their final consonant, or the former of two in the nominative; hence, χειμάζω from ΧΕΙΜΑΤ; ὀνομάζω from 'ΟΝΟΜΑΤ; παίζω from ΠΑΙΔ; ἀσπίζομαι from 'ΑΣΠΙΔ; but ἀνδρ-ί-ζω, γαστρ-ί-ζω, αὐχεν-ί-ζω, ἀκοντ-ί-ζω, ἀγων-ί-ζω, ἀλοκ-ί-ζω. Deviations from the prevailing principle are αἱματ-ί-ζω, ἑρματ-ί-ζω, παραδειγματ-ί-ζω, κυματ-ί-ζω, σπερματ-ί-ζω, ποδ-ί-ζω; and, on the other hand, μαστί-ζω, σαλπί-ζω, συρί-ζω, for μαστιγ-ί-ζω, &c. The Σ of words like τεῖχος belongs, indeed, as has been before shewn (§. 128.), to the base; notwithstanding, no derivations exist like τειχεσ-ί-ζω, since the recollection that the Σ, which had been dislodged from the oblique cases, belonged to the base at the time when these verbs originated was already extinct.

503. If we proceed on the opinion, that the α and ι of denominatives in αζω and ιζω belong to the verbal derivative, then they correspond to the Sanscrit tenth class (§. 109ª.6.), which likewise forms denominatives; and thus, in the second person plural, αζε-τε would = Sanscrit *aya-tha.* The ι of ιζω would consequently be, in πολεμίζω, not the weakening of the ο of ΠΟΛΕΜΟ, and in γαστρίζω, μακαρίζω, εὐδαιμονίζω, and others, not a conjunctive vowel, but the weakened form of the old *a* of अयामि *ayâ-mi*, अयसि *aya-si*, &c.; but the vowels of the nominal bases would be rejected, as in Sanscrit, in which language, in polysyllabic bases, not only the final vowels are withdrawn, but final consonants also, together with the vowel preceding them; *e.g. prît-a-yâmi* from *prîti*, "joy," *varm-ayâmi* from *varman*, "armour." We might consider in this light the isolated word δεκαζόμενος in Greek, and, moreover, forms like ὀνομάζω, ἀσπίζω; thus pro-

perly, *αεκ(ον)-αζόμενος*, *ασπ(ιδ)-ίζω*, *ονομ(ατ)άζω*: on the other hand, the majority of bases terminating with a consonant, in advantageous contrast with the Sanscrit, preserve the primary word unabbreviated, or only weakened, as before the oblique case terminations: thus, *γαστρ-ίζω* like *γαστρ-ός*. If this second view of the matter is, as I am much inclined to think it is, the correct one, then the opposition between forms like *ἀγορ'-άζω*, *δικ'-άζω*, *χειμ-άζω*, on the one hand, and such as *πολεμ'-ίζω*, *ἀφρ'-ίζω*, *ἀδελφ'-ίζω*, *ἀηδ'-ίζω*,* *ὑψ'-ίζω*, on the other, is to be settled thus, that the *α* of derivation is preserved by *α* or *η* (= *ᾱ*) of the primitive word, in order that the base and derivative part may not experience too much weakening. For the rest, in bases in *ο*, the forms in *άζω*, without *ι* preceding, are not rare, though they are kept in the back-ground by the overwhelming majority of those in *ίζω*; as *ἱππ-άζω*, *λιθ-άζω*, *ἐργ-άζομαι*, *ἰσ-άζω*, *γυμν-άζω*, *κολ-άζω*, *δοκιμ-άζω*, *ἑτοιμ-άζω*, *κωμ-άζω*, *σηκ-άζω*, *συσκοτ-άζω* (together with *σκοτ-ίζω*), *συκ-άζω*, *τοξ-άζομαι*. Hence, also, the form in *ίζω* is not entirely foreign to the *α* declension (*λυρίζω* from *λύρα*): and what is of more importance, both *άζω* and *ίζω* occur beyond the nominal formations, as *ῥιπτ-αζω* from *ῥίπτω*, *στεν-άζω* from *στένω*,† as *δαμάζω* together with *δαμάω*, *ἀγαπάζω* with *ἀγαπάω*, *προκαλίζω* with *καλέω*, *αἰτίζω* with *αἰτέω*, *ὠθίζω* with *ὠθέω*. Such forms are certainly connected with the character अय *aya* of the tenth class.

504. To this class I refer, also, verbs in *αω* and *εω*,‡ whose

* Not from the nominative *ἀηδής*, but from the base 'ΑΗΔΕΣ (compare p. 308).

† 'Ερπ-ύζω from *ἕρπω* appears to have been formed by weakening the *α* to *υ*.

‡ Of course with the exception of those the *ε* or *α* of which is radical, denominatives in *οω*, likewise, probably belong here, though the *ο* has the appearance of belonging to the primitive noun. The question appears to

have

relation to the Sanscrit *aya* must be this, that (as in the Latin first conjugation and the Gothic second weaker form), after dropping the semi-vowel, the two *a's* of अय *aya* have combined into a corresponding long vowel (*ā* or *η*). This shews itself elsewhere besides in the special tenses, e.g in *φιλ-ή-σω*, *πεφίλ-η-κα*, with which the Æolic present *φίλ-η-μι* agrees; whence, by adding the conjunctive vowel of the *ω* conjugation, through which the *η* is abbreviated, come *φιλέω*, *φιλέομεν*. The case is similar to the formation of *τιθέω*, for *τίθημι*, from the root ΘΗ.* For *νικάω* we should expect *νικ-ᾱ-μι*, and such forms must have formerly existed: the *νίκ-η-μι*,† however, which has been transmitted to us, as *νικ-ή-σω* for *νικ-ᾱ-σω*, need not surprise us, as *η*, according to its origin, stands everywhere for *ᾱ*, and even the Doric, disposed as it is to adopt the *ᾱ*, has not preserved every *ᾱ* from being corrupted to *η*. In this point, verbs in *αω* maintain a superiority over those in *εω* (for *ηω*), that they have preserved the length of the *α* under the protection of a preceding long vowel. The Prâkrit, as has been already observed, has, for the most part, contracted the character *aya* into *ê*—

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have one issue with that, whether the *α* or *ι* of *αζω*, *ιζω* belong to the verbal derivation or to the nominal base.

* From the point of view of the Greek it might appear doubtful whether *ἵστᾱμι*, *τίθημι*, *δίδωμι*, should be regarded as lengthened forms, or *ἵστᾰμεν*, *τίθεμεν*, *δίδομεν*, as shortened ones. But the history of languages is in favour of the latter opinion (compare §. 481.).

† I formerly thought it probable, that in *νικαω* the Sanscrit preposition *ni* might be concealed, then *ια* would be the root, and might be compared with जयामि *jay-â-mi*, "I conquer," from *ji*, Cl. 1., the medial being irregularly raised to a tenuis. But if, which I now prefer, *νῖκ* is regarded as the root, and *άω* = *ayâmi*, is the class character; then *νικάω* leads us to the Sanscrit causative *nâś-ayâ-mi*, "to annihilate," "to slay." The relation of *νῖκ* to *nâś* resembles that of *krî-ṇî-mas* to *krâ-ṇî-mi* in Sanscrit (§. 485.). Then the conquering would take its name from the annihilation of the foe combined with it, and *νικάω* would also be akin to *νέκυς*, *νεκρός*.

by suppressing the final *ŭ*, vocalizing the *y* to *i*, and contracting it, according to rule, with the preceding *a* to *ê* *—and thus it agrees with the weak form of the Latin second, and Gothic third conjugation (p. 110, *passim*). But in Prakrit the *y* of *aya* may also be abandoned, as *jan-ad-di* = Sanscrit *jan-aya-ti*, which serves as countertype to the Latin first and Gothic second weak conjugation (with *ô* for *â*, according to §. 69.), and to Greek verbs with the derivative *η* or *ᾱ*.

505. The relation of the Latin *ī* of the fourth conjugation to the Sanscrit *aya* is to be viewed thus, that the first *a* has been weakened to *i*, and has then combined with the *y* dissolved to *i*, and has thus formed *ī*, which *ī* before a vowel following-sound is again subject to abbreviation. The final *a* of अय *aya* has been lost or preserved under the same circumstances as those under which the syllable य *ya* of the fourth class; *e.g.* in *capio*; is retained or lost (compare §. 500.). Thus the *io*, *iunt*, of *audio*, *audiunt*, correspond with the Sanscrit *ayâ-mi*, *aya-nti*; *e.g.* in *chôr-ayâ-mi*, "I steal" (compare *furo*, according to §. 14), *chôr-aya-nti*; the *iês*, *iâs* of *audiês*, *audiâs*, with the Sanscrit अयेस् *ayês* in *chôr-ayê-s*, "thou mayest steal"; on the other hand, the *īs*, *ĭt*, *īmus*, *ītis*, of *audīs*, *audĭt*, *audīmus*, *audītis*, with the *aya-si*, *aya-ti*, *ayâ-mas*, *aya-tha*, of *chor-aya-si*, &c. In Sclavonic, Dobrowsky's third conjugation is to be referred here, which, in the present, contrasts *yû* (from *yo-m*, §. 255[a]. g.), *ya-ty*, with the Sanscrit *ayâ-mi*, *aya-nti*, and Latin *io*, *iu-nt*, but in the other persons has preserved only the semi-vowel of the Sanscrit *aya*, resolved to *i*. Exclusive of the special tenses, these verbs separate into two classes (*E* and *F*, according to Dobrowsky), since the Sanscrit अय् *ay*,† shews itself either in the form of ѣ *ye*, or as *i*. The former, according to §. 255. *e*, corresponds

* Compare Vocalismus, p. 202.

† The final *a* of अय *aya* remains only in the special tenses (§. 109[a]. 6.)

exactly with the Prakrit ए *ê*, and therefore with the Latin *ê* of the second conjugation, and with the Gothic *ai*, Old High German *ê*, of the third weak conjugation (p. 120. *passim*); *e.g.* видѣти *vid-ye-ti*, "to see,"* answering to the Prakrit *vêd-ê-tuṅ* (*vêd-ê-mi*), Latin *vid-ê-re*, Sanscrit *vêd-ay-i-tum* (*vêd-ayâ-mi*). On the other hand, *bûd-i-ti*, "to waken," in analogy with *bûd-i-shi*, "thou wakenest," &c.

506. In Lithuanian we recognise the Sanscrit tenth class, and therefore the German weak conjugation, in Mielke's second and third conjugation. The second, with regard to the present, distributes itself into two classes, of which the one, and the more numerous, has preserved only the *a* of the character *aya*—probably the latter,—and hence appears identical with the first, which corresponds to the Sanscrit first or sixth class; *e.g.* *stén-a-me*, "we groan," *stén-a-te*, "ye groan" = Sanscrit *stan-ayâ-mas*,† *stan-aya-tha*, as *vez-a-mé*, *vez-a-té* = *vah-â-mas*, *vah-a-tha*. The other, and less numerous class, has, like Dobrowsky's third conjugation, an *i* in the present, as a remnant of the Sanscrit *aya*, e.g. *myl-i-me*, "we love." In the preterite both classes have *êyo* throughout the dual and plural; thus, *e.g.* second person plural, *stem-êyo-te*, *myl-êyo-te*, answering to the Sanscrit *astan-aya-ta*. The singular has, in the first person, *êyan* from *êya-m* (§. 438.); second person, *êyei* from *êya-si*; third person, *êyo*, without an expression for the person. Thus we see here the class character अय *aya* retained more exactly than in any other

* In Sclavonic and Latin the causal in question has the meaning "to see," which is a means of making to know of a particular kind, as, in Sanscrit, the eye, as the organ of guiding, is termed *nê-tra* and *nay-ana*.

† The Sanscrit verb expresses a louder groaning than the Lithuanian, and signifies "to thunder"; compare *tonare* and Greek στένω in the sense of the roaring of the waves of the sea.

European cognate language. The *ê*,* andswering to the अ *a*, is perhaps produced by the re-active influence of the *y*, while, in Zend, that semi-vowel, by its assimilative force, changes into *ê* the following *a* sound; *e.g.* *śrâv-ayê-mi*, *śrav-ayê-shi*, *śrâv-ayêi-ti*, "I speak" ("make to hear"), &c. There are some verbs in Lithuanian which, in the present also, have preserved the character अय *aya* in the most perfect form; *e.g.* *klyd-êyu*,† "I wander about," plural *klyd-êya-me*, preterite singular *klyd-êyau*. Verbs, also, in *oyu*, *ůyu*, and *iyu*—plural *oya-me*, *ůya-me*, *iya-me*—furnish an exact counterpart to the Sanscrit tenth class, or causal form; *e.g.* *dum-oyu*, "I think," plural *dum-oya-me*, preterite *dum-ayau*; *ważůyu*, "I drive," plural *waż-ůyu-me* = the Sanscrit causal *vâh-âya-mas*. Verbs in *iyu* are, as it appears, all denominatives;‡ *e.g.* *dáwadiyu*, "I bring into order," from *dawádas*, "order." Mielke's third conjugation, like the preponderating class of the second conjugation, has, in the present, preserved only the last vowel of the character अय *aya*, and that in the form of an *o*, with the exception of the first and second person singular, in which the old *a* remains. Compare *penù*, "I nourish," of the second conjugation, with *laikau* (*laik-a-u*), "I stop," of the third.

* The Lithuanian grammarians do not write the *e* with a circumflex, but with a different mark to denote the length of quantity.

† Lithuanian *y* = *î*; and thus from the root of this verb comes the substantive *klaidûnas*, "false believer," with Vriddhi (§. 26.), for Lithuanian *ai* = *âi*, the *i* being slightly pronounced; so *baimê*, "fear," answering to the Sanscrit root *bhî*, "to fear," whence *bhîma*, "fearful," and hence the derivative *bhâima*. The derivation suffix *ûna*, in *klai-dûna-s*, corresponds to the Sanscrit middle participial suffix *âna* (compare §. 255. *h.*).

‡ Mielke refers verbs in *êyu*, *oyu*, *ůyu*, and *iyu* to his first conjugation, which is, in general, composed of very heterogeneous parts.

SINGULAR.		DUAL.	
pen-ù,	*laik-a-u,*	*pén-a-wa,*	*laik-o-wa.*
pen-ì,	*laik-a-i,*	*pén-a-ta,*	*laik-o-ta.*
pén-a,	*laik-o.*	*pén-a,*	*laik-o.*

PLURAL.	
pén-a-me,	*laik-o-me,*
pén-a-te,	*laik-o-te,*
pén-a,	*laik-o.*

In the two plural numbers, and in the third person singular of the preterite, *laikau* has lost the syllable *yo* of the *ëyo*, which, in the second conjugation, corresponds to the Sanscrit *aya*, and, in the first and second person singular, it has lost the syllable *ë*; it uses *iau* for *ëyau*, and *iei* for *ëyei*. Hence we see clearly enough that this conjugation, though more corrupted, likewise belongs to the Sanscrit tenth class. Compare—

SINGULAR		DUAL.	
pen-ëya-u,	*laik-ia-u,*	*pen-ëyo-wa,*	*laik-ê-wa,*
pen-ëye-i,	*laik-ie-i,*	*pen-ëyo-ta,*	*laik-ê-ta,*
pen-ëyo,	*laik-ê.*	*pen-ëyo,*	*laik-ê.*

PLURAL.	
pen-ëyo-me,	*laik-ê-me,*
pen-ëyo-te,	*laik-ê-te,*
pen-ëyo,	*laik-ê.*

It has been already observed with regard to the Sanscrit tenth class, that its characteristic अय *aya* is not restricted to the special tenses (§. 109[a]. 6.), but that, with few exceptions, it extends to all the other formations of the root, only laying aside the final *a* of *aya*. Thus, in Lithuanian, a part of the corresponding *ëyo*, *iyo*, &c., is transposed to the general tenses and the other formations of the word. Of *ëyo*, the *ë* remains; of *iyo*, *i*; and of *aya*, *ůya*, *ó*: the third conjugation, however, uses *y* (=*i*); *e.g.* future *pen-ë-su*, *da-bad-i-su*, *waž-ó-su*, *laik-y-su*.

FORMATION OF THE TENSES.

PRESENT.

507. The Present requires no formal designation, but is sufficiently pointed out by this, that no other relation

The following Note formed the Preface to the Fourth Part of the German Edition, and, being too important to be omitted, is inserted in the present form, in order to avoid an interruption of the text.

This Part contains a section of the Comparative Grammar, the most important fundamental principles of which were published twenty-six years ago in my Conjugation System of the Sanscrit, Greek, Latin, Persian, and German, and have, since then, been almost universally acknowledged as just. No one, perhaps, now doubts any longer regarding the original identity of the abovementioned languages, with which, in the present work, are associated also the Lithuanian and Sclavonic; while, since the appearance of the Third Part, I have devoted a distinct Treatise to the Celtic language,* and have endeavoured, in a Work which has recently appeared, to prove an original relationship between the Malay-Polynesian idioms, also, and the Sanscrit stem. But even so early as in my System of Conjugation, the establishment of a connection of languages was not so much a final object with me, as the means of penetrating into the secrets of lingual development, since languages, which were originally one, but during thousands of years have been guided by their own individual destiny, mutually clear up and complete one another, inasmuch as one in this place, another in that, has preserved the original organization in a more healthy and sound condition. A principal result of the inquiry instituted in my System of Conjugation was the following:—that many grammatical forms, in the construction of verbs, are explained by auxiliary verbs, which are supposed to have attached themselves to them, and which, in some measure, give to the individual languages a peculiar appearance, and seem to confirm the idea, that new grammatical forms were developed, in the later periods of the history of languages, from newly-created matter; while, on closer inspection,

* In the Transactions of the Phil. Historical Cl. of the Academy of Belles Lettres for the year 1836. The separate Edition of my Treatise is out of print, and a new Edition will be struck off hereafter, to complete this Comparative Grammar.

of time, past or future, has a sonant representative. Hence, in Sanscrit and its cognate languages, there occurs,

we find nothing in their possession but what they had from the first, though at times its application is new. Thus the Latin, in comparison with the Greek, which is so closely allied to it, shews, in the forms of its tenses and moods in *bam*, *bo*, *vi*, *rem*, and *rim*, an aspect which is completely strange. These terminations, however, as has been long since shewn, are nothing else than the primitive roots of the verb "to be," common to all the members of the Indo-European family of languages, and of which one has for its radical consonant a labial, the other a sibilant which is easily converted into *r*: it is, therefore, not surprising, that *bam* presents a great resemblance to the Sanscrit *abhavam* and Lithuanian *buwaú*, "I was" (see §. 522.); while forms like *amabo*, through their final portion, stand in remarkable agreement with the Anglo-Saxon *beo* and Carniolan *bōm*, "I shall be" (see §. 662., &c.), and border on the Irish dialect of the Celtic in this respect, that here also the labial root of "to be," forms an elementary part of verbs implying futurity (see §. 256.).

In the Latin conjunctives, as *amem*, *amēs*, and futures, as *legam*, *legēs*, I have already, through the medium of the Sanscrit, perceived an analogy with the Greek optatives and German conjunctives, and designated, as exponent of the relation of mood or time, an auxiliary verb, which signifies "to wish," "to will," and the root of which is, in Sanscrit, *ī*, which here, as in Latin and Old High German, is contracted with a preceding *a* to *ē*, but in Greek, with the *a* which is corrupted to *o*, forms the diphthong *οι*. Thus we meet with the Sanscrit *bharēs*, the Old High German *bërēs*, the Latin *ferēs*, the Gothic *bairais*, the Zend *barôis*, and the Greek *φέροις*, as forms radically and inflexionally connected, which excite real surprise by the wonderful fidelity with which the original type has been preserved in so many languages which have been, from time immemorial, distinct from one another. In particular, the mood, which, in §§. 672. 713., I have largely discussed, may be regarded as one of the lustrous points of the common grammar of the members of the Indo-European languages. All the idioms of this giant family of languages, as far as they are collected in this book, share therein under different names. In Sclavonic, Lithuanian, Lettish, and Old Prussian, it is the imperative in which we re-discover the mood called, in Sanscrit grammar, the potential and precative; and it is most remarkable how closely the Carniolan, as spoken at this day, approximates, in this point, to the Sanscrit, which has so long been a dead

in the present, only the combination of Personal terminations, and, indeed, of the primary ones, with the root, or,

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language. In order to set this in a clear point of view, I have, at §. 711. (last example), contrasted two verbs of the same signification in the two languages, and in them written the Sanscrit diphthong *ê* from *aï* according to its etymological value.

Where differences exist in the languages here discussed, they frequently rest on universal euphonic laws, and therefore cease to be differences. Thus, in the paradigm just mentioned, the Carniolan has lost, in the three persons singular of the imperative, the personal termination, while the dual and plural stand in the most perfect accordance with the Sanscrit. The abbreviation in the singular, however, rests on the euphonic law which has compelled the Sclavonic languages, at least in polysyllabic words, to drop all original final consonants (see §. 255. *l.*). According to this principle, in Carniolan, *dáj* (=*dái*), thrice repeated, corresponds to the Latin *dem*, *dês*, *det* (from *daim*, *dais*, *dait*), while in the present *dám* is more full than *do*, and *dásh* as full as *das*, because, that is to say, in the present the pronominal consonants originally had an *i* after them.*

The German languages have renounced the association of the roots of the verb "to be." They are wanting in futures like the Sanscrit *dâ-syâmi*, Greek δώ-σω, and Lithuanian *dů-su*, and also those with the labial root of "to be," which furnish the Latin *dabo*, and Irish futures like *meal-fa-mar*, "we will deceive," and Lithuanian conjunctives as *dů-tum-bime*, *daremus* (see §. 685.). German is wanting, too, in preterites like the Sanscrit *adik-sham*, Greek ἔδεικ-σα, and Latin *dic-si* (see §. 555.); to which belong the Sclavonic tenses like *da-ch*, "I gave," *dachom*, "we gave," the guttural of which we have derived from a sibilant.† On the other hand, the German idioms, by annexing an auxiliary verb signifying "to do," have gained the appearance of a new inflexion. In this sense I have already, in my System of Conjugation, taken the Gothic plurals like *sôkidêdum* and conjunctives as *sôkidêdyau* ("I would make to seek"); and subsequently, in agreement with F. Grimm, I have extended the auxiliary verb just mentioned also to the singular indicative *sôkida*, and our forms like *suchte*. (See §§. 620. &c.) I think, too, I have discovered the same auxiliary in the Sclavonic future *bůdû*, "I will be" ("I make to be"), and

* Sanscrit *dadâmi*, *dadâsi*, *dadâti*, on which the Carniolan *dám* (for *dadm*), *dá-sh*, *dá*, is based, see p. 673.

† See §. 255. *k.*, &c.

instead of the root, such an extension of it, as, in the special tenses, falls to the class of conjugation, to which

in the imperative *bûdi* (properly "make to be"); moreover, in *idû*, "I go" ("make to go," see §. 633.); and finally, in the Greek passive aorists in θην (see §. 630.); for the auxiliary verb to which our *thun* answers, which has been treated of minutely at §. 428., &c., signifies, both in Sanscrit and Zend, "to place," and "to make"; and the Old Saxon *dëda*, "I made," resembles surprisingly the Zend reduplicated preterite *dadha* (see §. 639.). It is, however, remarkable, that those Sanscrit classes of verbs, to which, as I think, I have proved our weak conjugation answers, always paraphrase that preterite which is the foundation of our German tense (the reduplicated or perfect), either by an auxiliary verb signifying "to do," "to make," or by a verb substantive. Here, therefore, as in so many other things, the apparently peculiar direction which the German languages have taken, was in a great measure pointed out to them by their old Asiatic sister.

I cannot, however, express myself with sufficient strength in guarding against the misapprehension of supposing that I wish to accord to the Sanscrit universally the distinction of having preserved its original character: I have, on the contrary, often noticed, in the earlier portions of this work, and also in my System of Conjugation, and in the Annals of Oriental Literature for the year 1820, that the Sanscrit has, in many points, experienced alterations where one or other of the European sister idioms has more truly transmitted to us the original form. Thus it is undoubtedly in accordance with a true retention of the original condition of the language that the Lithuanian *diewas*, "God," and all similar forms, keep their nominative sign *s* before all following initial letters, while the Sanscrit *dêvas*, which answers to the abovementioned *diewas*, becomes either *dêvah*, or *dêvô*, or *dêva*, according to the initial sound which follows, or a pause; and this phenomenon occurs in all other forms in *as*. The modern Lithuanian is, moreover, more primitive and perfect than the Sanscrit in this point also, that in its *essi*, "thou art," it has, in common with the Doric ἐσσί, preserved the necessary double *s*, of which one belongs to the root, the other to the personal termination, while the Sanscrit *asi* has lost one: also in this point, that the forms *esme*, "we are," *este*, "ye are," in common with the Greek ἐσμέν, ἐστέ, have retained the radical vowel, which has been softened in the Sanscrit *smas*, *sthas* (see §. 480.). The Latin *erant* and *bant*, of *amabant*, &c., surpass the Sanscrit *âsan* and *abhavan*, "they were," as also the Greek ἦσαν and ἔφυον, by retaining the *t*, which belongs to the

it belongs (§. 109ª. 493. &c.) Compare, for the first conjugation (§. 493.), the Sanscrit वहामि *vahâmi*, "I drive,"

third person; and *ferens* and the Zend *ḃarans* are in advance of the Sanscrit *bharan* and Greek *φέρων*, by their keeping the nominative sign; as also the Lithuanian *wezans* (*wežas*), in common with the Zend *vazans* and Latin *vehens*, put to shame, in this respect, the Sanscrit *vahan*. It is, in fact, remarkable that several languages, which are still spoken, retain here and there the forms of the primitive world of languages, which several of their older sisters have lost thousands of years ago. The superiority of the Carniolan *dám* to the Latin *do* has been mentioned before; but all other Carniolan verbs have the same superiority over all other Latin verbs, with the exception of *sum* and *inquam*, as also over the Greek verbs, as the Carniolan, and, in common with it, the Irish, have in all forms of the present preserved the chief element of the original termination *mi*. It is, too, a phenomenon in the history of languages, which should be specially noticed, that among the Indian daughters of the Sanscrit, as in general among its living Asiatic and Polynesian relations, not one language can, in respect of grammatical Sanscrit analogies, compare with the more perfect idioms of our quarter of the globe. The Persian has, indeed, retained the old personal terminations with tolerable accuracy, but, in disadvantageous comparison with the Lithuanian and Carniolan, has lost the dual, and preserved scarce any thing of the ancient manner of formation of the tenses and moods; and the old case terminations, which remain almost entire in the Lithuanian, and of which the Classical and German languages retain a great part, the Celtic somewhat, have completely vanished in Persian, only that its plurals in *ân* bear the same resemblance to the Sanscrit plural accusatives, that the Spanish in *os* and *as* do to the Latin; and also the neuter plurals in *hâ*, as I believe I have shewn, stand connected with the old system of declension (see §. 241.). And in the correct retention of individual words the Persian is often far behind the European sisters of the Sanscrit; for while in expressing the number "three" the European languages, as far as they belong to the Sanscrit, have all preserved both the *T* sound (as *t*, *th*, or *d*) and also the *r*, the Persian *sih* is farther removed from the ancient form than the Tahitic *toru* (euphonic for *tru*). The Persian *chehâr* or *châr*, "four," also, is inferior to the Lithuanian *keturi*, Russian *chetyre*, Gothic *fidvôr*, Welch *pedwar*, and even to the *e-fatrá* of Madagascar.

No one will dispute the relation of the Bengáli to the Sanscrit; but it

"carry," with the verbs which correspond to it in the cognate idioms. (Regarding ἔχω, and the Lithuanian *wéżù*, see §. 442. Rem. 3 and 4.).

has completely altered the grammatical system, and thus, in this respect, resembles the Sanscrit infinitely less than the majority of European languages. And as regards the lexicon, too, the Bengáli resembles the above-mentioned language far less than its European sisters, in such words, for instance, as have gone through the process of fermentation in a language which has newly arisen from the ruins of an old one, and have not been re-drawn from the Sanscrit at a comparatively recent period, without the slightest alteration, or only with a trifling modification in their pronunciation. We will take as an example the word *schwester*, "sister": this German word resembles the Sanscrit *svasâr** far more than the Bengáli *bohinî*;† our *bruder*, also, is more like the Sanscrit *bhrâtar* than the effeminate Bengáli *bhâï*, and our *tochter* is infinitely closer to the Sanscrit *duhitar* than the Bengáli *jhî*. Our expressions *vater* and *mutter* correspond far better to the Sanscrit *pitar* (from *patar*) and *mâtar* than the Bengáli *bap* or *baba*‡ and *mâ*. Our *drei*, *acht*, and *neun*, are more similar to the Sanscrit *tri*, *ashtân* (from *aktân*), *navan*, than the Bengáli *tin*, *ât*, *nay*. Our *sieben* has retained only the labial of the *pt* of the Sanscrit *saptan*; the Bengáli *sât* only the *T* sound, and dropped entirely the termination *an*. In general it appears that in warm regions languages, when they have once burst the old grammatical chain, hasten to their downfall with a far more rapid step than under our milder European sun. But if the Bengáli and other new Indian idioms have really laid aside their old grammatical dress, and partly put on a new one, and in their forms of words experienced mutilation almost everywhere, in the beginning, or in the middle, or at the end, no one need object if I assert the same of the Malay-Polynesian languages, and refer them to the Sanscrit family, because I

* This, and not *svasri*, is the true theme; the nominative is *svasá*, the accusative *svasáram*. This word, as Pott also conjectures, has lost, after the second *s*, a *t*, which has been retained in several European languages.

† The initial *s* is rejected, and the second corrupted to *h*. The Sanscrit *v* is, in Bengali, regularly pronounced as *b*, and *a* like *o*. As regards the termination *ini*, I look upon the *i* as an interposed conjunctive vowel, and the *n* as a corruption of *r*, as in the numeral *tin*, "three." Properly speaking *bohini* presupposes a Sanscrit *svasri* (from *sva-stri*).

‡ In my opinion, a reduplication of the initial syllable *pa*.

SANSCRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	GOTHIC.	LITH.	OLD SCLAV.
			SINGULAR.			
vah-â-mi,[1]	*vaz-â-mi*,	ἔχ-ω-',	*veh-o-'*,	*vig-a-'*,	*weź ù*,[2]	*veζ-û*.[2]
vah-a-si,	*vaz-a-hi*,	ἔχ-ει-ες,[3]	*veh-i-s*,[4]	*vig-i-s*,[4]	*weź-ì*,[5]	*veζ-e-shi*.
vah-a-ti,	*vaz-ai-ti*,	ἔχ-ε-(τ)ι,	*veh-i-t*,[1]	*vig-i-th*,[1]	*weź-a-'*,	*veζ-e-ty*.
			DUAL.			
vah-â-vas,[1]				*vig-ôs*,[6]	*weź-a-wa*,	*veζ-e va*.
vah-a-thas,	*vaz-a-thô*?	ἔχ-ε-τον,[7]	. . . . .	*vig-a-ts*,	*weź-a-ta*,	*veζ-e-ta*.
vah-a-tas,	*vaz-a-tô*,	ἔχ-ε-τον,[7]	. . . . .	. . . .	. . . .[8]	*veζ-e ta*.
			PLURAL.			
vah-â-mas,[1]	*vaz-â-mahi*,[9]	ἔχ-ο-μες,	*veh-i-mus*,	*vig-a m*,	*weź-a-mè*,	*veζ-o-me*.
vah-a-tha,	*vaz-a-tha*,	ἔχ-ε-τε,	*veh-i-tis*,[1]	*vig i th*,[1]	*weź a tè*,	*vez-e te*.
vah-a-nti,[10]	*vaz-ĕ-nti*,	ἔχ-ο-ντι,	*veh-u-nt*,	*vig-a-nd*,	. . . .[8]	*veζ-ûty*.[11]

have found in them a pervading relationship in numerals and pronouns, and, moreover, in a considerable number of other common words.*

Philology would ill perform its office if it accorded an original identity only to those idioms in which the mutual points of resemblance appear everywhere palpable and striking, as, for instance, between the Sanscrit *dadâmi*, the Greek δίδωμι, Lithuanian *dûmi*, and Old Sclavonic *damy*. Most European languages, in fact, do not need proof of their relationship to the Sanscrit; for they themselves shew it by their forms, which, in part, are but very little changed. But that which remained for philology to do, and which I have endeavoured to the utmost of my ability to effect, was to trace, on one hand, the resemblances into the most retired corner of the construction of language, and, on the other hand, as far as possible, to refer the greater or less discrepancies to laws through which they became possible or necessary. It is, however, of itself evident, that there may exist languages, which, in the interval of thousands of years in which they have been separated from the sources whence they arose, have, in a great measure, so altered the forms of words, that it is no longer practicable to refer them to the mother dialect, if it be still existing and known. Such languages may be regarded as independent, and the people who speak them may be considered Autochthones. But where, in two languages, or families of languages, resemblances, which are perfectly

* See my Pamphlet "On the Connection of the Malay-Polynesian Languages with the Indo-European;" as also my own notice of the same in the Ann. of Lit. Crit (March 1842); and compare L. Diefenbach's judicious review, l. c., May 1842.

[1] Respecting the lengthening of the class vowel see §. 434. [2] *Weźù* from *weź-o-m* for *weź-a-m*, as in Old Sclavonic везѫ *veζ-ŭ* from *veζ-o-m*: see §§. 255. *g.* and 436. The full Lithuanian termination is *mi*, and the Old Sclavonic *my* (§. 436.). [3] See §. 448. [4] In Latin the weakening of the *a* of the middle syllable to *i* pervades nearly throughout; but, in Gothic, occurs only before *s* and *th* final: see §§. 67. 109ª. 1. [5] *Weź-ì* for *veź-a-i* from *veź-a-si*, compare *es-si*, "thou art": see §. 448., where we should read *weź-ai*, *weźate* for *wezei*, *weźete*. The Old Prussian has everywhere retained the sibilant, and employs *se* or *sei*, and *si*, as the personal termination; as *druw-e-se*, "thou believest" (compare Sanscrit *dhruva*, "firm," "certain"), *da-se*, "thou givest," *wai(d)-sei*, "thou knowest," *giw-a-ssi* (for *giw-a-si*), "thou livest,"=Sans. *jîvasi*. [6] From *vig a-vas*, see §. 441. [7] From ἔχ-ε-τος, see §. 97. [8] Is supplied by the singular. [9] *Vazâmahi* is founded on the Vêda form *vahâmasi*, see §. 439. [10] See §. 458. [11] From *vez-o-nty*, see §. 255. *g.*

evident, or may be recognised through the known laws by which corruptions arise, crowd together into the narrow and confined space of particular classes of words, as is the case in the Malay-Polynesian languages in relation to the Indo-European, in the numerals and pronouns; and where, moreover, we find, in all spheres of ideas, words which resemble one another in the degree that the Madagascar *sakai*, "friends," does the Sanscrit *sakhâi*; the Madagasc. *mica*, "cloud," the Sanscrit *mêgha*; the New Zealand *rákau*, "tree," the Prakrit *rukkha*; the New Zealand *pákau*, "wing," the Sanscrit *paksha*; the Tagalia *paa*, "foot," the Sanscrit *pâda*; the Tahitian *ruy*, "night," the Prakrit *rŷi*; the Tongian *aho*, "day," the Sanscrit *ahô*; the Tongian *váka*, "ship," the Sanscrit *plâvaka*; the Tongian *feláu*, "to sail in a ship," the Sanscrit *plava*, "ship"; the Tongian *fufúlu*, "to wash," the Sanscrit *plu* (*â-plu*); the Tongian *hamo*, "wish," the Sanscrit *kâma*; the Malay *pûtih* and Madagasc. *futsi*, "white," the Sanscrit *pûta*, "pure";*—there, certainly, we have ground for being convinced of a historical connection between the two families of languages.

If it were desired, in settling the relation of languages, to start from a negative point of view, and to declare such languages, or groups of languages, not related, which, when compared with one another, present a

* Observe the frequent coincidence in Madagasc. and Tongian with the German laws of euphony, of which more is to be found in my Pamphlet on the Malay-Polynesian Languages, p. 5 and Rem. 13.

508. In the Sanscrit first conjugation the verb तिष्ठामि *tishṭhâmi*, "I stand," deserves particular notice. It proceeds from the root *sthâ*, and belongs properly to the third class, which receives reduplication (§. 109ª. 3.); but is distinguished from it by this anomalous character, that it shortens its radical *â* in the special tenses,* and also

* Where naturally, in the first person, this shortened *a* is, according to §. 434., again lengthened.

large number of words and forms, which appear to be peculiar, then we must not only detach the Malay-Polynesian languages from the Sanscrit stem, but also separate them from one another—the Madagascar and South-Sea languages from the acknowledged affinity with the Tagalia, Malay, and Javanese, which has been so methodically and skilfully demonstrated by W. von Humboldt; and in like manner divide the Latin from the Greek and Sanscrit; and the Greek, German, Sclavonic, Lettish Lithuanian, Celtic, must be allowed to be so many independent, unconnected potentates of the lingual world; and the coincidences, which the many members of the Indo-European lingual chain mutually offer, must be declared to have originated casually or by subsequent commixture.

I believe, however, that the apparent verbal resemblances of kindred idioms, exclusive of the influences of strange languages, arise either from this, that each individual member, or each more confined circle of a great stem of languages, has, from the period of identity, preserved words and forms which have been lost by the others; or from this, that where, in a word, both form and signification have undergone considerable alteration, a sure agreement with the sister words of the kindred languages is no longer possible. That, however, the signification, as well as the form, alters in the course of time, we learn even from the comparison of the new German with the earlier conditions of our mother-language. Why should not far more considerable changes in idea have arisen in the far-longer period of time which divides the European languages from the Sanscrit? I believe that every genuine radical word, whether German, Greek, or Roman, proceeds from the original matrix, although the threads by which it is retraced are found by us at times cut off or invisible. For instance, in the so-called strong conjugation of the

in the syllable of reduplication, where a short *a* should stand, it weakens this, the gravest of the vowels, to that which is the lightest, *i*; hence, *e.g.* in the second and third person singular, *tishtha-si, tishtha-ti,* for *tasthâ-si, tasthâ-ti,* as might be expected according to the analogy of *dadâ-si, dadâ-ti.* As the shortened *a* of *sthâ* in the conjugation is treated exactly like the class vowel of the first conjugation, this verb. therefore, and *ghrâ,* "to smell," which follows its analogy, is included by the native grammarians in the

German one would expect nothing exclusively German, but only what has been handed down and transmitted from the primitive source. We are able, however, to connect with certainty but very few roots of the strong verbs with the Indian. While, *e. g.*, the Sanscrit, Zend, Greek, Latin, Lithuanian, Lettish, and Sclavonic agree in the idea of "giving" in a root, of which the original form, preserved in the Sanscrit and Zend, is *dâ*, the German *gab* throws us into perplexity as regards its comparison with its sisters. But if we would assume that this verb originally signified "to take," and has received the causal meaning ("to make to take," *i. e.* "to give"), as the Sanscrit *tishthâmi* and Zend *histâmi*, in Greek ἵστημι, has arrived, from the meaning of "standing," at that of "taking": we might then trace *gab* to the Vêda *grabh*, and assume that the *r* has been lost, although this root has remained in German also, in a truer form and meaning, only that the *a* has been weakened to *i* (Gothic *greipa, graip, gripum*).

I have altered the plan proposed in the Preface to the First Part (p. xvii.), of devoting a separate work to the formation of words and comparison of them, and to refer thither also the participles, conjunctions, and prepositions, for this reason, that I intend to treat in the present work, with all possible conciseness, the comparative doctrine of the formation of words, and will also discuss the coincidences of the various members of the Indo-European stem of languages, which appear in the conjunctions and prepositions. For this object a Fifth Number will be requisite. The present Fourth Number will conclude the formation of the tenses and moods; but a little remains to be added regarding the mood which is called *Lêt* in the Zend and Vêda dialects, as also the imperative, which, for the rest, is distinguished only by its personal terminations, which have been already discussed in the Third Part.

first class; so that, according to them, we should have to divide *tishṭh-a-si, tishṭh-a-ti,* and regard *tishṭh* as a substitute for *shtha.* I consider the occasion of the double weakening, which the roots *sthâ* and *ghrâ* undergo in the syllable of repetition and of the base, to be in the two consonants conjoined with it, which give to the syllable of repetition a length by position; for which reason, in order that the whole should not appear too unwieldly, the vowel weight of the syllable of reduplication is lessened, and the length of the base syllable is shortened. The Zend *histahi,* "thou standest," *histati,* "he stands," &c., follow the same principle; and it is important to remark, that the Latin *sistis, sistit, sistimus, sistitis,* on account of the root being incumbered with the syllable of reduplication, has weakened the radical *â* of *stâ-re* to *i,* and apparently introduced the verb into the third conjugation. I say apparently, because the essence of the third conjugation consists in this, that an *i,* which is not radical, is inserted between the root and the personal termination; but the *i* of *sisti-s,* &c., like the *a* of the Sanscrit *tisṭha-si,* belongs to the root. The Greek ἵστη-μι has so far maintained itself upon an older footing, that it has not given to the syllable of reduplication, or to the consonants which unite it, an influence on the long vowel of the radical syllable, but admits of the shortening of this vowel only through the operation of the gravity of the personal terminations: thus, before the grave terminations of the plural numbers, and of the entire middle, according to the analogy of δίδωμι, &c. (see §. 480. &c.). With respect to the kind of reduplication which occurs in the Sanscrit *tishṭhâmi,* and of which more hereafter, I must notice preliminarily the Latin *testis,* which is the reverse case of *steti,* as I believe *testis* is to be regarded as one who stands for any thing.

509. The Sanscrit, and all its cognate dialects, have two

roots for the verb substantive, of which the one, which is, in Sanscrit, भू *bhû*, in Zend, بو *bû*, belongs to the first conjugation, and, indeed, to the first class, and assumes, therefore, in the special tenses, a class-vowel *a*, and augments the radical vowel by *guna*; while the other, viz. अस् *as*, falls to the second conjugation, and, in fact, to the second class. These two roots, in all the Indo-European languages, except in the Greek, where ΦΥ has entirely lost the signification "to be," are so far mutually complete, that *bhû*, *bû*, have remained perfect in the Sanscrit and Zend (as far as the latter can be quoted); but *as*, on the contrary, in its isolated condition, is used only in the special tenses. In Lithuanian, the root which answers to *as* is only used in the present indicative, and in the participle present; just as in the Sclavonic, where the present of the gerund is, according to its origin, identical with the participle present. The Gothic forms from *as*, the *a* of which it weakens to *i*, its whole present indicative and conjunctive, only that there is attached to it a further apparent root *SIY*, which, however, in like manner, proceeds from अस् *as*. The root *bhû*, in Gothic, does not refer at all to the idea of "to be"; but from it proceeds, I have no doubt, the causal verb *bana*, "I build" (second person *banais*), which I derive, like the Latin *facio*, from भावयामि *bhâvayâmi*, "I make to be" (§. 19.). The High German has also preserved remains of the root *bhû* in the sense of "to be": hence proceed, in the Old High German, the first and second person of the singular and plural, while the third persons *ist* and *sind* (which latter form is now, in the shape of *sind*, erroneously transferred to the first person) answer to अस्ति *asti*, सन्ति *santi*. For the rest, from अस् *as* also proceeds the conjugation *sí* (Sanscrit स्याम् *syâm*, "I may be"), and the infinitive *sín*. Moreover, also, the Sanscrit root *vas*, "to dwell," has raised itself, in German, to the dignity of the verb sub-

stantive, since, indeed, in Gothic, the present *visa* (weakened from *vasa*, see §. 109ª. 1.) signifies only "to remain;" but the preterite *vas*, and its conjugation *vêsyau* (our *war, wäre*), the infinitive *visan*, and the participle present *visands*, replace the forms which have been, from ancient time, lost by the roots expressing the idea "to be." It may be proper to mention here, that in Sanscrit, the root *sthâ*, "to stand," occasionally receives the abstract meaning "to be," and so, in a measure, has served as an example to the Roman languages, which, for their verb substantive, employ, besides the Latin roots, *ES* and *FU*, also *STA*. And *âs*, "to sit," also occurs in Sanscrit, in the sense of the verb substantive; *e.g.* Nal. 16. 30. गतसत्त्वा इवासते *gata-sattvâ (s) ivaâsatê*, "like senseless are they;" Hitôp. 44. 11. आस्ताम् मानसतुष्टये सुकृतिनाम् *âstâm mânasatushtayê sukritinâm*, "let it be (your good behaviour) to gratify the spirit of the virtuous;" Urv. 92. 8. आयुष्मान् आस्ताम् अयम् *âyushmân âstâm ayam*, "long-lived may this man be." It is not improbable that the verb substantive is only an abbreviation of the root *âs*, and that generally the abstract notion of "being" is in no language the original idea of any verb whatever. The abbreviation of *âs* to *as*, and from that to a simple *s*, before grave terminations (see §. 480.), is explained, however, in the verb substantive, very easily; as, from its being worn out by the extremely frequent use made of it, and from the necessity for a verb, which is so much employed, and universally introduced, obtaining a light and facile construction. Frequent use may, however, have a double influence on the form of a verb;—in the first place, to wear it out and simplify it as much as possible; and, secondly, to maintain in constant recollection its primitive forms of inflexion, by calling them perpetually into remembrance, and securing them from destruction. Both these results are seen in the verb substantive; for in Latin, *sum*, together with

inquam, are the only verbs, which have preserved the old personal sign in the present: in the Gothic and English of the present day, *im* and *am* are the only forms of this kind; and in our new German, *bin* (from *bim*) and *sind* are the only forms which have preserved the character of the first person singular and third person plural.

510. As the Sanscrit root *bhû* belongs to the first conjugation, we shall next examine its conjugation in the present. As belonging to the first class, it requires *Guna* and the insertion of the class vowel *a* between the root and the personal termination (§. 109ª. 1.). This insertion of the *a* occasions the *bhô* (=*bhau*), for euphonic reasons, to become *bhav*, in which form the root appears in all the persons of the special tenses. By this *bhav*, in Zend *bav*, the Old High German *bir* (or *pir*), in the plural *bir-u-mês*, *bir-u-t*, obtains very satisfactory explanation, since, as remarked at §. 20., and as has since been confirmed, in the case before us, by Graff (II. 325.), the semi-vowels are often interchanged; and, for example, *v* readily becomes *r* or *l*.* The *u* of *bir-u-mês*, *bir-u-t*, is a weakening of the old *a* (Vocalismus, p. 227. 16.); and the *i* of the radical syllable *bir* rests on the weakening of that vowel, which occurs very often elsewhere (§ 6.). The singular should, according to the analogy of the plural, be *birum*, *birus*, *birut*, but has rejected the second syllable; so that *bim* has nearly the same relation to the Sanscrit *bhavâmi*, that, in Latin, *malo* has to the *mavolo*, which was to have been looked for. The obsolete conjunctive forms *fuam*, *fuas*, *fuat*, *fuant*, presuppose an indicative *fuo*, *fuis*, *fuit*, &c., which has certainly at one time existed, and, in essentials, has the same relation to the Sanscrit *bhavâmi*, *bhavasi*, *bhavati*, that *veho*, *vehis*, *vehit*, has to *vahâmi*, *vahasi*, *vahati*.

* See, also, §. 409, Rem. †, and §. 447, Rem. 6.

The obsolete form *fuvi* of the perfect, which is found with the common *fui*, leads us from *fuo* to *fuvo*, in as far as the syllable *vi* of *fuvi* is not declared identical with the *vi* of *amavi*, according to my opinion, but its *v* regarded as developed from *u*, just as, in the Sanscrit reduplicated preterite बभूव *babhûva*, in the aorist अभूवम् *abhûvam*, and in the Lithuanian preterite *buvau*.

The full conjugation of the present of the root under discussion, in Sanscrit, Zend, Old High German, and Greek, is as follows:—

SINGULAR.

SANSCRIT.	ZEND.	OLD SCLAV.	GREEK.
bhav-â-mi,	*bav-â-mi*,	*bi-m*,	φύ-ω.
bhav-a-si,	*bav-a-hi*,	*bi-s*,*	φύ-ει-ς.
bhav-a-ti,	*bav-ai-ti*,	. . . .	φύ-ε-(τ)ι.

DUAL.

bhav-â-vas,	. . . . .	. . . .	. . . .
bhav-a-thas,	*bav-a-thô ?*	. . . .	φύ-ε-τον.
bhav-a-tas,	*bav-a-tô*,	. . . .	φύ-ε-τον.

PLURAL.

bhav-â-mas,	*bav-â-mahi*,	*bir-u-mês*,	φύ-ο-μες.
bhav-a-tha,	*bav-a-tha*,	*bir-u-t*,	φύ-ε-τε.
bhav-a-nti,	*bav-ai-nti*,	. . . †	φύ-ο-ντι.

511. I hold it to be unnecessary to further annex an example of the second conjugation (that in μι in Greek), for several examples have been given already, in the

* Also *bist*.

† The forms *birint*, *birent*, *birnt*, and *bint*, which occur in Notker in the second person plural, I consider as unorganic intruders from the third person, where *birint* would answer admirably to *bhavanti*. The form *bint* corresponds in its abbreviation to the singular *bim*, *bis*. With regard to the mutation of the person, notice our *sind* of the first person.

paragraphs, which treat of the influence of the gravity of personal terminations on the preceding root or class syllable, to which we here refer the reader (§. 480. &c.). We will only adduce from the Gothic the verb substantive (as it is the only one which belongs to this conjugation), and contrast its present with the Sanscrit and Zend (compare p. 670):—

SINGULAR.			PLURAL.		
as-mi,	*ah-mi,*	*i-m.*	*s-mas,*	*h-mahi,*	*siy-u-m.*
a-si,	*a-hi,*	*i-s.*	*s'-tha,*	*s'-tha,*	*siy-u-th.*
as-ti,	*as'-ti,*	*i-st.*	*s-a-nti,*	*h-ĕnti,*	*s-i-nd.*

"Remark 1.—It is evident that the plural forms *siy-u-m*, *siy-u-th*, if strictly taken, do not belong to this place, as the personal terminations are not conjoined direct with the root; but by means of a *u*, which might be expected, also, in the second dual person, *siy-u-ts*, if it occurred, and in which respect those forms follow the analogy of the present. The first dual person which actually occurs is *siyû.** As regards the syllable *siy*, which forms, as root, the base of all these forms, and of the conjunctive *siy-au*, *siy-ais*, &c., I do not think, that, according to its origin, it is to be distinguished from *im* (of which the radical *s* has been lost) and *sind*. To *sind* answers *siy*, in so far as it likewise has lost the radical vowel, and commences with the sibilant, which in Zend, according to §. 53., has become *h*. With regard to the *iy*, which is added, I think that *siy* stands connected with the Sanscrit potential *syâm*, so that to the semi-vowel there has been further prefixed its corresponding vowel *i*; for the Gothic, as it appears, does not admit of a *y* after an initial consonant; hence *siyau* for *syau* = स्याम् *syâm*, according to the principle

* Regarding the derivation of this form from *siy-u-va*, and the ground of my giving the long *u*, see §. 441.

by which, from the numeral base *thri*, "three," comes the genitive *thriyê* for *thryê* (§. 310.). If, therefore, in the form *siy*, properly only the *s* is radical; and the *iy* expresses a mood-relation, still the language, in its present state, is no longer conscious of this, and erroneously treating the whole *siy* as root, adds to it, in the conjunctive, the class vowel *a* (§. 109[a]. 1.), with which a new *i* is united as the representative of the mood relation, and, in the indicative, the vowel *u*, which otherwise, in the preterite, regularly enters between the root and personal termination."

"Remark 2.—That in the Roman languages, also, the weight of the personal terminations exerts an influence on the preceding radical syllable, and that, in French, the relation of *tenons* to *tiens* rests on the same principle on which, in Greek, that of *δίδομεν* to *δίδωμι* does, is already remarked elsewhere.* The third person plural, in respect to the form of the radical vowel, ranks with the singular, since it, like the latter, has a lighter termination than the first and second person plural, and indeed, as pronounced in French, none at all; hence, *tiennent*, answering to *tenons*, *tenez*. Diez, however, differing from my view of the Roman terminating sound (*ablaut*), has, in his Grammar of the Roman languages (I. p. 168), based the vowel difference between *tiens* and *tenons* on the difference of the accent which exists, in Latin, between *téneo* and *tenémus*. But it is not to be overlooked, that, in the third conjugation also, although, *quæro* and *quærimus* have the same accent, still, in Spanish, *querimos* is used, answering to *quiero*, and, in French, *acquérons*, answering to *acquiers*, as has been already remarked by Fuchs, in his very valuable pamphlet, "Contributions to the Examination of the Roman Lan-

* Berlin Ann., Feb. 1827, p. 261. Vocalismus, p. 16.

guages," p. 18. It may be, that the *i* of the French *sais*, is identical with the *i* of the Latin *sapio;* but, even then, the dislodgement of this *i* in *savons* rests on the same law as that which dislodged, in *tenons*, the *i* prefixed in *tiens;* as, *e.g.*, in Sanscrit, the root *vaś* rejects, in the same places, its radical *a*, where regular verbs of the same class lay aside the Guṇa vowel which is introduced into the root before light terminations; thus, उश्मस् *uśmas*, "we will," answering to वश्मि *vaśmi*, "I will," as, in French, *savons* to *sais*."

"Remark 3.—I cannot ascribe to the Guna in the conjugation of the Sanscrit and its cognate languages a grammatical meaning, but explain it as proceeding simply from a disposition to fulness of form, which occasions the strengthening of the lighter vowels *i* and *u*, by, as it were, taking them under the arm by prefixing an *a*, while the *a* itself, as it is the heaviest vowel, does not require extraneous help. If it were desired, with Pott (Etym. Inq. I. 60.), to find, in the Guna of the present and imperfect, an expression of the continuance of an action, we should be placed in the same difficulty with him, by the circumstance that the Guṇa is not restricted to these two tenses, but in verbs with the lighter base-vowels, *i* and *u* accompanies the base through nearly all the tenses and moods, not only in Sanscrit, but also in its European cognate languages, in as far as these have in general preserved this kind of diphthongization; as the Greek λείπω and φεύγω cannot any more be divested of the ε taken into the roots ΛΙΠ, ΦΥΓ, only that the ε in λέλοιπα is replaced by ο;* and that the aorists ἔλιπον, ἔφυγον, exhibit the pure root, which I cannot attribute to the signification of this aorist (as the second aorist has the same meaning as the first, but the latter firmly retains the Guna, if it is in general the property of the verb), but to the circumstance that the second aorist is

* E and ο, never α, are, with the vowel ι, the representatives of the Sanscrit Guna vowel *a*, see Vocalismus, pp. 7, &c., 193, &c.

for the most part prone to retain the original form of the base, and hence at one time exhibits a lighter vocalization than the other tenses; at another, a heavier one, as ἔτραπον compared with ἔτρεψα and ἔτερπον. In this disposition, therefore, of the second aorist to retain the true state of the base, the difference between forms like ἔλιπον, ἔφυγον, ἔτυχον, and the imperfects of the corresponding verbs, cannot be sought in the circumstance, that the action in the aorist is not represented as one of duration; and that, on the contrary, in the imperfect and present the continuance is symbolically represented by the Guna. In general, I do not think that the language feels a necessity to express formally the continuance of an action, because it is self-evident that every action and every sort of repose requires time, and that it is not the business of a moment, if I say that any one eats or drinks, sleeps or sits, or that he ate or drank, slept or sat, at the time that this or that action occurred regarding which I affirm the past time. I cannot, therefore, assume, with Pott, that the circumstance that the class-characteristics occur only in the special tenses (*i. e.* in the present and imperfect indicative, and in the moods thereto belonging), is to be thence explained, that here a continuance is to be expressed. Why should the Sanscrit have invented nine different forms as symbols of continuance, and, among its ten classes of conjugations, exhibit one, also, which is devoid of all foreign addition? I believe, rather, that the class augment originally extended over all tenses, but subsequently, yet still before the separation of languages, was dislodged from certain tenses, the construction of which induced the semi-vowel. This inducement occurred in the aorist (the first, which is most frequently used) and future, owing to the annexation of the verb substantive; wherefore, *dâsyâmi* and δώσω were used for *dadâsyâmi* and διδώσω; and in the perfect, owing to the reduplication characterising this tense, whence, in Greek, the form δέδειγμαι must have gained the preference over the δεδείκνυμαι

which may have existed. Observe that, in Sanscrit, the loading the root, by reduplication, in the tenses mentioned, has occasioned, even in the second person plural active, the loss of the personal sign; so that, ददृश *dadriśa* corresponds to the Greek δεδόρκ-α-τε."

512. For the description of the present middle, which, in the Greek, appears also as the passive, and in Gothic as passive alone, it is sufficient to refer back to the disquisition of the middle terminations given at §§. 466. &c. It might, however, not be superfluous to contrast here, as an example of the first conjugation, the Sanscrit *bharê* (for *bhar-â-mê*) with the corresponding forms of the cognate languages; and, for the second, to annex the forms of the Sanscrit *tan-v-ê* (from *tan-u-mê*, from *tan*, Cl. 8., "to extend," see §. 109ª. 4.).

SINGULAR.

	ZEND.	GREEK.	GOTHIC.
bhar-ê (from *bhar-â-mê*[1]),	*bair-ê*,[2]	φερ-ο-μαι,	[3]
bhar-a-sê,	*bar-a-hê*,	(φέρ-ε-σαι),	*bair-a-za*.[4]
bhar-a-tê,	*bar-ai-tê*,[2]	φέρ-ε-ται,	*bair-a-da*.[4]

DUAL.

bhar-â-vahê,	....	φερ-ό-μεθον,	....
bhar-êthê,[5]	....	φέρ-ε-σθον,[6]	....
bhar-êthê,[5]	....	φέρ-ε-σθον,[6]	....

PLURAL.

bhar-â-mahê,[7]	*bar-â-maidhê*,	φερ-ό-μεθα,	....[3]
bhar-a-dhvê,[8]	*bar-a-dhwê?*[9]	φέρ-ε-σθε,[6]	....[3]
bhar-a-ntê,	*bar-ai-ntê*,	φέρ-ο-νται,	*bair-a-nda*.[4]

[1] See §§. 467. 473. [2] Regarding the *ai* of the root see §. 41.; and regarding the Gothic *ái* of *bairaza*. &c., see §. 82. [3] This is replaced by the third person [4] The terminations *za*, *da*, *nda*, are abbreviations of *zai*, *dai*, *ndai*, see §. 466. Observe, in *bair-a-za*, *bair-a-da*, that the conjunctive vowel is preserved in its original form (see §. 466. close). [5] *Bharêthê* and *bharêtê* from *bhar-a-âthê*, *bhar-a-âtê*, whence *bharâthê*, *bharâtê*, would be regular; but in this place, throughout the whole conjugation, the *â* has been weakened to *ê* (=*a*+*i*), or the *â* of the termina-

tion has become *i* or *î*, and been melted down with the class vowel *a* to *ê*. Regarding the terminations *âthê*, *âtê*, as conjectural abbreviations of *tâthê*, *tâtê*, or *sâthê*, *sâtê*, see §§. 474. 475. [6] See §§. 474. 475. [7] From *bhar-â-madhê*, see §. 472. To the Zend termination *maidhê* corresponds remarkably the Irish termination *maoid*; *e. g.* in *dagh-a-maoid*, "we burn," = Sanscrit *dah-â-mahê*, from *dah-â-madhê*. [8] Probably from *bhar-a-ddhvê*, see §§. 474. 475. [9] The termination *dhwê* can be deduced with tolerably certainty from the secondary form *dhwĕm*; see Burnouf's Yaçna, Notes, p. xxxviii.

SINGULAR.

SANSCRIT.	GREEK.
tan-v-ê (from *tan-u-mê*),	τάν-υ-μαι.
tau-u-shê,	τάν-υ-σαι.
tan-u-tê,	τάν-υ-ται.
DUAL.	
tan-u-vahê,	ταν-ύ-μεθον.
tan-v-âthê,	τάν-υ-σθον.
tan-v-âtê,	τάν-υ-σθον.
PLURAL.	
tan-u-mahê from *tan-u-madhê*,	ταν-ύ-μεθα.
tan-u-dhvê,	τάν-υ-σθε.
tan-v-atê from *tan-v-antê*,*	τάν-υ-νται.

"Remark.—In Zend, we expect, if *tan* is here employed, according to the same class of conjugation, for the second and third person singular, and first and second person plural, the forms *tan-ûi-śê* (see §§. 41. 52.), *tan-ûi-tê* (according to the *kĕrĕ-nûi-tê*, 'he makes,' which actually occurs), *tan-u-maidhê*, *tan-u-dhwê*. The third person plural might be *tan-v-aitê*, or *tan-v-aintê*, according as the nasal is rejected or not; for that the Zend, also, admits of the rejection of the nasal in places where this is the case in Sanscrit, is proved by the forms [illegible] *śĕṇhaiti*, 'they teach,' medial [illegible] *s'ĕṇhaitê*, corre-

* See §§. 458. 459. See an example of the active of the corresponding class of conjugation, or one nearly akin to it, at p. 680.

sponding to the Sanscrit शास्ति *śâsati*, शास्ते *śâsatê* (Burnouf, Yaçna, p. 480). In the Sanscrit, also, we sometimes find the nasal retained in the middle of the second conjugation, *e.g*, *achinvanta* for the more common *achinvata*. In the first person singular is formed, in Zend, from §. 43., the form *tan-uy-ê*, with euphonic *y*.

THE PRERERITE.

513. The Sanscrit has for the expression of past time the forms of the Greek imperfect, aorist, and perfect, without, however, like the Greek, connecting with these different forms degrees of meaning. They are, in Sanscrit, all, without distinction, used in the sense of the Greek aorist or imperfect; but the reduplicated preterite, which corresponds in form to the Greek perfect, most frequently represents the aorist. The Sanscrit is entirely deficient in a tense exclusively intended to express the completion of an action: none of the three forms mentioned is used chiefly for this object; and I do not remember that I have anywhere found the reduplicated preterite as representative of the perfect. When the completion of an action is to be expressed, we most commonly find the active expression changed into a passive one; and, in fact, so that a participle which, in form and signification, corresponds to the Latin in *tus*, is combined with the present of the verb substantive, or the latter is to be supplied, as in general the verb substantive, in Sanscrit, is omitted almost everywhere, where it can possibly be done. Some examples may appear not improperly annexed here. In the episode of the Savitrî * it should be said V. 19. "Thou hast gone as far as thou hadst to go," where the latter words are expressed by *gatan tvayâ* (*gatan*

* I have published it in a collection of episodes entitled "Diluvium," &c., in the original text, and in the German translation under the title "Sündflut." (Berlin, by F. Dümmler.)

euphonic for *gatam*), "gone by thee": in the Nalus, XII. 29., for "Hast thou seen Nala"? we read in the original *kachchit drishtas tvayâ Nalô*, i.e. "*an visus a te Nalus*"? in Kâlidâsa's Urvasî (by Lenz, p. 66) "Hast thou stolen her step"? is expressed by *gatir asyâs tvayâ hritâ* ("the way of her taken by thee"). It happens, too, not unfrequently, that the completion of an action is denoted in such a manner that he who has performed an action is designated as the possessor of what has been done; since, उक्तवान् अस्मि *uktavân asmi*, literally "*dicto præditus sum*," signifies "*dictum habeo*," "I have said." Thus in Urvasî (l. c. p. 73) the question, "Hast thou seen my beloved"? is expressed by *api drishtavân asi mama priyâm*, i.e. "art thou having seen my b."?* The modern mode, therefore, of expressing the completion of an action, was, in a measure, prepared by the Sanscrit; for the suffix *vat* (in the strong cases *vant*) forms possessives; and I consider it superfluous to assume, with the Indian grammarians, a primitive suffix *tavat* for active perfect participles. It admits of no doubt whatever, that उक्तवत् *uktavat*, "having said," has arisen from *ukta*, in the same way, धनवत् *dhanavat*, "having riches," "rich," proceeds from *dhana*, "riches."† The form in *tavat*,

* The fourth act of Urvasî affords very frequent occasion for the use of the perfect, as the King Pururavas on all sides directs the question whether any one has seen his beloved? This question, however, is never put by using an augmented or even a reduplicated preterite, but always by the passive participle, or the formation in *vat* derived from it. So, also, in Nalus, when Damayanti asks if any one has seen her spouse?

† The Latin *dîvit* may be regarded as identical with *dhanavat*, the middle syllable being dropped and compensated for by lengthening the preceding vowel. A similar rejection of a syllable has at one time occurred in *ditior*, *ditissimus*, just as in *malo*, from *mavolo*, from *magisvolo*. Pott, on the contrary, divides thus, *div-it*, and thus brings "the rich" to the Indian "heaven," *div*, to which also Varro's derivation of *divus* in a certain degree, alludes, as *divus* and *deus* are akin to the Sanscrit *dêva*, "God"; and the latter like *div*, "heaven," springs from *div*, "to shine."

although apparently created expressly for the perfect, occurs sometimes, also, as an action in transition. On the other hand, in neuter verbs the Sanscrit has the advantage of being able to use the participles in *ta*, which are properly passive, with active, and, indeed, with a perfect meaning; and this power is very often employed, while the passive signification in the said participle of verbs neuter is limited, as in the above example, to the singular neuter in the impersonal constructions. As example of the active perfect meaning, the following may serve, Nalus XII. 13.: *kva nu râjan gatô 'si* (euphonic for *gatas asi*), "*quone, rex! profectus es?*"

514. The Sanscrit is entirely devoid of a form for the plusquam perfect, and it employs, where that tense might be expected, either a gerund expressive of the relation, "after"*—which, where allusion is made to a future time, is replaced, also, by the future absolute†—or the locative absolute, in sentences like *apakrântê nalê râjan damayantî .... abudhyata*, "after Nalas had departed, O king! (*profecto Nalo*) Damayantî awoke."

515. But, if it is asked, whether the Sanscrit has, from he oldest antiquity, employed three past tenses without syntactical distinction, and uselessly expended its formative power in producing them; or whether the usage of the language has, in the course of time, dropped the finer degrees of signification, by which they might, as in Greek, have been originally distinguished; I think I must decide for the latter opinion: for as the forms of language gradually wear out and become abraded, so, also, are meanings subjected to corruption and mutilation. Thus, the San-

* Nal. XI. 26.: *âkrandamânân saṅśrutya javênâ 'bhisasâra*, "*flentem postquam audiverat* ('after hearing the weeping') *cum velocitate advenit.*"

† Nal. X. 22.: *katham buddhvâ bhavishyati*, "how will she feel in spirit, after she has been awakened (after awaking)?"

scrit has an immense number of verbs, which signify "to go," and "to be," the employment of which must have been originally distinguished by the difference in the kind of motion which each was intended to express, and which are still, in part, so distinguished. I have already noticed elsewhere, that the Sanscrit *sarpâmi*, "I go," must have had the same meaning as *serpo* and ἕρπω, because the Indians, like the Romans, name the snake from this verb (सर्पस् *sarpa-s* "*serpens*").* If, then, the nicer significations of each one of the three forms by which, in Sanscrit, the past is expressed, gradually, through the misuse of language, became one, so that each merely expressed time past, I am of opinion, that it was originally the intention of the reduplicated preterite, like its cognate form in Greek, to express an action completed. The syllable of reduplication only implies an intensity of the idea, and gives the root an emphasis, which is regarded by the spirit of the language as the type of that which is done, completed, in contradistinction to that which is conceived to be in being, and which has not yet arrived at an end. Both in sound and in meaning the perfect is connected with the Sanscrit intensive, which likewise has a reduplication, that here, for greater emphasis, further receives a vowel augment by Guna. According to signification, the Sanscrit intensive is, in a measure, a superlative of the verbal idea; for, *dêdîpya-mâna* means "very shining." In respect of form, this intensive is important

* I believe I may include here the German root *slip*, *slif* (*schleifen*); Old High German *slifu*, *sleif*, *slifumês*; English "I slip." We should expect in Gothic *sleipa*, *slaip*, *slipum*, preserving the old tenuis, as in *slêpa* =*svapimi*, "I sleep." The form *slip* is founded on a transposition of *sarp* to *srap*. The transition of *r* into *l*, and the weakening of the *a* to *i*, cannot surprise us, considering the very usual exchange of semi-vowels with one another, and the by no means unusual phenomenon, that a root is divided into several, by different corruptions of form. We may include here, too, the root *swip*, *swif* (*schweifen*); Middle High German *swîfe*, *sweif*, *swifen*.

for comparison with the European cognate languages, because the moods which spring from its present indicative afford, as it were, the prototype of the imperative and the optative of the Greek perfect, and of the German conjunctive of the preterite; compare preliminarily *bâban-dhyâm*, "I much wish to bind," with the Gothic *bundyau* (from *baibundyau*), "I may bind," and the imperfect *vâvagdhi* (from *vach*, "to speak"), with the Greek κέκραχθι, which is connected with it in formation, though not radically. The first augmented preterite of this intensive comes, in respect to form, very close to the Greek plusquam perfect; compare *atôtôpam*, plural *atôtupma*, with ἐτετύφειν, ἐτετύφειμεν. As every completed action is also past, the transition of the vocal symbol of completion approaches very closely to that of the past, and the gradual withdrawal of the primary meaning is not surprising, as we must, in German also, describe the completion of an action in a manner already pointed out by the Sanscrit, while our simple preterite, which is akin to the Greek perfect, and which, in Gothic also, in a certain number of verbs, has preserved the reduplication, corresponds in meaning to the Greek imperfect and aorist.

516. As regards the two augmented preterites, which appear, in Greek, as imperfect and aorist, there is no occasion, in the form by which they are distinguished from one another, to assume a primitive intention in the language to apply them to different objects, unless such aorists as—in Greek, ἔλιπον, ἔδων, contrasted with ἔλειπον, ἐδίδων, in Sanscrit, *alipam*,* *adâm*, opposed to *alimpam*, *adadâm*—are considered original, and, in their brevity and succintness, contrasted with the cumbersomeness of the imperfect, a hint be found,

* The Sanscrit root *lip* is not connected with the Greek ΛΙΠ, but means "to smear," and to it belongs the Greek λίπος, ἀλείφω. But *alipam* stands so far in the same relation to *alimpam* that ἔλιπον does to ἔλειπον, that it has divested itself of the inserted nasal, as ἔλιπον has of the Guna vowel.

that through them the language is desirous of expressing such actions or conditions of the past, as appear to us momentary, from their ranking with other events, or for other reasons. It might then be said that the language unburthens itself in the aorist only of the Guna and other class characteristics, because, in the press of the circumstances to be announced, it has no time to express them; just as, in Sanscrit, in the second person singular imperative, the lighter verbal form is employed, on account of the haste with which the command is expressed, and, *e.g.* *vid-dhi*, "know," *yung-dhi*, "bind," stands opposed to the first person *vêdânî*, "let me know," *yunajâni*, "let me bind." But the kind of aorist just mentioned is, both in Sanscrit and in Greek, proportionably rarer, and the withdrawing of the class characteristics extends, in both languages, not to the aorist alone, and in both this tense appears, for the most part, in a form more full in sound than the imperfect. Compare, in Sanscrit, *adiksham* = ἔδειξα with the imperfect *adisham*, which bears the complete form of the aorist abovementioned. In the sibilant of the first aorist, however, I cannot recognise that element of sound, which might have given to this tense its peculiar meaning; for this sibilant, as will be shewn hereafter, belongs to the verb substantive, which might be expected in all tenses, and actually occurs in several, that, in their signification, present no point of coincidence. But if, notwithstanding, in Sanscrit, or at the time of the identity of the Sanscrit with its cognate languages, a difference of meaning existed between the two augmented preterites, we are compelled to adopt the opinion, that the language began very early to employ, for different ends, two forms which, at the period of formation, had the same signification, and to attach finer degrees of meaning to trifling, immaterial differences of form. It is requisite to observe here, that, in the history of languages, the case not unfrequently occurs, that

one and the same form is, in the lapse of time, split into several, and then the different forms are applied by the spirit of the language to different ends. Thus, in Sanscrit, *dâtâ*, from the base *dâtâr* (§. 144.), means both "the giver" and "he that will give"; but, in Latin, this one form, bearing two different meanings, has been parted into two; of which the one, which is modern in form, and has arisen from the old by the addition of an *u* (*datûrus*), has assumed to itself alone the task of representing a future participle; while the other, which has remained more true to the original type, appears, like the kindred Greek δοτήρ, only as a noun agent.

THE IMPERFECT.

517. We proceed to a more particular description of the different kinds of expression for past time, and consider next the tense, which I call in Sanscrit, according to its form, the monoform augmented preterite, in contradistinction to that which corresponds in form to the Greek aorist, and which I term the multiform preterite, since in it seven different formations may be perceived, of which four correspond, more or less, to the Greek first aorist, and three to the second. Here, for the sake of brevity and uniformity, the appellations imperfect and aorist may be retained for the Sanscrit also, although both tenses may in Sanscrit, with equal propriety, be named imperfect and aorist, since they both in common, and together with the reduplicated preterite, represent at one time the aorist, at another the imperfect. That, which answers in form to the Greek imperfect, receives, like the aorist, the prefix of an *a* to express the past: the class characteristics are retained, and the personal terminations are the more obtuse or secondary (§. 430.), probably on account of the root being loaded with the augment. This exponent of the past may bear the same name in Sanscrit also. In Greek it is easily recognised in the ε. Thus, in the first conjugation, we may compare *atarp-a-m*, "I delighted," with ἔτερπον; in

the second, *adadâ-m*, "I gave," with ἐδίδων; *astṛi-ṇav-am* (see §. 437. Rem.), "I strewed," with ἐστόρ-νυ-ν; and *akrî-ṇâ-m*, "I bought," with ἐπέρ-νᾱ-ν. As the conjugation of the imperfect of the three last mentioned verbs has been already given (§§. 481. 485. 488.), where the weight of the personal terminations is considered, I shall annex here the complete one of *atarp-a-m* and ἔτερπ-ο-ν only.

SINGULAR.		DUAL.	
SANSCRIT.	GREEK.	SANSCRIT.	GREEK.
atarp-a-m,*	ἔτερπ-ο-ν,	*atarp-â-va*,	. . . . . .
atarp-a-s,	ἔτερπ-ε-ς,	*atarp-a-tam*,	ἐτέρπ-ε-τον.
atarp-a-t,	ἔτερπ-ε(τ)†	*atarp-â-tâm*,	ἐτέρπ-ε-την.

PLURAL.

SANSCRIT.	GREEK.
atarp-â-ma,	ἐτέρπομεν.
atarp-a-ta,	ἐτέρπ-ε-τε.
atarp-a-n,†	ἔτερπ-ο-ν.†

"Remark.—In the Vêda dialect the *t*, which, according to §. 461., has been lost in *atarpan* for *atarpant*, has been retained under the protection of an *s*, which begins the following word; thus, in the Rig-Vêda (p. 99), अभी ऽम् अवन्वन्त् स्वभिष्टिम् *abhi 'm avanvant svabhishṭim*, "*illum colebant fauste aggredientem*." According to the same principle, in the accusative plural, instead of the *ns*, to be expected in accordance with §§. 236. 239., of which, according to a universal law of sound, only *n* has remained, we find in the Vêda dialect *nt*, in case the word following begins with *s*; *e.g.* अस्मान्त् सु तत्र चोदय *asmânt su tatra chôdaya*, "*nos bene ibi dirige*" (Rosen, l. c. p. 13). I do not hesitate to consider the *t* of *asmânt* as the euphonic mutation of an *s*, as also, under other circumstances, one *s* before another *s*, in order to make itself more perceptible in pronunciation, becomes

* See §. 437. Rem. † See §. 461.

t; as from *vas*, "to dwell," comes the future *vat-syâmi* and the aorist *avât-sam*. The original accusative termination in *ṅs* appears in the Vêdas also as *ṅr*, and indeed in bases in *i* and *u*, in case the word following begins with a vowel or *y*, as, in general, a final *s*, after vowels other than *a*, *â* becomes *r* before all sonant letters. Examples of plural accusatives in *ṅr* (for *n* must become Anusvâra before *r*, as before *s*) are गिरीँर् अचुच्यवीतन *girîṅr achuchyavîtana*, "*nubes excitate*" (l. c. p. 72); त्वम् अग्ने वसूंर् इह रुद्रां आदित्यां उत । यजा *tvam agnê vasûṅr iha rudrâṅ âdityâṅ uta* । *yajâ*, "*tu Agnis! Vasues hic, Rudras atque Aditis filios sacris cole*" (l. c. p. 85). Bases in *a* have lost the *r* in the accusative plural. The circumstance, however, that they replace the *n* of the common accusative terminations with Anusvâra (*ṅ*), as in रुद्रां *rudrâṅ*, आदित्यां *âdityâṅ*, just mentioned, appears to me to evince that they likewise terminated originally in *ṅr*: the *r* has been dropped, but its effect—the change of *n* into *ṅ*—has remained. At least it is not the practice in the Rig Vêda, particularly after a long *â*, to replace a final *n* with Anusvâra; for we read, l. c. §. 219., विद्वान् *vidvân*, "skilful," not विद्वां *vidvâṅ*, although a *v* follows, before which, according to Pânini, as before *y*, *r*, and vowels in the Vêda dialect, the termination *ân* should be replaced by *âṅ* (compare Rosen, p. IV. 2.); a rule which is probably taken too universally, and should properly be limited to the accusative plural (the principal case where *ân* occurs), where the Zend also employs an *ṅ*, and not *n* (§. 239.). The accusative termination *ṅr* for *ṅs* is, however, explained in a manner but little satisfactory, by Rosen, in his very valuable edition of a part of the Rig-Vêda, p. XXXIX, 5.; and the *t* mentioned above is considered by the Indian grammarians as an euphonic insertion (Smaller Sanscrit Grammar, §. 82[a]. 82[b]. Rem.). If, however, an initial *s*, from a disposition towards a *t* preceding, has such influence as to annex that letter, it appears to me far more natural for it to have had

the power to preserve a *t*, which actually exists in the primitive grammar, or to change an *s* into that letter.

518. The Zend, as found in the Zend Avesta, appears to have almost entirely given up the augment, at least with the exception of the aorist mentioned in §. 469., and which is remarkable in more than one respect, *urûrudhusha,** "thou growest," and the form mentioned by Burnouf *âs*, "he was," *âonhât*, "he would be";† I have found no instances, which can be relied upon, of its retention, unless, perhaps, *apathayĕn,*‡ "they went" (Vend. S. p. 43, Z. 4.), must pass as such; and we are not to read, as might be conjectured, in place of it *apathayĕn*, and the initial vowel is the preposition *a*, which, perhaps, is contained in some other forms also, which might be explained by the augment. Thus, perhaps, in the first Fargard of the Vendidad, the frequently-recurring forms *frâthwĕrĕsĕm* (or *frâthwarĕsĕm*), "I made," "I formed," *frâkĕrĕntat*, may be distributed into *fra* and *athwĕrĕsĕm* and *akĕrĕntat*. I, however, now think it more probable that their first syllable is compounded of the prepositions *fra*

* The initial *u* appears to have been formed from *a* by the assimilating influence of the *û* of the second syllable. I shall recur to this aorist hereafter.

† Burnouf (Yaçna, p. 434) proposes to read *âś* for *âs*. But this form, also, has something uncommon, since the Vêda आस् *âs* (of which hereafter) would lead us to expect, in Zend, *âo*, as a final Sanscrit स् *s*, with a preceding *â*, regularly becomes *âo*; but अस् *as* becomes *ô* (see §. 56^b^.). Without the augment we find, in the Zend Avesta, both the reading *aś* and *as*, although otherwise this form actually belongs to the verb substantive.

‡ Thus we should read instead of *apathaĕn;* compare the Sanscrit *apanthayan*, "they went," with an inserted nasal. Ἐπάτεον corresponds in Greek. But should we read *âpathayĕn* for *apathayĕn* the long *â* would not be the augment, but the preposition *â*.

and *â*. The combination of these two prepositions is very generally used in the Zend; as, *frâdaya*, "value" (Vend. S. p. 124), *frâmaiñ hunvañha*, "prize me" (Vend. S. p. 39), where the prepositions are separated from the verb,* as in the passage, *frâ vayô patañn frâ urvara ucsyañn*, "*aves volent arbores crescant*"† (Vend. S. p. 257), and in *frâ zasta śnayañuha*, "wash the hands" (l. c. p. 457). A form which, if the lithographed codex of the Vend. S. is correct, might appear best adapted to testify to the existence of the augment in Zend, is *uśazayañha*, "thou wast born," a word which is remarkable in other respects also (see §. 469.). But as long as the correctness of the reading is not confirmed by other MSS., or generally as long as the augment is not more fully established in Zend, I am disposed to consider the vowel which stands between the preposition and the root as simply a means of conjunction; and for *a* I should prefer reading *i* or *ĕ*, just as in *uś-i-hista*, "stand up" (Vend. S. p. 458), *uś-i-histata*, "stand ye up" (l. c. p. 459), *uś-ĕ-histaiti*, "he stands up."

* The comparison of other MSS. must decide whether the accusative of the pronoun is rightly conjoined with this. Anquetil renders this imperative with the word following, *kharĕtĕĉ*, on account of the eating, "of the nourishing," strangely enough by "*qui me mange en m'invoquant avec ardeur*," as he also translates the following words, *aôivi* (= अभि *abhi*) *manm staômaĉni* (*staômaini?*) *stûidhi*, "extol me in praise," by "*qui m' adresse humblement sa prière*." The form *hunvañha* is the imperative middle, where, as often occurs, the character of the first class is added to that of the fifth.

† *Patañn*, "*volent*," and *ucsyañn*, "*crescant*," with which the Greek *πέτομαι* and our *Feder* and *wachsen* are to be compared, are imperfects of the conjunctive mood, which, with this tense, always combines a present signification.

But *a* also occurs in this verb, inserted as a conjunctive vowel between the preposition and the root; for, p. 456, l. 18., we read *uś-a-hìstata,* "stand up." I would therefore, if the reading *uś-a-za-yanha,* "thou wast born," should prove itself from the majority of MSS. to be genuine, prefer, nevertheless, regarding the *a* as a conjunctive vowel, rather than as the augment.

519. The following examples may throw sufficient light on the conjugation for the first class of the Zend imperfect active, which admits of tolerably copious citation: [Zend] *uzbar-ĕ-m,* "I brought forward" (Vend. S. p. 493); [Zend] *frâthwarĕś-ĕ-m* or *frâthwĕrĕś-ĕ-m,* "I created" (l. c. 117, &c.); [Zend] *frâdaêśaêm,* "I shewed," from *frâdaêś-ayê-m* = Sanscrit प्रादेशयम् *prâdêś-aya-m,* "I caused to shew" (see §. 42.); *fradaêś-ayô,* "thou shewest" (l. c. p. 123); [Zend] *kĕrĕ-nvô,* "thou didst make";* [Zend] *pĕrĕś-a-t,* "he asked," = अपृच्छत् *aprichchh-a-t* (l. c. p. 123); [Zend] *bav-a-t,* "he was," = अभवत् *abhav-a-t* (p. 125); [Zend] *jaś-a-t,* "he came," = अगच्छत् *agachchh-a-t,* "he went;" [Zend] [Zend] *paiti śanh-â-ma,* "we spoke"[†] (pp. 493, 494, repeatedly) = प्रत्यशंसाम *pratyaśansâma;* [Zend] *anhĕn,* "they were" (p. 103 erroneously *anhin*) = आसन् *âsan.* I am not able to quote the second person plural, but there can be no uncertainty regarding its form, and from *uśihistata,* "stand ye up," we may infer, also, *uśihistata,* "ye stood up," since, in Sanscrit as in Greek, the imperative in the second person plural is only distinguished from the imperfect by the omission of the augment. Examples of the second conjugation are, [Zend] *dadhan-m,* "I placed" "I made" (Vend. S. p. 116) = अदधाम् *adadhâ-m,* ἐτίθη-ν;

* For *kĕrĕnaôs:* there is, that is to say, as often happens, the character of the first class added to the class character, which is already present; as though, in Greek, ἐδείκ-νυ-ε-ς were said for ἐδείκ-νῡ-ς.

† Anquetil renders this "*je viens de vous parler.*"

mraôm,* "I spoke" (p. 123); *mraô-s*, "thou spokest" (p. 226), *mraôt*,† "he spoke"; occurs very often; *kěrě-naô-t*, "he made" (p. 135). In the plural I conjecture the forms *amrû-ma, amrû-ta* = Sanscrit *abrû-ma, abrû-ta*; and *kěrě-nu-ma, kěrě-nu-ta*, like such Greek forms as ἐστόρ-νυ-μεν, ἐστόρ-νυ-τε = Sanscrit *astri-nu-ma, astri-nu-ta*. The third person plural does not admit of being traced with the same certainty.

520. With respect to the use of the imperfect it deserves to be remarked, that, in Zend, this tense is very frequently employed as the conjunctive of the present, and that the reduplicated preterite also occasionally occurs in the same sense. In such cases, the past appears to be regarded from its negative side as denying the actual present, and to be thus adapted to denote the conjunctive, which is likewise devoid of reality. Here belongs the phenomenon, that, in Zend, the conjunctive, even where it is actually formally expressed, far more frequently expresses the present by the imperfect than by the present; and that, in Sanscrit, the conditional is furnished with the augment; and that, also, in German and Latin, the conditional relation is expressed by past tenses. Examples of the Zend imperfect indicative with the sense of the present conjunctive are, *fracha kěrěntěn*, "they may cut to pieces," = Sanscrit अकृन्तन् *akrintan* (Vend. S. p. 233); *dva vâ nara anhěn pancha vâ*, "there may be either two persons or five"; *yêzi*

* This form is based on the Sanscrit *abravam*, for which *abruvam*: the contraction in Zend is similar to that of यवम् *yavam*, "*oryzam*," to *yaôm*. Regarding the exchange of *b* with *m* in *mraôm* see §. 63.

† These two persons pre-suppose, in Sanscrit, *abrô-s, abrô-t*, for which are used, with irregular insertion of a conjunctive vowel *î*, *abrav-î-s, abrav-î-t*.

aṇhaṭ âthravâ, "if it is a priest";* *yêzi aṇhaṭ rathaêstâo*, "if it is a warrior (stander in a car)"; *yêzi aṇhaṭ vâstryô*, "if it is a cultivator"; *yêzi aṇhaṭ ṡpâ*, "if it is a dog" (l. c. p. 230, 231); *yêzi vaṡĕn mazdayaṡna zaṅm raôdhayaṅm*,† "if the worshippers of Ormuzd would cultivate the earth (make to grow)" (p. 198). It is clear that in most of the examples the conjunction *yêzi* has introduced the imperfect in the sense of a conjunctive present, for this conjunction loves to use a mood which is not indicative, whether it be the potential, the conjunctive, or, as in the passages quoted, the imperfect of the indicative, as the representative of the conjunctive present. However, the indicative present often occurs after *yêzi* (Vend. S. pp. 263, &c. *yêzi paitijaṡaiti*); where, however, the reduplicated preterite stands beside this conditional particle, there it is clear that the past is regarded, as in the imperfect, as the symbol of non-actuality, and invested with a modal application. Thus we read in the second Fargard of the Vendidad (by Olshausen, p. 12), *yêzi môi yima nôiṭ vîvîṡê*, "if thou, Yima! obeyest me not"; and in the sixth Fargard, *yêzi tûtava*, "if he can," or "if they can," "if it is possible"—according to Anquetil, "*si on le peut*"; Vend. S. p. 12, *yêzi thwâ didvaêsa*, "if he hates thee," according to Anquetil "*si l'homme vous irrite.*"

521. If we now turn to the European cognate languages, it is remarkable that the Lithuanian, Sclavonic, and German, which appear, in a measure, as twins in the

* Regarding the termination of *aṇhaṭ* more will be said hereafter.

† Thus I read for *raôdhyaṅm*, for which, p. 179, occurs, with two other faults, *raôdayĕn*.

great family of languages, which occupies our attention, diverge from one another in respect to the past, and have so divided the store of Sanscrit-Zend past forms, that that of the imperfect has fallen to the lot of the Lithuanian, and the Sclavonic has taken the aorist, and, in fact, the first aorist, while the German has received the form of the Greek perfect. The augment, however, has been dropped by the Lithuanian and Sclavonic, and the Gothic has retained the reduplication only in a small number of verbs, while in German it lies concealed in forms like *hiess, lief, fiel,* of which hereafter.

522. As the imperfect now engages our attention, we must, for the present, leave the Sclavonic and German unnoticed, and first bestow our notice on that Lithuanian preterite, which is called, by Ruhig, the perfect. It might, with equal propriety, be termed imperfect or aorist, as it, at the same time, simultaneously represents these two tenses; and its use as a perfect is properly a misuse; as, also, in the Lettish, which is so nearly allied, this tense is actually called the imperfect, and the perfect is denoted by a participle perfect, with the present of the verb substantive; *e.g. es sinnayu,* "I did know," *es esmu sinnayis* "I have known (been having knowledge)." That the Lithuanian preterite answers to the imperfect, and not to the second aorist, is clear from this, that it retains the class characteristics given up by the aorist; for *buwaù,* "I was," or "have been," answers to the Sanscrit अभवम् *abhavam* and Greek ἔφυον, and, in the plural, *bûw-o-me,* to the Zend *bav-â-ma,* Sanscrit *abhav-â-ma,* Greek ἐφύ-ο-μεν, not to the aorist अभूम *abhû-ma,* ἔφῡ-μεν; although, if necessary, the first person singular *buwaù* might be compared with अभूवम् *abhûvam,* to which, on account of the *u* of the first syllable, it appears to approach more closely than to the imperfect *abhavam.* I believe, however, that the Lithuanian *u* of *buwaù* is a weakening

of *a*; and I recognise 'in this form one of the fairest and truest transmissions from the mythic age of our history of languages; ' for which reason it may be proper to annex the full conjugation of this tense of the verb, and to contrast with it the corresponding forms of the cognate languages, to which I also add the Latin *bam*, as I consider forms like *amabam*, *docebam*, &c., as compounded, and their *bam* to be identical with the Sanscrit *abhavam*, to which it has just the relation which *malo* has to *mavolo*, or that the Old High German *bim*, "I am," has to its plural *birumês*, from *bivumês* (see §. 20.).

SINGULAR.

SANSCRIT.	ZEND.	LITH.	LATIN.	GREEK.
abhav-a-m,	*baôm* from *bav-ĕ-m?*	*buw-a-ù*,[1]	*-ba-m*[2]	ἔφυ-ο-ν.
abhav-a-s,	*bav-ô*,[3]	*buw-a-ì*,	*-bâ-s*,	ἔφυ-ε-ς.
abhav-a-t,	*bav-a-t*,	*buw-o*,	*-ba-t*,	ἔφυ-ε-(τ).

DUAL.

abhav-â-va,	....	*búw-o-wa*,	...	....
abhav-a-tam,	*bav-a-tĕm?*	*búw-o-ta*,	...	ἐφύ-ε-τον.
abhav-a-tâm,	*bav-a-taiṃ?*	like Sing.	...	ἐφυ-έ-την.

PLURAL.

abhav-â-ma,	*bav-â-ma*,	*búw-o-me*,	*-bâ-mus*,	ἐφύ-ο-μεν.
abhav-a-ta,	*bav-a-ta*,	*búw-o-te*,	*-bâ-tis*,	ἐφύ-ε-τε.
abhav-a-n,	...	like Sing.	*-ba-nt*,	ἔφυ-ο-ν.

[1] From *buw-a-m*: see §. 438 [2] See §. 526. [3] *Bavaś-cha*, "*erasque*."

523. For the regular verb, compare, further, *kirtau*, "I struck," "I cut" (*kirtau szeńań*, literally "I mowed," "cut hay"), with the Sanscrit अकृन्तम् *akṛintam*, "I cleft,"* Zend

* The root is *kṛit*, properly *kart*, and belongs to those roots of the sixth class which, in the special tenses, receive a nasal. Here belongs, among

[Zend script] *kĕrĕntĕm*, and Greek ἔκειρον, which has lost the *t* of the root.

SINGULAR.

SANSCRIT.	ZEND.	LITHUANIAN.	GREEK.
akrint-a-m,	*kĕrĕnt-ĕ-m*,	*kirt-a-u* (see §. 438.),	ἔκειρ-ο-ν.
akrint-a-s,	*kĕrĕnt-ô*,	*kirt-a-i* (see §. 499.),	ἔκειρ-ε-ς.
akrint-a-t,	*kĕrĕnt-a-t*,	*kirt-o-'*	ἔκειρ-ε-(τ).

DUAL.

akrint-â-va,	. . . . .	*kirt-o-wa*,	
akrint-a-tam,	*kĕrĕnt-a-tĕm ?*	*kirt-o-ta*,	ἐκείρ-ε-τον.
akrint-a-tâm,	*kĕrĕnt-a-taṅm ?*	like Sing.	ἐκειρ-έ-την.

PLURAL.

akrint-a-ma,	*kĕrĕnt-â-ma*,	*kirt-o-me*,	ἐκείρ-ο-μεν.
akrint-a-ta,	*kĕrĕnt-a-ta*,	*kirt-o-te*,	ἐκείρ-ε-τε.
akrint-a-n,	*kĕrĕnt-ĕ-n*,	like Sing.	ἔκειρ-ο-ν,

524. Many Lithuanian verbs, which follow, in the present, the analogy of the Sanscrit of the first class, change, in the preterite, into the tenth, and, in fact, so that they terminate in the first person singular, in *ia-u* (=Sanscrit *aya-m*), but, in the other persons, instead of *ia* employ an *ĕ*, which unites with *i* of the second person singular to *ei*.

others, *lip*, "to besmear," whence *limpâmi*, *alimpam* (second aorist *alipam*), with which the Lithuanian *limpú*, "I paste on" (preterite *lippau*, future *lipsu*, infinitive *lipti*), appears to be connected. Pott acutely compares the Gothic *salbô* so that *sa* would be an obscured preposition grown up with the root. The present of *kirtau* is *kertù*, and there are several verbs in Lithuanian which contrast an *e* in the present with the *i* of the preterite, future, and infinitive. This *e* either springs direct from the original *a* of the root *kart*—as, among others, the permanent *e* of *degu*, "I burn," =Sanscrit *dahâmi*—or the original *a* has first been weakened to *i*, and this has been corrupted, in the present, to *e*; so that *kertù* has nearly the same relation to the preterite *kirtau*, future *kir-su* (for *kirt-su*), and infinitive *kirs-ti* (from *kirt-ti*), as, in Old High German, the plural *lesamês*, "we read," to the Gothic *lisam*, and its own singular *lisu*.

This analogy is followed, by *weżiau*, "I led," *sekiau*, "I followed," whence *weżei, sekei; weżē, sekē; weżēwa, sekēwa; weżēta, sekēta; weżēme, sekēme; weżēte, sekēte*. Observe the analogy with Mielke's third conjugation (see §. 506.), and compare the preterite *laikiau*, §. 506.

525. In the Lithuanian tense which is called the imperfect of habit, we find *dawau;* as *suk-dawau*, "I am wont to turn," which is easily recognised as an appended auxiliary verb. It answers tolerably well to *dawyau* (from *dūmi*), "I gave," "have given," from which it is distinguished only in this point, that it is inflected like *buwaù* and *kirtau*, while the simple *dawyau, dawei, dawē, dawēwa*, &c., follows the conjugation of *weżiau, sekiau*, which has just (§. 524.) been presented, with this single trifling point of difference, that, in the first person singular, instead of *i*, it employs a *y*; thus, *dawyau* for *dawiau*. As in Sanscrit, together with *dâ*, "to give," on which is based the Lithuanian *dūmi*, a root धा *dhâ*, "to place" (with the preposition वि *vi*, "to make") occurs, which is similarly represented in Lithuanian, and is written in the present *demi* ("I place"); so might also the auxiliary verb which is contained in *suk-dawau*, be ascribed to this root, although the simple preterite of *demi* (from *dami* = Sanscrit *dadhâmi*, Greek *τίθημι*), is not *dawyau*, or *dawiau*, but *dēyau*. But according to its origin, *demi* has the same claim as *dūmi* upon the vowel *a*, and the addition of an unorganic *w* in the preterite, and the adjunction of the auxiliary verb in *suk-dawau* might proceed from a period when *dūmi*, "I give," and *demi*, "I place," agreed as exactly in their conjugation as the corresponding old Indian forms *dadâmi* and *dadhâmi*, which are distinguished from one another only by the aspirate, which is abandoned by the Lithuanian. As *dadhâmi*, through the preposition *vi*, obtains the meaning "to make," and, in Zend, the simple verb also signifies "to make," *demi* would, in this sense, be

more proper as an auxiliary verb to enter into combination with other verbs; and then *suk-dawau*, "I was wont to turn," would, in its final portion, coincide with that of the Gothic *sôk-i-da*, "I sought," *sôk-i-dêdum*, "we sought," which last I have already, in my System of Conjugation, explained in the sense of "we sought to do," and compared with *dêds*, "deed." I shall return hereafter to the Gothic *sôk-i-da*, *sôk-i-dêdum*. It may, however, be here further remarked, that, exclusive of the Sanscrit, the Lithuanian *dawau* of *suk-dawau* might also be contrasted with the Gothic *tauya*, "I do" (with which our *thun* is no way connected); but then the Lithuanian auxiliary verb would belong rather to the root of "to give," than to that of "to place"; for the Gothic requires *tenues* for primitive medials, but not for such as the Lithuanian, which possesses no aspirates, opposes to the Sanscrit aspirated medials, which, in Gothic, appear likewise as medials. But if the Gothic *tauya*, "I do," proceeds from the Sanscrit root, *dâ*, "to give," it then furnishes the only example I know of, where the Gothic *au* corresponds with a Sanscrit *â*; but in Sanscrit itself, *âu* for *a* is found in the first and third person singular of the reduplicated preterite, where ददौ *dadâu*, "I" or "he gave," is used for *dadâ* (from *dadâ-a*). The relation, however, of *tau* to *dâ* (and this appears to me better) might be thus regarded, that the *â* has been weakened to *u*, and an unradical *a* prefixed to the latter letter; for that which takes place regularly before *h* and *r* (see §. 82.) may also for once have occurred without such an occasion.

526. The idea that the Latin imperfects in *bam*, as also the futures in *bo*, contain the verb substantive, and, in fact, the root, from which arise *fui*, *fore*, and the obsolete conjunctive *fuam*, has been expressed for the first time in my System of Conjugation. If it is in general admitted, that grammatical forms may possibly arise through composi-

tion, then certainly nothing is more natural than, in the conjugation of attributive verbs, to expect the introduction of the verb substantive, in order to express the copula, or the conjunction of the subject which is expressed by the personal sign with the predicate which is represented by the root. While the Sanscrit and Greek, in that past tense which we term aorist, conjoin the other roots of the verb substantive, viz. *AS*, *ES*, with the attributive roots, the Latin betakes itself, so early as the imperfect, to the root *FU;* and I was glad to find, what I was not aware of on my first attempt at explaining the forms in *bam* and *bo*, that this root also plays an important part in grammar in another kindred branch of language, viz. in Celtic, and exhibits to us, in the Irish dialect of the Gaelic, forms like *meal-fa-m*, or *meal-fa-mar*, or *meal-fa-moid*, "we will deceive," *meal-fai-dhe*, or *meal-fa-bar*, "ye will deceive," *meal-fai-d*, "they will deceive," *meal-fa-dh me*, "I will deceive," (literally "I am who will deceive"), *meal-fai-r*, "thou wilt deceive," *meal-fai-dh*, "he will deceive." The abbreviated form *fam* of the first person plural, as it is wanting in the plural affix, answers remarkably to the Latin *bam*, while the full form *fa-mar* (*r* for *s*) comes very near the plural *ba-mus*. The circumstance, that the Latin *bam* has a past meaning, while that of the Irish *fam* is future, need not hinder us from considering the two forms, in respect to their origin, as identical, partly as *bam*, since it has lost the augment, bears in itself no formal expression of the past, nor *fam* any formal sign of the future. The Irish form should be properly written *fiam* or *biam*, for by itself *biad me* signifies "I will be" (properly "I am what will be"), *biodh-maod*, "we will be," where the character of the third person singular has grown up with the root, while the conditional expression *ma bhiom*, "if I shall be," is free from this incumbrance. In these forms, the exponent of the future relation is the *i*, with which, there-

fore, the Latin *i* of *ama-bis, ama-bit*, &c., and that of *eris, erit*, &c., is to be compared. This characteristic *i* is, however, dislodged in composition, in order to lessen the weight of the whole form, and at the same time the *b* is weakened to *f*; so that, while in Latin, according to the form of the isolated *fui, fore, fuam*, in the compound formations, *fam, fo*, might be expected, but in Irish *bam* the relation is exactly reversed. The reason is, however, in the Roman language, also an euphonic one; for it has been before remarked (§. 18.), that the Latin, in the interior of a word, prefers the labial medial to the aspirates; so that, while the Sanscrit *bh*, in the corresponding Latin forms, always appears as *f* in the initial sound, in the interior, *b* is almost as constantly found: hence, *ti-bi* for तुभ्यम् *tu-bhyam*; *ovi-bus*, for अविभ्यस् *avi-bhyas*; *ambo* for Greek ἄμφω, Sanscrit उभौ *ubhâu*; *nubes* for नभस् *nabhas*, νέφος; *rabies* from रभ् *rabh*, whence संरब्ध *sañrabdha*, "enraged," "furious"; *lubet* for लुभ्यति *lubhyati*, "he wishes"; *ruber* for ἐρυθρός, with which it has been already rightly compared by Voss, the labial being exchanged for a labial, and the ε dropped, which letter evinces itself, from the kindred languages, to be an unorganic prefix. The Sanscrit furnishes for comparison *rudhira*, "blood," and, with respect to the root, also *rôhita* for *rôdhita*, "red." In *rufus*, on the contrary, the aspirate has remained; and if this had also been the case in the auxiliary verb under discussion, perhaps then, in the final portion of *ama-fam, ama-fo*, derivatives from the root, whence proceed *fui, fuam, fore, fio, facio*, &c., would have been recognised without the aid of the light thrown upon the subject by the kindred languages. From the Gaelic dialects I will here further cite the form *ba*, "he was," which wants only the personal sign to be the same as the Latin *bat*, and, like the latter, ranks under the Sanscrit-Zend imperfect *abhavat, bavat*. The Gaelic *ba* is, however, deficient in the other persons; and in order to say "I

was," for which, in Irish, *bann* might be expected, *ba me* is used, *i.e.* "it was I."

527. The length of the class-vowel in the Latin third conjugation is surprising: as in *leg-ê-bam*, for the third conjugation, is based, as has been remarked (§. 109[a]. 1.) on the Sanscrit first or sixth class, the short *a* of which it has corrupted to *ĭ*, before *r* to *ĕ*. Ag. Benary believes this length must be explained by the concretion of the class vowel with the augment.* It would, in fact, be very well, if, in this manner the augment could be attributed to the Latin as the expression of the past. I cannot, however, so decidedly assent to this opinion, as I have before done,† partly as the Zend also, to which I then appealed as having occasionally preserved the augment only under the protection of preceding prepositions, has since appeared to me in a different light (§. 518.). There are, it cannot be denied, in the languages, unorganic or inflective lengthenings or diphthongizations of vowels, originally short; as, in Sanscrit, the class vowel just under discussion before *m* and *v*, if a vowel follows next, is lengthened (*vah-â-mi, vah-â-vas, vah-â-mas*); and as the Gothic does not admit a simple *i* and *u* before *r* and *h*, but prefixes to them, in this position, an *a*. The Latin lengthens the short final vowel of the base-words of the second declension (which corresponds to the Sanscrit *a* and Greek *o*) before the termination *rum* of the genitive plural *lupô-rum*), just as before *bus* in *ambô-bus, duô-bus*; and it might be said that the auxiliary verb *bam* also felt the necessity of being supported by a long vowel, and

* System of Latin sounds, p. 29. It being there stated that the coincidence of the Latin *bam* with the Sanscrit *abhavam* had not as yet been noticed, I must remark that this had been done in my Conjugational System, p. 97.

† Berlin Jahrb. January 1838. p. 13.

that, therefore, *leg-ē-bam*, not *leg-ĕ-bam*, or *leg-i-bam*, is employed.

528. In the fourth conjugation, the *ê* of *audiêbam* corresponds to the final *a* of the Sanscrit character of the tenth class, *aya*, which *a* has been dropped in the present, with the exception of the first person singular and third person plural; but in the conjunctive and in the future, which, according to its origin, is likewise to be regarded as a conjunctive (*audiam*, *audiâs*, *audiês*), has been retained in concretion with the mood exponent (see §. 505.). As the Latin *ê* frequently coincides with the Sanscrit diphthong *ê*, (=*a*+*i*), and, the future *tundês*, *tundêmus*, *tundêtis*, answers to the Sanscrit potential *tudês*, *tudêma*, *tudêta* (from *tudaîs*, &c.), so might also the *ê* of *tund-ê-bam*, *aud-iê-bam*, be divided into the elements *a*+*i*: thus, *tundêbam* might be explained from *tundaïbam*, where the *a* would be the class vowel, which in the present, as remarked above (§. 109ª. 1.), has been weakened to *i*; so that, *tund-i-s*, *tund-i-t*, answers to the Sanscrit *tud-a-si*, *tud-a-ti*. The *i* contained in the *ê* of *tund-ê-bam* would then be regarded as the conjunctive vowel for uniting the auxiliary verb; thus, *tundêbam* would be to be divided into *tunda-i-bam*. This view of the matter might appear the more satisfactory, as the Sanscrit also much favours the practice of uniting the verb substantive in certain tenses with the principal verb, by means of an *i*, and, indeed, not only in roots ending in a consonant, where the *i* might be regarded as a means of facilitating the conjunction of opposite sounds, but also in roots which terminate in a vowel, and have no need at all of any such means; *e.g.* *dhav-i-shyâmi*, "I will move," and *adhâv-i-sham*, "I moved"; *dhô-shyâmi* and *adhâu-sham* might be used, and would not be inconvenient to pronounce.

529. In favour of the opinion that the augment is contained in the *ê* of *audiêbam*, the obsolete futures of the

fourth conjugation in *ibo* might be adduced (*expedibo, scibo, aperibo*, and others in Plautus), and the want of a preceding *ê* in these forms might be explained by the circumstance, that the future has no augment. But imperfects in *îbam* also occur, and thence it is clear, that both the *î* of *-îbo*, and that of *-îbam*, should be regarded as a contraction of *iê*, and that the difference between the future and imperfect is only in this, that in the latter the full form (*iê*) has prevailed, but in the former has been utterly lost. In the common dialect *ibam, ibo* from *eo*, answer to those obsolete imperfects and futures, only that here the *i* is radical. From the third person plural *eunt* (for *iunt*), and from the conjunctive *eam* (for *iam*), one would expect an imperfect *iêbam*.

530. Let us now consider the temporal augment, in which the Sanscrit agrees with the Greek, just as it does in the syllabic augment. It is an universal principle in Sanscrit, that when two vowels come together they melt into one. When, therefore, the augment stands before a root beginning with *a*, from the two short *a* a long *â* is formed, as in Greek, from ε, by prefixing the augment for the most part, an η is formed. In this manner, from the root of the verb substantive अस् *as*, ΕΣ, arise आस् *âs*, ΗΣ, whence, in the clearest accordance, the third person plural आसन् *âsan*, ἦσαν; the second आस्त *âsta*, ἦστε; the first आस्म *âsma*, ἦμεν, the latter for ἤσμεν, as might be expected from the present ἐσμέν. In the dual, ἦστον, ἤστην, answer admirably to आस्तम् *âs-tam*, आस्ताम् *âs-tâm*. The first person singular is, in Sanscrit, *âsam*, for which, in Greek, ἦσαν might be expected, to which we are also directed by the third person plural, which generally is the same as the first person singular (where, however, ν stands for ντ). The form ἦν has passed over a whole syllable, and is exceeded by the Latin *eram* (from *esam*, see §. 22.) in true preservation of the original form, as in general the Latin has, in the

verb substantive, nowhere permitted itself to be robbed of the radical consonant, with the exception of the second person present, but, according to its usual inclination, has weakened the original *s* between two vowels to *r*. It is highly probable that *ĕram* was originally *êram* with the augment. The abandonment of the augment rests, therefore, simply on the shortening of the initial vowel.

531. In the second and third person singular the Sanscrit introduces between the root and the personal sign *s* and *t* an *î* as the conjunctive vowel; hence *âsîs*, *âsît*. Without this auxiliary vowel these two persons would necessarily have lost their characteristic, as two consonants are not admissible at the end of a word, as also in the Vêda dialect, in the third person, there really exists a form आस् *âs*, with which the Doric ἦς agrees very well. But the Doric ἦς, also, might, with Krüger (p. 234), be deduced from ἦτ, so that ς would be the character of the third person, the original τ of which, as it cannot stand at the end of a word, would have been changed into the cognate ς, which is admissible for the termination. According to this principle, I have deduced neuters like τετυφός, τέρας, from τετυφότ, τέρατ, as πρός from προτί = Sanscrit *prati* (see §. 152. end). If ἦς has arisen in a similar manner from ἦτ, this form would be the more remarkable, because it would then be a solitary example of the retention of the sign of the third person in secondary forms. Be this how it may, still the form ἦς is important for this reason, as it explains to us the common form ἦν, the external identity of which with the ἦν of the first person must appear surprising. In this person ἦν stands for ἦμ (middle ἤμην); but in the third, ἦν has the same relation to the Doric ἦς that τύπτομεν has to τύπτομες, or that, in the dual, τέρπετον, τέρπετον have to the Sanscrit *tarpathas*, *tarpatas* (§. 97.); and I doubt not, also, that the ν of ἦν, "he was," is a corruption of ς.

"Remark.—In Sanscrit it is a rule, that roots in *s*, when

they belong, like *as*, to a class of conjugation which, in the special tenses, interposes no middle syllable between the root and personal termination, changes the radical *s* in the third person into *t*; and at will in the second person also, where, nevertheless, the placing an *s* and its euphonic permutations is prevalent (see my smaller Sanscrit Grammar, §. 291.): शास् *śâs*, "to govern," forms, in the third person, solely *aśât*; in the second *âśâs* (अशाः *aśâḥ*), or likewise *aśât*. As regards the third person *aśât*, I believe that it is better to regard its *t* as the character of the third person than as a permutation of the radical *s*. For why else should the *t* have been retained principally in the third person, while the second person prefers the form *aśâs?* At the period when the Sanscrit, like its sister languages, still admitted two consonants at the end of a word, the third person will have been *aśâs-t*, and the second *aśât-s*, as *s* before another *s* freely passes into *t* (see §. 517. Rem.): in the present state of the language, however, the last letter but one of *âśâs-t* has been lost, and *aśât-s* has, at will, either in like manner dropped the last but one, which it has generally done—hence, *aśâ(t)s*—or the last, hence *aśât(s)*."

532. With आसीस् *âsî-s*, "thou wast," आसीत्. *âsî-t*, "he was," the forms *âsas*, *âsat*, may also have existed, as several other verbs of the same class, in the persons mentioned, assume at will *a* or *i*; as *arôdîs*, *arôdît*, "thou didst weep," "he did weep"; or *arôdas*, *arôdat*, from *rud* (the Old High German *riuzu*, "I weep," pre-supposes the Gothic *riuta*, Latin *rudo*). I believe that the forms in *as*, *at*, are the elder, and that the forms in *îs*, *ît*, have found their way from the aorist (third formation), where the long *î* of *abôdhîs*, *abôdhît* is to be explained as a compensation for the sibilant which has been dropped, which, in the other persons, is united with the root by a short *i* (*abôdh-i-sham*, *abôdh-i-shva*, *abôdh-i-shma*). The pre-supposed forms *âsas*, *âsat*, are confirmed by the Zend,

also, where, in the third person, the form *anhat** occurs, with suppression of the augment (otherwise it would be *âonhat*) and the insertion of a nasal, according to §. 56[a]. I am not able to quote the second person, but it admits of no doubt that it is *anhô* (with *cha*, "and," *anhas-cha*.) The originality of the conjunctive vowel *a* is confirmed also by the Latin, which nevertheless lengthens the same unorganically (but again, through the influence of a final *m* and *t*, shortens it), and which extends that letter, also, to those persons in which the Sanscrit and Greek, and probably, also, the Zend, although wanting in the examples which could be desired, unite the terminations to the root direct. Compare—

SINGULAR.

SANSCRIT.	GREEK.	LATIN.
âsam,	ἦν,	*eram*.
âsîs,	ἦς,	*erâs*.
âsît (Zend *anhat*, *âs*,* Vêda *âs*),	ἦς, ἦν,	*erat*.†

DUAL.

SANSCRIT.	GREEK.	LATIN.
âsva,	. . . .	. . .
âstam,	ἦστον,	. . .
âstâm,	ἤστην,	. . .

* I cannot, with Burnouf (Yaçna Notes, p. CXIV.), explain this *anhat*, and its plural *anhĕn*, as a conjunctive (*Lêt*) or as an aorist; for a *Lêt* always requires a long conjunctive vowel, and in the third person plural, *ann* for *ân*. And Burnouf actually introduces as *Lêt* the form *âonhat* (Yaçna, p. CXVIII.), which is superior to *anhat* in that it retains the augment. But it need not surprise us, from what has been remarked in §. 520., that *anhat* and *anhĕn* occur with a conjunctive signification. And Burnouf gives to the form *nipârayanta*, mentioned in §. 536. Rem., a conjunctive meaning, without recognising in it a formal conjunctive. The difference of the Zend *anhat* from the Sanscrit *âsît*, with regard to the conjunctive vowel, should surprise us the less, as the Zend not unfrequently differs from the Sanscrit in more important points, as in the preservation of the nominative sign in bases ending with a consonant (*âfs*, *drucs*, see §. 138.).

† See §. 518.

PLURAL.

SANSCRIT.	GREEK.	LATIN.
âsma,	ἦ(σ)μεν,	*erâmus.*
âsta,	ἦστε,	*erâtis.*
âsan,	ἦσαν,	*erant.*

"Remark.—The analogy with *bam, bâs,* may have occasioned the lengthening unorganically of the conjunctive vowel in Latin, where the length of quantity appears as an unconscious result of contraction, since, as has been shewn above (see §. 365), *bam, bâs,* &c., corresponds to the Sanscrit *a-bhavam, a-bhavas.* After dropping the *v*, the two short vowels coalesced and melted down into a long one, in a similar manner to that in which, in the Latin first conjugation, the Sanscrit character *aya* (of the tenth class), after rejecting the *y* has become *â* (§. 504.); and hence, *amâs, amâtis,* corresponds to the Sanscrit *kâmayasi,* "thou lovest," *kâmayatha,* "ye love." The necessity of adjusting the forms *eram, erâs,* &c., to those in *bam, bâs,* and of placing throughout a long *â,* where the final consonant does not exert its shortening influence, must appear so much the greater, as in the future, also, *eris, erit, erimus, eritis,* stand in the fullest agreement with *bis, bit, bimus, bitis;* and for the practical use of the language the difference of the two tenses rests on the difference of the vowel preceding the personal termination. A contrast so strong as that between the length of the gravest and the shortness of the lightest vowel makes its appearance, therefore, here very desirably. That the *i* of the future is not simply a conjunctive vowel, but an actual expression of the future, and that it answers to the Sanscrit *ya* of *-yasi, -yati,* &c.; or, reversing the case, that the *â* of the imperfect is simply a vowel of conjunction, and has nothing to do with the expression of the relation of time, this can be felt no longer from the particular point of view of the Latin.

533. In roots which begin with *i, î, u, û,* or *ṛi,* the Sanscrit augment does not follow the common rules of

sound, according to which *a* with *i* or *î* is contracted into *ê* (= *a* + *i*), and with *u* or *û* to *ô* (= *a* + *u*), and with *ṛi* (from *ar*) becomes *ar*, but for ए *ê* ऐ *âi* is employed; for ओ *ô*, औ *âu*; and for अर् *ar*, आर् *âr*: as from *ichh*, "to wish" (as substitute of *ish*), comes *âichham*, "I wished"; from *uksh*, "to sprinkle," comes *âuksham*, "I sprinkle." It cannot be ascertained with certainty what the reason for this deviation from the common path is. Perhaps the higher augment of the vowel is to be ascribed to the importance of the augment for the modification of the relation of time, and to the endeavour to make the augment more perceptible to the ear, in roots beginning with a vowel, than it would be if it were contracted with *i*, *î*, to *ê*, or with *u*, *û*, to *ô*, thereby giving up its individuality. Perhaps, too, the preponderating example of the roots of the first class, which require Guna before simple radical consonants, has operated upon the roots which possess no Guna, so that *âichham* and *âuksham* would be* to be regarded as regular contractions of *a-êchham*, *a-ôksham*, although *ichh*, as it belongs to the sixth class, and *uksh* to class one, on account of its length by position, admits of no other Guna.

534. In roots which begin with *a*, the augment and reduplication produce, in Sanscrit, an effect exactly the same as if to the root अस् *as* ("to be") *a* was prefixed as the augment or the syllable of reduplication; so in both cases from *a-as* only *âs*

* As *ê* consists of *a* + *i*, and *ô* of *a* + *u*, so the first element of these diphthongs naturally melts down with a preceding *a* to *â*, and the product of the whole is *âi*, *âu*. In roots which begin with *ṛi*, we might regard the form *âr*, which arises through the augment, as proceeding originally not from *ṛi*, but from the original *ar*, of which *ṛi* is an abbreviation, as, also, the reduplication syllable of *bibharmi* has been developed not from *bhṛi*, which the grammarians assume as the root, but from the proper root *bhar* (see Vocalismus, p. 158, &c.), by weakening the *a* to *i*, while in the reduplicated preterite this weakening ceases, and *babhara* or *babhâra* means "I bore."

can arise, and *âsa* is the first and third person of the perfect. In roots, however, which begin with *i* or *u* the operations of the augment and of reduplication are different; for *ish*, "to wish," and *ush*, "to burn" (Latin *uro*), form, through the augment, *âish*,* *âush*, and, by reduplication, *îsh*, *ûsh*, as the regular contraction of *i-ish*, *u-ush*. In the persons of the singular, however, with Guna, the *i* and *u* of the reduplication syllable before the vowel of the root, which is extended by Guna, passes into *iy* and *uv*; hence, *iy-êsha*, "I wished," *uv-ôsha*, "I burned," corresponding to the plural *îshima*, *ûshima*, without Guna.

535. In roots beginning with a vowel the tenses which have the augment or reduplication are placed, by the Greek, exactly on the same footing. The reduplication, however, cannot be so much disregarded, as to be overlooked where it is as evidently present as in the just-mentioned (§. 534.) Sanscrit *îshima*, *ûshima* (= *i-ishima*, *u-ushima*). When from an originally short ι and υ a long ῑ and ῡ arise, as in ἱκέτευον, ἱκέτευκα, ὕβριζον, ὕβρισμαι, I regard this, as I have already done elsewhere,† as the effect of the reduplication,

* Aorist *âishisham*; the imperfect is formed from the substitute *ichh*.

† Annals of Oriental Literature (London, 1820. p. 41). When, therefore, Krüger (Crit. Gramm. §. 99.) makes the temporal augment consist in this, that the vowel of the verb is doubled, this corresponds, in regard to ἱκέτευον, ὕβριζον, ὕβρισμαι, ὡμίλεον, ὡμίληκα, with the opinion expressed, l. c. by me; but M. Krüger's explanation of the matter seems to me too general, in that, according to it, verbs beginning with a vowel never had an augment; and that therefore, while the Sanscrit *âsan*, "they were," is compounded of *a-asan*, *i.e.* of the augment and the root, the Greek ἦσαν would indeed have been melted down from ἐ-εσαν, but the first ε would not only be to the root a foreign element accidentally agreeing with its initial sound, but the repetition or reduplication of the radical vowel. Then ἦσαν, in spite of its exact agreement with the Sanscrit âσαν would have to be regarded, not as one of the most remarkable transmissions from the primitive period of the language, but the agreement would be mainly fortuitous, as *âsan* contained the augment, ἦσαν, however, a syllable of reduplication

and look upon the long vowel as proceeding from the repetition of the short one, as, in the Sanscrit, *îshima, ûshima.* For why should an ῑ or ῡ arise out of ε+ι or υ, when this contraction occurs nowhere else, and besides when ει is so favourite a diphthong in Greek, that even ε+ε, although of rare occurrence in the augment, is rather contracted to ει than to η, and the diphthong ευ also accords well with that language? As to ο becoming ω in the augmented tenses, one might, if required, recognise therein the augment, since ε and ο are originally one, and both are corruptions from α. Nevertheless, I prefer seeing in ὠνόμαζον the reduplication, rather than the augment, since we elsewhere find ε+ο always contracted to ου, not to ω, although, in dialects, the ω occurs as a compensation for ου (Doric τῶ νόμω, τως νόμως).

536. The middle, the imperfect of which is distinguished from the regular active only by the personal terminations, described in §§. 468. &c., exhibits only in the third person singular and plural a resemblance between the Sanscrit, Zend, and Greek, which strikes the eye at the first glance: compare ἐφέρ-ε-το, ἐφέρ-ο-ντο, with the Sans. *abhar-a-ta, abhar-a-nta,* and the Zend *bar-a-ta, bar-a-nta.* In the second person singular, forms like ἐδείκ-νυ-σο answer very well to the Zend, like *hu-nu-sha,* "thou didst praise" (§. 469.); while in the first conjugation the agreement of the Greek and Zend is somewhat disturbed, in that the Zend, according to a universal law of sound, has changed the original termination *sa* after a preceding *a* to *ha* (see §. 56[a].), and attached to it a nasal sound (*n*), but the Greek has contracted ε-σο to ου; thus, ἐφέρου from ἐφέρ-ε-σο, answering to the Zend *bar-an-ha,* for which, in Sanscrit, *a-bhar-a-thâs* (see §. 469.). In the first person sin-

plication. I should certainly, however, prefer recognising, in all Greek verbs beginning with a vowel, the reduplication alone rather than the augment alone; and from the Greek point of view, without reference to the Sanscrit, this view would appear more correct.

gular, अभरे *abharê* from *abhar-a-i* for *abhar-a-ma* (see §. 471.), appears very disadvantageously compared with ἐφερ-ό-μην. In the first person plural, ἐφερ-ό-μεθα answers, in respect to the personal termination, better to the Zend *bar-â-maidhê* than to the Sanscrit *abhar-â-mahi,* the ending of which, *mahi,* is clearly abbreviated from *madhi* (see §. 472.). In the second person plural, ἐφέρ-ε-σθε* corresponds to the Sanscrit *abhar-a-dhvam,** and Zend *bar-a-dhwĕm:** in the dual, for the Greek ἐφέρ-ε-σθον, ἐφερ-έ-σθην (from ἐφερ-ε-ττον, ἐφερ-έ-ττην, see §. 474.), stand, in Sanscrit, *abharêthâm, abharêtâm* from *abhar-a-âtâm, abhara-â-tâm* (according to the third class *abibhr-âthâm, abibhr-âtâm*), and this, according to the conjecture expressed above (§. 474.), from *abhar-a-thâthâm, abar-a-tâtâm.*

"Remark.—I can quote in Zend only the third person singular and plural, the latter instanced in *nipârayanta,* which occurs in the Vend. S. p. 484 in the sense of a conjunctive, present† (*nipârayanta âpĕm* '*transgrediantur aquam*') which, according to what has been remarked at §. 520., need not surprise us. The third person singular can be copiously cited. I will here notice only the frequently recurring [Zend] *aôcta,* 'he spoke,' [Zend] *paiti-aôcta,* 'he answered,' the *a* of which I do not regard as the augment, as in general the augment has almost disappeared in Zend (see §. 518.), but as the phonetic prefix mentioned in §. 28. But how is the remaining *ôcta* related to the Sanscrit? The root वच् *vach* is not used in the middle; but if it were, it would, in the third person

* From ἐφερ-έ-ττε, *abhar-a-ddhvam, bhar-a-ddhwĕm?* see §. 474.

† Compare Burnouf, Yaçna, p. 518. In Sanscrit the verb *pârayâmi,* mid. *pârayê,* corresponds, which I do not derive with the Indian grammarians from the root पॄ *pṝi,* "to fulfil," but regard as the denominative of *pâra,* "the farther shore": this *pâra,* however, is best derived from *para,* "the other."

singular of the imperfect, form *avakta*, without the augment *vakta;* and hence, by changing *va* to *a* + *u* (for *a* + *v*), the Zend ὀcta *ôcta* might be deduced, with the regular contraction of the *a* + *u* to *ô*.* As, in Sanscrit, the root *vach*, in many irregular forms, has laid aside *a*, and vocalized the *v* to *u*,† we might, also, for *a-vakta*,

* On the value of ὀ as long *ô* see §. 447. Note.

† As regards my explanation of the *u* which takes the place of *va* in the root *vach*, and many others, in certain forms devoid of Guna, Professor Höfer (Contributions to Etymology, p. 384), finds it remarkable that we so often overlook what is just at hand, and thinks that in the case under discussion the *u* is not to be deduced from the *v* of *va*, but that from *va vu* has been formed; and of this, after rejecting the *v*, only the *u* has remained. In this, however, M. Höfer has, on his part, overlooked, that the derivation of *u* from *vu* cannot be separated from the phenomena which run parallel thereto, according to which *i* proceeds from *ya* and *ṛi* from *ra*. It is impossible to deduce *grihyate*, "*capitur*," for *grahyatê*, in such a manner that from *ra ṛri* can be derived, as from *va vu*, and thus pre-suppose for *grihyatê* a *grṛihyatê*, and hence drop the *r*. But what is more natural than that the semi-vowels should at times reject the vowel which accompanies them, as they themselves can become a vowel? Is not the relation of the Old High German *ir*, "ye," to the Gothic *yus* founded on this? and even that of the Gothic genitive *i-zvara* to the to be expected *yu-zvara?* Or may not from *yus* be next formed *yir*, and hence *ir* by rejecting the *y?* Can it be that the Gothic nominative *thius*, "the servant," has arisen from the theme *thiva*, not, which is the readiest way of deriving it, by the *v* becoming *u* after the *a* has been rejected, but by forming from *thiva* first *thivu*, and then, by dropping the *v*, in the nominative *thius*, and in the accusative *thiu?* I fully acknowledge M. Höfer's valuable labours with regard to the Prakrit, but believe that, in the case before us, he has suffered himself to be misled by this interesting and instructive dialect. It is true that the Prakrit is more frequently founded on forms older than those which come before us in classic Sanscrit. I have shewn this, among other places, in the instrumental plural (§. 220.), where, however, as usual, the Prakrit, in spite of having an older form before it, has nevertheless been guilty of admitting, at the same time, a strong corruption. This is the case with the Prakrit *vachchadi*, "*dicitur*." I willingly concede to M. Höfer, that this form is based

suppose a form *a-ukta* (without the euphonic contraction), and hence, in Zend, deduce, according to the common contraction, the form *ôcta*, to which *ôcta* then, according to §. 28., an *a* would be further prefixed; so that in *aôcta* an augment would in reality lie concealed, without being contained in the initial *a*. This special case is here, however, of no great importance to us; but this alone is so, that *aôcta*, in its termination, is identical with the Sanscrit, and comes very near the Greek *το* of *ἐφέρ-σ-το, ἐδείκ-νυ-το*. To the latter answers the often recurring *hu-nû-ta*, 'he praised' (compare Greek *ὕ-μνος*), with an unorganic lengthening of the *u*. From the latter may, with certainty, be derived the abovementioned second person *ahu-nu-sha*, after the analogy of the aorist *urûrudhusha* (see §. 469.). In the first person plural I have contrasted the form *bar-a-maidhê*, which is not distinguishable from the present, with the Greek *ἐ-φερ-όμεθα*; for it is clear, from the abovementioned (§. 472.) potential *bûidhyôimaidhê*, that the secondary forms are not distinguished, in the first person plural, from the primary ones; after dropping the augment, therefore, no difference from the present can exist. The form *bar-a-dhwĕm* of the second person plural follows from the imperative quoted by Burnouf (Yaçna, Notes, p. XXXVIII.), as *zayadhuĕm*, 'live ye,' and the precative *dayadhuĕm*, 'may he give.'"*

based on some other older one than the present Sanscrit *uchyatê*, but I do not thence deduce a *vachyatê*, but merely *vâchyatê*, for which the Prakrit is not at all required. The Prakrit, like many other languages, has, in very many places, weakened an original *a* to *u* (see p. 363.): why, then, should it not have occasionally done so after the *v*, which is homogeneous to the *u*, as the Zend, according to Burnouf's conjecture, has sometimes, through the influence of a *v*, changed a following *a* to *ô*?

* In my opinion, this form (of which more hereafter) must be taken for a precative, not for an imperative.

ORIGIN OF THE AUGMENT.

537. I hold the augment to be identical in its origin with the *a* privative, and regard it, therefore, as the expression of the negation of the present. This opinion, which has been already brought forward in the "Annals of Oriental Literature," has, since then, been supported by Ag. Benary* and Hartung (Greek Particles, II. 110.), but opposed by Lassen. As, however, Professor Lassen will allow of no explanation whatever of grammatical forms by annexation, and bestows no credit on the verb substantive, clearly as it manifests itself in many tenses of attributive verbs, treating it like the old "everywhere" and "nowhere," I am not surprised that he sees, in the explanation of the augment just given, the culminating point of the agglutination system, and is astonished that the first ancestors of the human race, instead of saying "I saw," should be supposed to have said "I see not." This, however, they did not do, since, by the negative particle, they did not wish to remove the action itself, but only the present time of the same. The Sanscrit, in general, uses its negative particles in certain compounds in a way which, at the first glance and without knowing the true object of the language, appears very extraordinary. Thus, *uttama-s*, "the highest," does not lose its signification by having the negative particle *a* prefixed to it (which, as in Greek before vowels, receives the addition of a nasal): *an-uttamas*, is not "the not highest," or "the low," but in like manner "the highest," nay, even emphatically "the highest," or "the highest of all." And yet it cannot be denied that, in *anuttama-s*, the particle *an* has really its negative force, but *anuttama-s* is a possessive compound, and *abala-s* (from *a* and *bala*), "not having strength," means, therefore, "weak"; thus, *anuttama-s* signifies properly "*qui altissimum non habet*," and

* Berlin Jahrb. July 1833, pp. 36, &c

hence, "*quo nemo altior est.*" It might be expected, that every superlative or comparative would be used similarly, that also *apuṇyatama-s* or *apuṇyatara-s* would signify "the purest"; but the language makes no further use of this capability; it does not a second time repeat this jest, if we would so call it; at least I am unacquainted with any other examples of this kind. But what comes much nearer this use of the augment, as a negative particle, than the just cited *an* of *anuttama*, is this, that *êka*, "one," by the prefixing negative particles, just as little receives the meaning not one (οὐδείς), "none," as वेद्मि *vêd-mi*, "I know," through the *a* of *a-vêd-am*, gets that of "I know not." By the negative power of the augment, *vêdmi* loses only a portion of its meaning, a secondary idea, that of present time, and thus *êka-s*, "one," by the prefix *an* or *na* (*anêka*, *nâika*), does not lose its existence or its personality (for *êka* is properly a pronoun, see §. 308.), nor even the idea of unity, inasmuch as in 6, 7, 8, &c., the idea of "one" is also contained, but only the limitation to unity, as it were the secondary idea, "simply." It would not be surprising if *anêka* and *nâika* expressed, in the dual, "two," or, in the plural, "three," or any other higher number, or also, "a few," "some"; but it signifies, such is the decision of the use of language, "many."* It cannot, therefore, be matter of astonishment, that *avêdam*, through its negative *a*, receives the signification "I knew,"

* When Vorländer, in his Treatise, which I have just seen, entitled "Basis of an organic acquaintance with the human soul," p. 317, says, "Negation of the present is not past," he is in the right; but it may be said with equal right, "negation of one is not plurality" (it might, in fact, be two, three, or nothing), and yet the idea "many" is clearly expressed by the negation of unity, or limitation to unity; and in defence of the language it may be said, that though the negation of present time is not past time, and that of unity not plurality, still the past is really a negation of the present, plurality a negation, an overleaping of unity; and hence both ideas are adapted to be expressed with the aid of negative

and not that of "I shall know."* For the rest, also, the past, which is irrevocably lost, forms a far more decided contrast to the present, than the future does, to which we approach in the same degree the farther we depart from the past. And in form, too, the future is often no way distinguished from the present.

538. From the circumstance that the proper *a* privative, which clearly manifests a negative force, assumes, both in Sanscrit and Greek, an euphonic *n* before a vowel initial sound, while the *a* of the augment, in both languages, is condensed with the following vowel (§. 530.), we cannot infer a different origin for the two particles. Observe, that *svâdu*, "sweet," as feminine, forms, in the instrumental, *svâdv-â*, while in the masculine and neuter it avoids the hiatus, not by changing *u* into *v*, but by the insertion of an euphonic *n* (compare §. 159.). And the augment and the common *a* privative are distinguished in the same way, since they both apply different means to avoid the hiatus.

negative particles. *Vice versâ*, in certain cases negation can also be expressed by an expression for the past:

"*Besen, Besen,*
Seid's gewesen!"

where *gewesen* means the same as "no more." Language never expresses any thing perfectly, but everywhere only brings forward the most conspicuous mark, or that which appears so. To discover this mark is the business of etymology. A "tooth-haver" is not an "elephant," a "hair-haver" does not fully express a "lion"; and yet the Sanscrit calls the elephant *dantin*, the lion *kêśin*. If, then, a tooth, *danta*, is derived from *ad*, "to eat" (dropping the *a*), or from *daṅś*, "to bite" (dropping the sibilant), we may again say, "an eater or biter is not exclusively a tooth (it might also be a dog or a mouth);" and thus the language revolves in a circle of incomplete expressions, and denotes things imperfectly, by any quality whatever which is itself imperfectly pointed out. It is, however, certain that the most prominent quality of the past is what may be termed the "non-present," by which the former is denoted more correctly than the elephant is expressed by "tooth-haver."

The division may have arisen at a period when, though early (so early, in fact, as when the Greek and Sanscrit were one), the augment was no longer conscious of its negative power, and was no more than the exponent of past time; but the reason why was forgotten, as, in general, the portions of words which express grammatical relations then first become grammatical forms, when the reason of their becoming so is no longer felt, and the *s*, which expresses the nominative, would pass as the exponent of a certain case relation only when the perception of its identity with the pronominal base *sa* was extinguished.

539. From the Latin privative prefix *in*, and our German *un*, I should not infer—even if, as is highly probable, they are connected with the *a* privative—that the nasal originally belonged to the word; for here three witnesses—three languages in fact—which, in most respects, exceed the Latin and German in the true preservation of their original state, speak in favour of the common opinion, that the nasal, in the negative particle under discussion, in Sanscrit, Zend, and Greek, is not a radical. It cannot, however, surprise us, if a sound, which is very often introduced for the sake of euphony, has remained fixed in one or more of the cognate dialects, since the language has, by degrees, become so accustomed to it that it can no longer dispense with it. We may observe, moreover, as regards the German languages, the great disposition of these languages, even without euphonic occasion, to introduce an unorganic *n*, whereby so many words have been transplanted from the vowel declension into one terminating with a consonant, viz. into that in *n*, or, as Grimm terms it, into the weak declension; and the Sanscrit *vidhavâ*, "widow," Latin *vidua*, Sclavonic *vdova* (at once theme and nominative), in Gothic is in the theme *viduvôn* (genitive *viduvôn-s*), whence is formed, in the nominative, according to §. 140., by rejecting the *n*, *viduvô*. If *an* was,

in Sanscrit, the original form of the prefix under discussion, its *n* would still be dropped, not only before consonants, but also before vowels; for it is a general rule in Sanscrit, that words in *n* drop this sound in the beginning of composites; hence, *râjan* "king," forms, with *putra*, *râja-putra*, "king's son," and, with *indra*, "prince," *râjêndra*, "prince of kings," since the *a* of *râjan*, after dropping the *n*, is contracted with a following *i* to *ê* (=*a*+*i*). The inseparable prefixes, however, in respect to the laws of sound, follow the same principles as the words which occur also in an isolated state. If *an*, therefore, were the original form of the above negative particle, and of the augment identical with it, then the two would have become separated in the course of time, for this reason, that the latter, following strictly the universal fundamental law, would have rejected its *n* before vowels as before consonants; the former only before consonants.

540. In §. 317. we have deduced the Sanscrit negative particles *a* and *na* from the demonstrative bases of the same sound, since the latter, when taken in the sense of "that," are very well adapted for the putting off of a thing or quality or the removing it to a distance. If *an* were the original form of the *a* privative and of the augment, then the demonstrative base अन *ana*, whence the Lithuanian *ana-s* or *an-s*, and the Sclavonic *on*, "that," would aid in its explanation. The identity of the augment with the privative *a* might, however, be also explained, which, indeed, in essentials would be the same, by assuming that the language, in prefixing an *a* to the verbs, did not intend the *a* negative, nor to deny the presence of the action, but, under the *a*, meant the actual pronoun in the sense of "that," and thereby wished to transfer the action to the other side, to the distant time already past; and that it therefore only once more repeated the same course of ideas as it followed in the creation of negative expressions. According to this explanation, the augment and the *a*

privative would rather stand in a fraternal relation than in that of offspring and progenitor. The way to both would lead directly from the pronoun, while in the first method of explanation we arrive, from the demonstrative of distance, first to the negation, and thence to the expression of past time, as contrary to present. According to the last exposition, the designation of the past through the augment would be in principle identical with that in which, through the isolated particle स्म *sma*, the present receives a past signification. I hold, that is to say, this *sma* for a pronoun of the third person, which occurs declined only in certain cases in composition with other pronouns of the third person (§§. 165. &c.), and in the plural of the two first persons, where *asmê* means (in the Vêda dialect) properly "I and she" ("this, that woman"), *yu-shmê*, "thou and she" (§. 333.).* As an expression of past time, *sma*, which also often occurs without a perceptible meaning, must be taken in the sense of "that person," "that side," "there," as W. von Humboldt regards the Tagalish and Tongian expression for past time *na*, which I have compared with the Sanscrit demonstrative base *na*, and thus indirectly with the negative particle *na*;† where I will further remark that I have endeavoured to carry back the expression for the future also, in Tongian and Madagascarian, to demonstrative bases; viz. the Tongian *te* to the Sanscrit base त *ta* (which the languages of New Zealand and Tahiti use in the form *te* as article), and the Madagascar *ho* to the base स *sa* (§. 345.), which appears in the Tongian *he*, as in the Greek ὁ, as the article.‡

* To the derivation of *sma*, given at p. 464, Rem. †, it may be further added, that it may also be identified with the pronominal base *sva* (see §. 341.), either by considering its *m* as a hardened form of *v* (comp. p. 114), or *vice versâ* the *v* of *sva* a weakening of the *m* of *sma*.

† See my Treatise "On the Connection of the Malay-Polynesian Languages with the Indo-European," pp. 100, &c.

‡ L. c. pp. 101, 104.

541. No one would consider the circumstance that, in Greek, the augment appears in the form ε, but the negative particle in the form α, which is identical with the Sanscrit, as a valid objection against the original identity or relationship of the two particles; for it is extremely common in Greek for one and the same α to maintain itself in one place, and be corrupted in another to ε; as τέτυφα and τέτυφε both lead to the Sanscrit *tutôpa*, which stands both in the first and in the third person, as the true personal termination has been lost, and only the conjunctive vowel has remained; which in Greek, except in the third person singular, appears everywhere else as α. It is, however, certain, that, from the point of view of the Greek, we should hardly have supposed the augment and the α privative to be related, as the spiritual points of contact of the two prefixes lie much too concealed. Buttmann derives the augment from the reduplication, so that ἔτυπτον would be an abbreviation of τέτυπτον. To this, however, the Sanscrit opposes the most forcible objection, in that it contrasts with the imperfect ἔτυπτον its *atôpam*, but with the really reduplicated τέτυφα its *tutôpa*. The Sanscrit augmented tenses have not the smallest connection with the reduplicated perfect, which, in the repeated syllable, always receives the radical vowel (shortened, if long), while the augment pays no regard to the root, and always uses *a*. If *i* were the vowel of the augment, then in the want of a more satisfactory explanation, we might recognise in it a syllable of reduplication, because the syllables of reduplication have a tendency to weakening, to a lightening of their weight; and *i*, as the lightest vowel, is adapted to supply the place of the heaviest *a*, and does, also, actually represent this, as well as its long vowel, in the reduplication-syllable of desideratives,* and,

* Hence *pipâs*, "to wish to drink," for *papâs* or *pâpâs*, from *pâ*; *pipatish*, "to wish to cleave," for *papatish*, from *pat*; so, also, *bibharmi*, "I carry,"

in a certain case, supplies the place of the vowel *u* too, which is of middling weight, viz. where, in the second aorist in verbs beginning with a vowel, the whole root is twice given; *e.g.* औनिनम् *âuninam* for औनूनम् *âunûnam*, from *ûn*, "to diminish." I cannot, however, see the slightest probability in Pott's opinion (Etym. Forsch. II. 73.), that the *a* of the augment may be regarded as a vowel absolutely, and as the representative of all vowels, and thus as a variety of the reduplication. This explanation would be highly suitable for such verbs as have weakened a radical *a* to *u* or *i*, and of which it might be said, that their augment descends from the time when their radical vowel was not as yet *u* or *i* but *a*. But if, at all hazards, the Sanscrit augment should be considered to be the reduplication, I should prefer saying that a radical *i*, *î*, *u*, *û* has received Guna in the syllable of repetition, but the Guna vowel alone has remained; and thus *avêdam* for *êvêdam* (=*aivaidam*), this from *vêvêdam*; *abôdham* for *ôbôdham* (=*aubaudham*), and this from *bôbôdham*.

"Remark.—According to a conjecture expressed by Höfer (Contributions, p. 388), the augment would be a preposition expressing 'with,' and so far identical with our *ge* of participles like *gesagt*, *gemacht*, as the German preposition, which, in Gothic, sounds *ga* and signifies 'with,' is, according to Grimm's hypothesis, connected with the Sanscrit स *sa*, सम् *sam* (Greek σύν, Latin *cum*). Of the two forms स *sa*, सम् *sam*, the latter occurs only in combination with verbs, the former only with substantives.* In order, therefore, to arrive from *sam* to the augment *a*, we must assume that, from the earliest

"I carry," for *babharmi*, from *bhar* (*bhṛi*); *tishṭhâmi*, "I stand," for *tashtâmi*, see §. 508.; in Greek, δίδωμι for δόδωμι (Sanscrit *dadâmi*); and others.

* This seems to require qualification. *Sam* is found constantly in combination with substantives, as in संवत्सर, संस्थिति, समन्त, &c. In some cases the form may be considered as derived through a compound verb, but not in all, as in the instance of *samanta*.—H. H. W.

period, that of the identity of the Sanscrit and Greek, the said preposition, where used to express time, has laid aside its initial and terminating sound, like its body, and only preserved the soul, that is, the vowel; while, in the common combination with verbs the *s* and *m* of *sam* has lived as long as the language itself, and while, in German, we make no formal distinction between the *ge* which, merely by an error, attaches itself to our passive particles, and that which accompanies the whole verbs and its derivatives, as in *gebären, Geburt, geniessen, Genuss.* If, for the explanation of the augment, so trifling a similarity of form is satisfactory, as that between *a* and *sam*, then other inseparable prepositions present themselves which have equal or greater claim to be identified with the expression of past time; for instance, अप *apa*, "from," "away," and अव *ava*, "from," "down," "off"; अति *ati*, "over" (*atikram*, "to go over," also "to pass," "to elapse," used of time). We might also refer to the particle स्म *sma*, mentioned above, which gives past meaning to the present, and assume the rejection of its double consonant. It is certain, however, that that explanation is most to the purpose, by which the past prefix has suffered either no loss at all, or, if *an* is assumed to be the original form of the negative particle, only such as, according to what has been remarked above (§. 539.), takes place regularly at the beginning of compounds. It is also certain that the past stands much nearer to the idea of negation than to that of combination, partly as the augmented preterites in Greek stand so far in contrast to the perfect, as their original destination is, to point to past time and not to express the completion of an action. We will not here decide how far, in Gothic and Old High German, an especial preference for the use of the particle *ga, ge,* is to be ascribed to the preterite; but F. Grimm, who was the first to refer this circumstance to the language (II. 843, 844), adds to the examples given this remark: 'A number of passages in Gothic, Old

High German, and Middle High German, will exhibit it (the preposition under discussion) as well before the present as wanting before the preterite, even where the action might be taken as perfect. I maintain only a remarkable predilection of the particle for the preterite, and for the rest I believe that, for the oldest state of the language, as in New High German, the *ge* became independent of temporal differences. It had then still its more subtle meaning, which could not be separated from any tense.' This observation says little in favour of Höfer's opinion, according to which, so early as the period of lingual identity, we should recognise in the expression of the past the preposition *sam*, which, is hypothetically akin to our preposition *ge*. Here we have to remark, also, that though, in Gothic and Old High German, a predominant inclination for the use of the preposition *ga*, *ge*, must be ascribed to the preterite, it never possessed *per se* the power of expressing past time alone; for in *gavasida*, 'he dressed,' *gavasidêdun*, 'they dressed' (made to dress), the relation of time is expressed in the appended auxiliary verb, and the preposition *ga*, if not here, as I think it is, entirely without meaning, and a mechanical accompaniment or prop of the root, which, through constant use, has become inseparable, can only at most give an emphasis to the idea of the verb. At all events, in *gavasida* the signification which the preposition originally had, and which, however, in verbal combinations appears but seldom (as in *ga-gri-man*, 'to come together'), can no longer be thought of."

THE AORIST.

542. The second Sanscrit augmented-preterite, which, on account of its seven different formations, I term the multiform, corresponds in form to the Greek aorist, in such wise, that four formations coincide more or less exactly with the first aorist, and three with the second. The forms which coincide with the first aorist all add *s* to the root, either

directly, or by means of a conjunctive vowel *i*. I recognise in this *s*, which, under certain conditions, becomes ष *sh* (see §. 21. and Sanscrit Grammar, §. 101[a].), the verb substantive, with the imperfect of which the first formation agrees quite exactly, only that the *â* of *âsam*, &c., is lost, and in the third person plural the termination *us* stands for *an*, thus *sus* for *âsan*. The loss of the *â* need not surprise us, for in it the augment is contained, which, in the compound tense under discussion, is prefixed to the root of the principal verb: the short *a* which remains after stripping off the augment might be dropped on account of the incumbrance caused by composition, so much the easier, as in the present, also, in its isolated state before the heavy terminations of the dual and plural, it is suppressed (see p. 670). Thus the *sma* of *akshâip-sma*, "we did cast," is distinguished from *smas*, "we are," only by the weakened termination of the secondary forms belonging to the aorist. In the third person plural, when *us* stands for *an*, this happens because *us* passes for a lighter termination than *an*; and hence, in the imperfect also, in the roots encumbered with reduplication, regularly takes the place of *an*; hence, *abibhr-us*, "they bore," for *abibhr-an*; and, according to the same principle, *akshâip-sus* for *akshâip-san*, on account of the encumbering of the root of the verb substantive by the preceding attributive root.

543. Before the personal terminations beginning with *t*, *th*, and *dh*, roots which end with a consonant other than *n*, reject the *s* of the verb substantive in order to avoid the harsh combination of three consonants; hence, *akshâip-ta*, "ye did cast," for *akshâip-sta*, as in Greek, from a similar euphonic reason, the roots terminating with a consonant abbreviate, in the perfect passive, the terminations *σθον*, *σθε*, to *θον*, *θε*; *τέτυφθε*, *τέταχθε*, for *τέτυφσθε*; *τέταξθε*: and in Sanscrit, from a similar reason, the root *sthâ*, "to stand," loses its sibilant, if it would come directly in contact with the preposition *ut*; hence *ut-thita*, "up-stood," for *ut-sthita*.

544. For a view of the middle voice, we here give the imperfect middle of the verb substantive, which is scarcely to be found in isolated use—

SINGULAR.	DUAL.	PLURAL.
âsi,	*âsvahi,*	*âsmahi.*
âsthâs,	*âsâthâm,*	*âddhvam* or *âdhvam.*
âsta,	*âsâtâm,*	*âsata.*

545. As an example of the aorist formation under discussion, we select, for roots terminating with a vowel, नी *nî,* "to lead;" and, for roots ending with a consonant, क्षिप् *kship,* "to cast." The radical vowel receives, in the former, in the active, Vriddhi; in the middle, only Guna, on account of the personal terminations being, on the average, heavier; in the latter, in the active, in like manner, Vriddhi; in the middle, no increase at all,

ACTIVE.

SINGULAR.		DUAL.		PLURAL.	
anâisham,	*akshâipsam,*	*anâishva,*	*akshâipsva,*	*anâishma,*	*akshâipsma.*
anâishîs,	*akshâipsîs,*	*anâishṭam,*	*akshâiptam,*[1]	*anâishṭa,*	*akshâipta.*[1]
anâishît,	*akshâipsît,*	*anâishṭâm,*	*akshâiptâm,*[1]	*anâishus,*	*akshâipsus.*

MIDDLE.

anêshi,[2]	*akshipsi,*	*anêshvahi,*	*akshipsvahi,*	*anêshmahi,*	*akshipsmahi.*
anêshṭhâs,	*akshipthâs,*[1]	*anêshâthâm,*	*akshipsâthâm,*	*anêḍḍhvam,*[3]	*akshibdhvam.*[1]
anêshṭa,	*akshipta,*[1]	*anêshâtâm,*	*akshipsâtâm,*	*anêshata,*[4]	*akshipsata.*[4]

[1] Regarding the loss of the *s* see §. 543. [2] *Sh* for *s*, see §. 21.
[3] Or *anêḍhvam,* also *anêdhvam,* for *s* before the *dh* of the personal terminations either passes into *d*, or is rejected; and for *dhvam,* in this and the third formation, *ḍhvam* also may be used, probably from the earlier *ḍḍvam,* for *shdvam.* [4] Regarding the loss of the *n*, which belongs to the personal termination, see §. 459.

546. The similarity of the middle *akshipsi* to Latin perfects like *scripsi* is very surprising; for only the aug-

ment is wanting to complete a perfect countertype of the Sanscrit form. The third person *scripsit* answers better to the active form *akshâipsît*, which, without Vṛiddhi, would sound *akshipsît*: the Latin *vex* (*vec-sit*) answers to the Sanscrit अवाक्षीत् *avâkshît* of the same import; and again, *vexi* corresponds to the middle *avakshi*. The two languages have, from a regard to euphony, changed their *h* before the *s* of the verb substantive into the guttural tenuis, and *k* requires, in Sanscrit, ष् *sh* for स् *s* (see p. 21). The comparison of *vexi* with *avakshi* may appear the better substantiated, as the second person also *vexisti* can be traced back to a middle termination; viz. to *thâs* of *akship-thâs* (for *akshipsthâs*); so that the final *s* would have been dropped, and *â* have been weakened to *i*. I now prefer this explanation to that according to which I have formerly identified the termination *sti* with the Sanscrit perfect termination *tha*; and in general I consider the Latin perfect, which, according to its meaning, might just as well have been called aorist, entirely independent of the Greek and Sanscrit perfect, in order that, in all its forms, I may refer it to the aorist. In this no great obstacles stand in our way; for while perfects in *si*, at the first glance, shew themselves to be aorists, although not so readily by comparison with the Greek as with the Sanscrit, even *cucurri*, *momordi*, *cecini*, and similar forms, in spite of their reduplication, do not oppugn the theory of the aorist formation, and very well admit of being placed beside forms like *achûchuram*, middle *achûchurê* (from *achûchuraï*), from *chur*, "to steal," and Grecian forms, as ἐπέφραδον, ἔπεφνον, of which more hereafter. They would, therefore, like the imperfect and the aorists, as *scripsi*, *vexi*, *mansi*, have merely lost the augment, and have thus been associated with the Sanscrit and Greek perfect.

547. Perfects like *scâbi*, *vîdi*, *lêgi*, *fûgi*, *fôdi*, exclusive of the lengthening of their vowel, might be compared with

Sanscrit aorists like अलिपम् *alipam*, middle *alipê* (from *alipaï*), and Greek as ἔλιπον. On account of the lengthening of the vowel, however, this comparison appears inadmissible; and I believe that, in their origin, they agree with forms like *scripsi, vexi*, or with such as *cucurri, tutudi*. In the first case, the lengthening of the vowel must pass as compensation for the *s* of the verb substantive, which has been dropped, on the same principle as that on which *divîsi*, from *dividsi*, on account of the loss of the *d*, has lengthened its short radical vowel, or as in Greek, forms like μέλᾱς, ἱστᾱς, διδούς, δεικνύς, πούς, τιθεὶς, in compensation for the loss of a consonant, have received an indemnification in preceding vowel. Still closer lies the comparison with aorists like ἔφηνα, ἔψηλα, εὔφρᾱνα, ἔστειλα, ἔμεινα. It is certain that the liquids, also, must, in the aorist, have originally admitted the combination with σ, and that forms like ἔφανσα (as in Sanscrit, *amansi*; in Latin, *mansi*), ἔψαλσα, ἔστελσα, have existed, and that in these aorists the length of the vowel is in consequence of the suppression of the σ. But if Latin perfects like *lêgi, fugi*, according to their origin, should fall to the Sanscrit seventh aorist formation (*achûchuram, asîsilam*, or *aśiśilam* from *śil*), they then contain a concealed reduplication, as, according to Grimm, do our preterites, as *hiefs*, Old High German *hiaz*, (=Gothic *haihait*), and *lêgi, scâbi, fûgi, fôdi, le-egi, sca-abi, fu-ugi, fo-odi*, for *lelegi, scacabi*, &c., with suppression of the consonant of the second syllable, by which that of the first loses the appearance of a consonant affixed by reduplication, as is the case in the Greek γῑνόμαι from γίγνομαι (for γι-γεν-ο-μαι), where, after removing the γ of the base syllable, the syllable γῑν receives the appearance of a radical syllable, while in fact only the ν represents the root.*

* A Benary, also (System of Roman Sounds, pp. 41, &c.), explains forms

548. I must decidedly pronounce forms like *cêpi*, *frêgi*, *fêci*, to be reduplicated, and I have already done this, when I recognised in them true perfects.* As perfects, they would be analogous to Sanscrit forms like तेपिम *têpima*, "we atoned," of which hereafter. As aorists, they have अनेशम् *anêśam*, "I was ruined," for their prototype, which I deduce from *ananiśam*, by dropping the *n* of the second syllable; and I refer it to the seventh aorist formation, while the Indian grammarians regard it as an anomaly of the sixth. Therefore, like अनेशम् *anêśam* from *anâ(n)iśam*, I regard *cêpi* as a contraction of *cacipi*, as the Latin *ē* as a colliquidation of *a* + *i* frequently answers to the Sanscrit *ê*; *e.g.* in *lêvir*, corresponding to the Sanscrit *dêvar* (*dêvṛi*). With regard to the second syllable of the pre-supposed forms like *cacipi*, *fafici*, we may compare such perfects as *cecini*, *tetigi*, which in like manner, on account of the root being loaded with the reduplication, have weakened the radical *a* to *i*. The forms *cêpi*, *fêci*, &c., must, however, have arisen at a period where the law had not as yet been prescribed to the syllables of reduplication of replacing the heaviest vowel *a* by *e*, but when as yet the weakening of the radical vowel in the syllable of the base was sufficient. But if the previous existence of forms like *cacipi*, *fafici*, is not admitted, and *cecipi*, *fefici*, are made to precede the present *cêpi*, *fêci*, we must then

forms like *fôdi*, *fûdi*, from reduplication, but assumes the dropping of the syllable of reduplication and the lengthening of the radical syllable in compensation for its loss, against which I have expressed my opinion in the Berlin Jahrb. (Jan. 1838, p. 10); since this explanation, unlike the re-active effect of a suppression, by compensation in the preceding syllable, has no other analogous case to corroborate it.

* In my Review of Benary's System of Roman Sounds (Berlin Jahrb. l. c. p. 10). Since then, Pott, also, in his Review of the same book (in the Hall. Jahrb.) has mentioned this case, but declared himself, without sufficient grounds in my opinion, against my view of the matter.

deduce *cêpi* from *cëipi*, *fêci* from *feïci*, in such wise that the first vowel absorbs the second, and thereby becomes long, just as I have already, in my System of Conjugation, deduced conjunctives like *legâs*, *legâmus*, from *legais*, *legaimus*. The form *êgi* has this advantage over other perfects of the kind, that it has not lost a consonant between the two elements of which its *ê* is composed: between the syllable of repetition and that of the base: it is the contraction of *a-igi* or *e-igi*, and therefore, together with *êdi*, *êmi*, if the latter are likewise regarded as reduplicated forms (from *e-edi*, *e-emi*), deserves particular notice. As we ascribe an aoristic origin to the Latin perfects, we might also see in *êgi*, *êdi*, *êmi*, a remnant of the augment.

549. I return to the second person singular in *sti*. If in *ti*, of *serpsisti*, *vexisti*, *cucurristi*, *cêpisti*, we recognise the Sanscrit medial termination *thâs*, and in the whole an aorist, then *serpsisti* does not answer so exactly to *akship-thâs* tor *akshipstâs* as to the fourth aorist formation, which, indeed, is not used in the middle, and in roots ending with a consonant, not in the active also, but which originally can scarcely have had so confined a use as in the present state of the language; and, together with the active *ayâsisham* (from *yâ*, "to go"), we might expect the previous existence of a middle, whence the second person would be *ayâ-sishthâs*, in which forms like *serpsisti* are, as it were, reflected. The Sanscrit सृप् *srip* (from *sarp*), would, according to this formation, if it were used in the middle, produce *asrip-sishthâs*. We may notice, also, with regard to the *s* which precedes the *t* in the forms *serpsisti*, *serpsistis*, which, in §. 454., has been explained as an euphonic addition, that the Sanscrit precative, which in the middle likewise unites the *s* of the verb substantive with the root (either directly, or through a conjunctive vowel *i*), prefixes another *s*, which is, perhaps, merely euphonic, to the personal terminations beginning with *t* or *th*, which *s*,

through the influence of the preceding *í*, becomes *sh*. The second person singular of the root *srip*, if it were used in the middle, would be *sripsíshthâs*, to which the Latin *serpsisti* approaches closely, where, however, it is to be observed, that the *i* of the Latin *serp-s-i-sti* is only a conjunctive vowel, while the *í* of सृप्सीष्ठास् *sripsíshthâs* expresses the relation of mood. The third person singular is *sripsíshta*; the second and third person dual, *sripsíyâsthâm*, *sripsíyâstâm*; but the second sibilant does not extend farther; *e.g.* the first person plural is no more *sripsíshmahi*, than, in Latin, *serpsismus*, but *sripsímahi*, like *serpsimus*. Yet the Sanscrit readily admits the combination *shm*; for it uses, according to the third aorist formation, *abôdhishma*, "we knew," middle, *abôdhishmahi*.

550. In support of the opinion, that, in the second person singular of the Latin aorists, which are called perfects, a middle termination is contained, which, however, has lost sight of this origin, and passes as a common active, I will call attention to the fact, that even in Greek, in spite of its possessing a perfect middle voice, an original middle form has, in a particular case, taken its position in the active voice; for, in the third person plural imperfect, τερπόντων corresponds almost as exactly as possible to the Sanscrit middle *tarpantâm*. In languages in which the middle, as a voice, is wanting, individual formal remnants of that voice can have been only maintained, where they fill up the place of any hiatus, which has arisen in the active, or stand beside an active termination, which has been likewise retained, bearing the same meaning as it does, and being, as it were, a variation of it; as in Irish, in the first person plural, together with the form *mar* =Sanscrit *mas*, Latin *mus*, Greek μες), a *maoid* exists, which at will assumes its place, and which I have already elsewhere compared with the Zend *maidhê*, and Greek

μεθα, for which the Sanscrit gives *mahê*, as an abbreviation of *madhê* (§. 472.).

551. As regards the Latin first person singular in *si*, in spite of the striking resemblance of forms like *avakshi*, *amansi*, the coincidence may so far be said to be accidental, as their *i* may be explained as a weakening of *a*, so that the termination *si* of Latin perfects would correspond to the Greek *σα* of *ἔλυ-σα*, *ἔτυπ-σα*. I am really of opinion, that the Latin forms in *si* do not correspond to the Sanscrit first aorist formation, but, at least for the majority of persons, to the second, which, like the Grecian first aorist, inserts an *a* between the *s* of the verb substantive and the personal terminations. This *a* is treated nearly as, in the special tenses, the *a* of the first and sixth class (see §. 109ª. 1.), viz. lengthened, in the first person dual and plural, before *va* and *ma*. As, then, the *a* of *vah-asi*, *vah-a-ti*, *vah-a-tha*, appears in the Latin *veh-i-s*, *veh-i-t*, *veh-i-tis*, as *i*, in like manner the *â* of *vah-â-mus* appears as *i* in *veh-i-mus*; so that we soon arrive at the conjecture that the *i* of *dic-si-sti*, *dic-si-t*, *dic-si-mus*, *dic-si-stis*, is a weakening of *a*, and that therefore *si* corresponds to the Greek *σα*, the Sanscrit *sa*, *sâ* (euphonic *sha*, *shâ*); thus, *dic-si-mus* = ἐδείκ-σα-μεν, *adik-shâ-ma*; *dic-si-stis* = ἐδείκ-σα-τε, *adik-sha-ta*. The connection, therefore, between *vec-si-t* and the Sanscrit *avâk-shî-t* would not be so close, as I before assumed, and for *avâk-shî-t* we should have to imagine a form of the second formation—thus *avak-sha-t*—in order to compare with it *vec-si-t*, as *dic-si-t* actually answers to *adik-sha-t* (Greek ἔδεικ-σε from ἐδείκ-σα-τ, compare ἐδείκ-σα-το). In the second person, *dic-si-sti* answers to the Sanscrit middle *adik-sha-thâs*, "thou shewest," if the *s*, which precedes the *t*, is only of a euphonic nature, and introduced by the inclination of the *t* to a preceding *s*.

552. But even if the Latin perfect forms in *si* are

allotted to the Sanscrit second and Greek first aorist formation, still it remains most highly probable that the first person singular belongs to the middle voice; for the vowel *a* of the aorist formation under discussion is rejected in Sanscrit before the termination *i* of the first person middle; and while, according to the analogy of the imperfect, *adikshê* (=*adik-sha-i*) might be expected, instead of it is found *adik-shi* in most exact accordance with the Latin *dic-si*. From the active form *adiksham* it is a difficult step to the Latin *dixi;* for although, in Greek, a final *m* is sometimes entirely lost, and, for example, ἔδειξα corresponds to the Sanscrit *adiksham*, and, in the accusative singular of bases ending with a consonant, α answers to the Sanscrit *am* (πόδα, *padam, pedem*); yet, in Latin, the final *m* of the Sanscrit has, in similar cases, always been retained; for example, in the first person the blunt termination of the secondary forms has been, without exception, maintained, in preference to the more full *mi* of the primary forms; thus, *dicêbam, dicam, dicerem, dixerim:* and so it is highly probable that, in the perfect also, *dixim* would be said, if the first person was based on the Sanscrit active *adiksham*, and not on the middle. It is certain that, at the period of the unity of the languages, the abbreviated forms *adikshi* could not as yet have existed, but for it, perhaps, *adikshama* or *adikshamâm* (=ἐδειξάμην, see §. 471.). But even these forms conduct us more readily than *adiksham* to the Latin *dixi*, since the first person singular in Latin has lost its termination exactly where another vowel stood after the *m*.

553. In the third person plural, the Latin *dixêrunt* apparently corresponds to the Sanscrit and Greek *adikshan*, ἔδειξαν. It scarcely admits of any doubt, that the *r* has proceeded from *s* (as is common between two vowels), and that, therefore, in *dic-sêrunt* for *dic-sêsunt* (as *eram, ero*, for *esam, eso*), the auxiliary verb is twice contained, or is

reduplicated, whether this form belongs to the Sanscrit fourth formation, where *a-yá-sishus* has proceeded from *a-yá-sishant*, or, as is more probable, the third person, first on Roman ground, and after the aim and origin of the *s* of *dic-si* had been forgotten, felt the necessity for being clearly invested with the verb substantive. This distinctness, however, subsequently became indistinct. As regards this superiority of the third person plural to the other persons, it is in accordance with the phenomenon, that, in Greek, ἐτίθε-σα-ν, ἔθε-σα-ν, are used, but not ἐτιθέ-σα-μεν; ἐτιθέ-σα-τε, not ἐθέ-σα-μεν, ἐθέ-σα-τε. The short termination not forming a syllable may have favoured the annexation of the auxiliary verb: this reason, however, did not exist in the middle passive; hence, ἐτίθε-ντο, not ἐτιθέ-σα-ντο. The Prakrit regularly annexes, in the first person plural of the present and imperative, the verb substantive, without extending it to the second and third person, as, गच्छम्ह *gachchhamha* (*mha* from स्म *sma*), "we go."*

554. To return to the Latin *dixērunt*, we might, instead of it, expect *dixĕrunt*, with short *ĕ*, as *i* before *r* is readily replaced by *ĕ*: the long *e*, however, is just as surprising

* See p. 110; and comp. Lassen *Institutiones Ling. Pracr.*, pp. 192, 325; *Essai sur le Pali*, p. 181; Höfer *De Pracr. Dial.*, p. 184. As Professor Lassen has, in this place, recognised the verb substantive, and been the first to remark it, although it is in like manner represented only by a single letter, it is difficult to conceive why he prefers to recognise in the *s*, which, in several Sanscrit, Greek, and Latin tenses, extends to all the persons of the three numbers, rather the old "everywhere" and "nowhere," than the verb substantive (Ind. Biblioth. III. p. 76). Such contradiction must appear to me more flattering than to hear that the verb substantive was so palpable in the places mentioned, especially in Sanscrit, that it could not escape even the most short-sighted eye. I must certainly consider it honourable to me to have perceived so long ago as the year 1816 that which astonishes Professor Lassen in 1830, whose acuteness has been so abundantly testified in other departments of Sanscrit philology.

as that of *dic-ê-bam* for *dic-i-bam*; and it may be added to what was remarked in §. 527., that the *ê* of *legê-bam* and that of *legê-runt* probably rest on the same principle, that in both forms the originally short vowel has been lengthened, that the whole might gain more power, to bear the appended auxiliary verb. From this principle may also be explained the Vriddhi increase of अक्षैप्सम् *akshâipsam*, which does not prevent the assumption, that on account of the preponderating weight of the middle terminations, this vowel increase has been withdrawn, in order not to make the whole too unwieldy. Remark the case already mentioned, that the imperative termination धि *dhi* has preserved its full form only under the protection of a preceding consonant; and in the Gothic preterite all verbs which have a long vowel or diphthong in the root, and a part of those with *a* before a doubled consonant, on account of this powerful formation can bear the syllable of reduplication. But if only powerful forms can bear certain burthens, it need not surprise us, if the language, in order to extend to its vocables the requisite capacity, introduces a lengthening of vowels, or diphthongizations, which have this object alone. It is probable that, in Sanscrit, a middle also, with *âi* for *i*, corresponded to the abovementioned *akshâipsam* (§. 544.), and the abbreviation may have commenced, through the re-acting influence of the personal terminations of the middle, which were heavy at the time when no abbreviation existed—at a period when the language was no longer conscious that the great vowel fulness of *akshâipsam* was occasioned for this very reason, in order to afford a more powerful support for the burthen of the auxiliary verb.

555. The formation of the aorist under discussion, in spite of its wide diffusion in Greek and Latin, is, in Sanscrit, of only limited use, and has been retained only in roots in *ś*, *sh*, and *h*, without, however, necessarily

belonging to those letters, or extending to all roots with these terminations, as before *s* they all pass into *k*. On account of the *k*, according to §. 21., the *s* of the auxiliary verb is changed into *sh*; and thus *ksh* of *adiksham*, *adikshi*, "I shewed," corresponds to the Greek and Latin *x* (=*ks*) of ἔδειξα, *dixi*.* I annex a general view of the complete conjugation of the two active forms—

SINGULAR.

SANSCRIT.		GREEK.		LATIN.
adik-sha-m,	*adik-shi*,	ἔδεικ-σα,	ἐδεικ-σά-μην,	*dic-si*.
adik-sha-s,	*adik-sha-thâs*,	ἔδεικ-σα-ς,	ἐδείκ-σω,	*dic-si-sti*
adik-sha-t,	*adik-sha-ta*,	ἔδεικ-σε,	ἐδείκ-σα-το,	*dic-si-t*.

DUAL.

adik-shâ-va,	*adik-shâ-vahi*,	....	ἐδεικ-σά-μεθον,	....
adik-sha-tam,	*adik-shâ-thâm*,[1]	ἐδείκ-σα-τον,	ἐδείκ-σα-σθον,	....
adik-sha-tâm,	*adik-shâ-tâm*,[2]	ἐδεικ-σά-την,	ἐδεικ-σά-σθην,	....

PLURAL.

adik-shâ-ma,	*adik-shâ-mahi*,	ἐδείκ-σα-μεν,	ἐδεικ-σά-μεθα,	*dic-si-mus*.
adik-sha-ta,	*adisk-sha-dhvam*,	ἐδείκ-σα-τε,	ἐδείκ-σα-σθε,	*dic-si-stis*.
adik-sha-n,	*adik-sha-nta*,	ἔδεικ-σα-ν,	ἐδείκ-σα-ντο,	*dic-sê-runt*.

[1] From *adik-sha-âthâm*. [2] From *adik-sha-âtâm*.

556. As the Sanscrit, in its periphrastic formation of the reduplicated preterite, of which we will speak more in detail hereafter, together with *kri*, "to make," applies the two roots of "to be," since *chôrayâm-âsa*, like *chôrayâm-babhûva*, signifies "I" and "he stole;" so the Latin, also, for its aorist perfects, has called in the aid both of *ES* and *FU*. From *FU* I have already, in my System of Conjugation, derived the syllable *vi*, *ui*, of *ama-vi*, *audi-vi*, and *mon-ui*. I think, however, I have been wrong in com-

* The connection of *dico* with δείκνυμι is unacknowledged: remark the mode of expression *dicis causa*.

paring the *v* and *u* of *vi, ui,* with the *f* of *fui*. It appears better, instead of rejecting the *u* of *fui,* to assume that the *f* has been dropped; just as in *duo* the *d,* in *viginti, bis, bi* (*bi-pes*), has been lost, or as, in Tongian, *ua* corresponds to the New Zealand *dúa,* "two" (=Sanscrit *dva*).

557. The *u* of (*f*)*ui,* according to the prevailing principle, has been changed between two vowels into *v,* but with a consonant preceding it is retained; hence *amavi, audivi,* contrasted with *monui. Fui* found occasion for abbreviation in the incumbrance of the preceding principal verb, according to the same principle as that by which the first syllable of the Latin *decem, decim* (*undecim, duodecim*), has escaped the French contractions like *douze, treize,* or as the *d* of the number "ten," in several Asiatic and European-Sanscrit dialects, is weakened to *r* or *l*.*

558. The most convincing proof that in *amavi, audivi, monui,* is contained the verb substantive, is furnished by *potui;* for this form belongs to a verb, throughout which the combination with the verb substantive prevails. The tenses from *ES,* which are in use, select this root; thus, *pos-sum* (from *pot-sum*), *pot-eram, pot-ero, pos-sim, pos-sem;* but the perfect must betake itself to *FU, fui;* hence *pot-ui,* for *pot-fui,* which would be inadmissible. *Pof-fui* might have been expected, but the language preferred abandoning one of the irreconcileable consonants; and it would be difficult for any one, on account of the loss of the *f,* to declare the form *potui,* contrary to the analogy of all the other tenses, to be simple. But if *pot-ui* is compounded, then the application of this unmistakeable hint of the language with regard to *mon-ui, amavi, audi-vi, sê-vi, sî-vi, mô-vi,* is apparent of itself. We may observe, that this *vi,* also, just as *bam* and *runt* (*legê-bam, legê-*

* P. 435, &c. From the same come the Mal. and Javan. *las* and Maldivian *los* of forms like *dûa-b-las* (Mal.), *ro-las* (Jav.), *ro-los* (Maldiv.), "twelve."

runt, scripsê-runt), feels the necessity of being supported by a long vowel; and hence, in place of the short vowel of *sĕro, sătum, sĭno, sĭtum, mŏvo, mŏtum*, exhibits a long one (compare §§. 527. 554.).

559. In order that the perfects in *ui, vi*, may, from their origin, appear as aorists, we must carry back the simple *fui* itself to an aorist, and this is easily done. It is only necessary to observe the close connection between *fuit* and the Sanscrit and Greek aorist *a-bhût*, ἔφῡ(τ). On account of its personal sign *t*, *fuit* answers less to *bubhûva*, πέφῡκε, if the loss of the syllable of reduplication is admitted as readily as that of the augment. I shall return hereafter to this subject.

560. The third Sanscrit aorist formation is distinguished from the second in this, that the auxiliary verb is connected with the root of the attributive verb by means of a conjunctive vowel *i*. Through the influence of this *i* the *s* is changed into *sh*, but is, at the same time, preserved from suppression in those cases where the first formation, to avoid the accumulation of three consonants, drops the sibilant (see §. 543.). While *kship*, in the second person plural, exhibits *akshâipta* for *akshâipsta*, from *budh*, "to know," comes, in the same person, *abôdh-i-shta*. On the other hand, in the third formation in the second and third person singular active, the sibilant is lost, and the conjunctive vowel is lengthened in compensation, as it appears to me, for this loss; hence, *abôdh-î-s*, "thou knewest," *abôdh-î-t*, "he knew," in contrast with *abôdh-i-sham*, and all the other persons. I believe I perceive the ground of this isolation in this, that, as the second and third person singular have a simple *s* and *t* for their terminations, the retention of the sibilant would occasion the forms *abôdhiksh* (euphonic for *abodhîsh-s*), *abôdhisht*; whence, according to a universal law of sound (see §. 94.), the last consonant would have to be rejected. In the case before us, however, the language preferred, for the sake of perspicuity, rather to give up the auxiliary verb than the personal sign,

although, in the imperfect, the case frequently occurs that the second and third person singular are of the same sound, because they have lost their distinguishing mark; hence, *abibhar, avak,* signify both "thou didst carry," "thou didst speak," and "he did carry," "he did speak"; in the first case for *abibhar-sh, avak-sh* (*s* after *r* and *k* becomes *sh*), in the second for *abibhar-t, avak-t.* I annex the full formation of *abôdh-i-sham* and its middle, with the remark, that the radical vowel in roots ending with a consonant receives Guna in the two active forms; while roots ending with a vowel, as in the first formation, have in the active, Vriddhi, in the middle, Guna; *e. g. anâvisham, anavishi,* from *nu,* "to praise."

ACTIVE.

SINGULAR.	DUAL.	PLURAL.
abôdh-i-sham,	*abôdh-i-shva,*	*abôdh-i-shma.*
abôdh-î-s,	*abôdh-i-shtam,*	*abôdh-i-shta,*
abôdh-î-t,	*abôdh-i-shtâm,*	*abôdh-i-shus,*

MIDDLE.

abôdh-i-shi,	*abôdh-i-shvahi,*	*abôdh-i-shmahi.*
abôdh-i-shthâs,	*abôdh-i-shâthâm,*	*abôdh-i-ddhvam.*[1]
abôdh-i-shta,	*abôdh-i-shâtâm,*	*abôdh-i-shata.*[2]

[1] According to the law of sound for *abôdh-i-sdhvam.* [2] Regarding the rejection of *n,* see §. 459., and compare Ionic forms like πεπαύαται.

561. The contrast of *abôdhîs, abôdhît,* with *abôdhisham* and all other forms combined with the verb substantive is very remarkably in accordance with the phenomenon, that the Old Sclavonic preterite, in which we have recognised the Indo-Greek aorist (see §. 255. *m.*), has likewise, in the second and third person singular, dropped the verb substantive, but retained it in all the other persons. But from forms like अबोधीस् *abôdhîs,* अबोधीत् *abôdhît,* the final consonant also, in Sclavonic, must be dropped, because the Sclavonic generally, according to the conjecture expressed in §. 255. *l.*, has

lost all the original final consonants; hence бѹди *bûdi*, "thou didst wake," answers to अबोधीस् *abôdh-î-s*, "thou didst know," or "didst awake"; бѹди *bûdi*, "he did awake," to अबोधीत् *abôdhît*, "he did know," "he did awake"; and on the other hand, бѹдисте, *bûd-i-ste*, "ye did awake," to अबोधिष्ट *abôdh-i-shta*, "ye did know," "ye did awake." I annex the whole for comparison, in which, however, the remarks of the following paragraph are not to be overlooked.

SINGULAR.		DUAL.	
SANSCRIT.	OLD SCLAV.	SANSCRIT.	OLD SCLAV.
abôdh-i-sham,	*bûd-ikh,*[1]	*abôdh-i-shva,*	*bûd-i-chova.*[2]
abôdh-î-s,	*bûd-i-'.*	*abôdh-i-shtam,*	*bûd-i-sta.*
abôdh-î-t,	*bûd-i-'.*	*abôdh-i-shtâm,*	*bûd-i-sta.*

PLURAL.

SANSCRIT.	OLD SCLAVONIC.
abôdh-i-shma,	*bûd-i-khom.*[2]
abôdh-i-shta,	*bûd-i-ste.*
abôdh-i-shus,	*bûd-i-sha.*

[1] See §. 255. *m.* [2] See §§. 255. *m.* 563.

562. The preceding comparison furnishes one of the fairest parallels which can be anywhere drawn between the Sanscrit and its European sister idioms. The agreement of the two languages, however, if we go back to their original forms, is not quite so perfect as might be at first glance believed. The *i* of the Sclavonic *bûd-i-kh* is, for instance, in its derivation, different from the *i* of the Sanscrit *abôdh-i-sham*; for *bûd-i-ti*, "to wake," does not correspond to the Sanscrit primitive verbs, whence proceeds *abôdh-i-sham*, but to the causal *bôdhayâmi*, "I make to know," "bring to consciousness," "wake"; on which account we have above compared (§. 447.) the second person present *bûd-i-s-i* with *bôdh-ayah-si*, and in §. 505. identified the middle *i* of *bûd-i-ti* with the character *aya* of the Sanscrit tenth

class, with which the causal forms agree. In spite of this, the circumstance that the Sclavonic verbs in general retain their class syllables in the tense under discussion, produces, in the preterite, a remarkable similarity between such verbs as have *i* as the derivation vowel and the Sanscrit third formation of the aorist, although, in fact, the Sclavonic preterite belongs to the first Sanscrit aorist formation. Compare ДАХ *da-kh*, "I gave," ДАСТЕ *da-ste*, "ye gave," with Sanscrit forms like *andi-sham, andi-shta:* दा *dâ*, "to give," follows the fourth formation, but would form *adâsam, adâsta*, according to the first.

563. In the first person dual and plural the Old Sclavonic inserts between the auxiliary verb and the personal character an *o*, as a conjunctive vowel, so that in this respect *da-kh-o-va, da-kh-o-m*, agree more with the Sanscrit second and Greek first aorist formation (*adiksh-â-va, adiksh-â-ma*, ἐδείξ-α-μεν) than with *andishva, andishma;* but the *o* is not an old hereditary possession brought from the East, but a subsequent insertion to avoid the combination *khv, khm*. The Servian, also, which has in its preterites (in the imperfect and in the so-called simple preterite) left the sibilant of the verb substantive (where it has not been entirely dropped) in its original form, has kept free from the conjunctive vowel; as, *igrasmo*, "we played." For the most part, the aorist, in Old Sclavonic, is corrupted by the gutturalization of the sibilant in the first person of the three numbers. The relation to the Sanscrit in this manner becomes similar to that of the plural locative in *kh* to the Sanscrit in *su* or *shu*, as in *vdova-kh* = विधवासु *vidhavâ-su*, "in the widows"; *snokha-kh* = स्नुषासु *snushâ-su*, "in the daughters-in-law": also similar to that of the pronominal plural genitives in *kh* to the Sanscrit in *sâm* or *shâm*, so that ТѢХ *tye-kh*, has the same relation to तेषु *tê-shu*, in respect of its mutation and abbreviation, as *bûd-i-kh* has to *abôdh-i-sham*.

564. In the third person plural, in Old Sclavonic, instead

of *sha*, *khû* also is used, but only in the case where the preceding vowel is an *a* or ѣ *ye*, and then both *sha* and *khu* (regarding *û* from *on* see §. 463.) are used at pleasure; *e.g.* мазаша *maζasha*, or мазахѹ *maζakhû*, "they anointed"; бѣхѹ *byekhû* or бѣша *byesha*, "they were."*

565. In the second and third person singular, according to Dobrowsky, instead of the forms without termination, ending with the class or root vowel, those in ше *she* also occur. He gives, indeed, in his first conjugation (p. 524) from *glagolal'h*, "I spoke," *glagola* as second and third person; but from мазах *maζakh*, "I anointed," he gives мазаше *maζashe* as second and third person, for which, in both persons, we find in Kopitar маза *maζa*. From the special point of view of the Sclavonic we might easily fancy we saw the personal sign in the ше *she* of мазаше *maζashe*, "thou didst anoint," compared with the present мажеши *maskheshi*, "thou anointest," with the slight alteration of *shi* to *she*; and then assume an unorganic transfer from the second to the third person, as our German *sind* has made its way, from its proper place, into the first person, or, in Old and Anglo-Saxon, the termination of the second person plural has been imparted both to the first and third, and in the Gothic passive the third person plural has replaced both the second and first. But if, in the Old Sclavonic preterite, we have recognised the Sanscrit aorist and the euphonic law, which has destroyed all original final consonants (§. 255. *l.*), we easily perceive that the *she* of мазаше *maζashe*, "thou didst anoint," stands for *shes*, and that of мазаше *maζashe*, "he anointed," for *shet*; and

* The difference of writing the third person plural between Kopitar and Dobrowsky had escaped me in §§. 463. and 465.; the former (Glagolita, pp. 61, 62) writes шѧ *shya*, the latter, whom I have followed, ша *sha*. Though Kopitar, as I doubt not, is right, still the form *sha*, if it never occurs even, or very rarely, is so far the elder, as the *y* of *shya* is to be considered an unorganic prefix, as in many other forms (see §. 255. *n.*).

that this *she(s)*, *she(t)*, of the second and third person rests on the Sans. *sîs*, *sît*, of the abovementioned *akshâipsîs*, *akshâipsît* (§. 544). I do not say on *shas*, *shat*, of *adik-shas*, *adik-shat* =ἔδεικ-σας, ἔδεικ-σε (p. 782); for although the termination of ΜΑЗΑШЕ *maza-she* is nearly identical with that of ἔδεικ-σε, still the second person plural ΜΑЗΑСТЕ *mazaste* (not ΜΑЗΑШЕТЕ *mazâshete*) teaches us that the Sclavonic aorist formation belongs to the Sanscrit first, not to the second (=Greek first).

566. I believe, too, that forms like the abovementioned *bûdi*, "thou didst wake," "he did wake," originally had another syllable *she*; thus *bûdi* from *bûdishe*; *nese*, "thou didst bear," "he bore," from *neseshe*; as in Servian all imperfects in the second and third person singular actually terminate in *she*. But in the said dialect the Sanscrit aorist has split into two tenses, of which one is called in Wuk's Grammar (translated by F. Grimm) "imperfect," the other "simple preterite." The former carries the sibilant of the verb substantive, in the form of ш *sh* or с *s*, through all the persons, with the exception of the first person singular and third plural; the latter has entirely lost it in the singular, but exhibits it in the plural also, in the third person. I annex for comparison the two tenses of ИГРАМ *igram*, "I play," in full.

IMPERFECT.		SIMPLE PRETERITE	
SINGULAR.	PLURAL.	SING.	PLURAL.
ìgrâ,*	*ìgrasmo*,	*ìgra*,	*ìgrasmo*,
ìgrashe,	*ìgrâste*,	*ìgrâ*,	*ìgraste*.
ìgrashe,	*ìgrâu*,	*ìgrâ*,	*ìgrashe*.

567. The Bohemian has a remnant of the preterite

* The sign ⌒ occurs, according to Wuk, in syllables "in which the tone terminates roundly." Remark that in the first person singular and second person plural the simple preterite is distinguished from the imperfect simply by the absence of this tone.

corresponding to the Sanscrit aorist, in the tense designated by Dobrowsky as the imperfect of the optative, in which *bykh*, which is distinguished from the Old Sclavonic въх, *byekh*, "I was," only by a different form of the radical vowel, in combination with the past participle *byl;* thus, *byl-bykh* expresses the idea "I were," or "would be." If the participle preterite follow a second time this *byl-bykh*, this forms the pluperfect of this mood, and *bylbykh byl* signifies "I had been," or "would have been." Compare the conjugation of *byl-bykh* (feminine *byla-bykh*, neuter *bylo-bykh*), or rather that of *bykh* alone, with that of the Old Sclavonic въх *byekh*, "I was."

BOHEMIAN.		OLD SCLAVONIC.	
SING.	PLURAL.	SING.	PLURAL.
bykh,	*bykhom,*	*byekh,*	*byekhom.*
bys,	*byste,*	*bye,*	*byeste.*
by	*by,*	*bye,*	*byeshu* (*byeshya*)

"Remark.—The second person singular *bys* has the advantage over the Old Sclavonic *bye* of retaining the sibilant of the auxiliary verb, while in the third person plural, въша *byesha* has, in this respect, the advantage over *by*. From the Bohemian, as our point of view, the *s* of *bys* can only mark a personal termination, partly as *s* in Bohemian actually expresses the second person. According to that, however, which was previously remarked regarding the *she* which occurs in Servian, and occasionally, also, in Old Sclavonic, in the second and third person singular, it can admit of no doubt that the *s* of *bys* is identical with that of the second person plural, and that it has preserved the first, and not the second sibilant of Sanscrit singular persons. The root भू *bhû*, 'to be,' according to the first aorist formation, would, in the second person singular, form *abhâushîs*, and, without Vriddhi,

abhûshîs, the middle part of which is contained in the Bohemian *bys*."

568. The Old Sclavonic *dakh*, "I gave," and analogous formations, remind us, through their guttural, which takes the place of a sibilant, of the Greek aorists ἔδωκα, ἔθηκα, ἧκα. That which, in Old Sclavonic, has become a rule in the first person of the three numbers, viz. the gutturalization of an original *s*, may have occasionally taken place in Greek, but carried throughout all the numbers. No conjecture lies closer at hand, than that of regarding ἔδωκα as a corruption of ἔδωσα, whether it be that the σ has with one step passed into κ, or that a κ has placed itself beside the sibilant of the verb substantive, as in the imperfect ἔσκον, ἔσκε, in the old Latin future *escit*, and in the imperfects and aorists in ἐσκον, ἐσκομην, ἀσκον, ἀσκομην, as διvεύσκε, καλέεσκον, καλέσκετο, ἔλασκε, δασάσκετο, in which the accession of the verb substantive is not to be overlooked, which therefore is doubly contained in the forms in σα-σκον, σα-σκομην. But in ἔδωκα, ἔθηκα, ἧκα, it being pre-supposed that they were formerly ἔδωσκα, &c., only the euphonic accompaniment of the σ would have remained, and thus an original ἔδωσα would have next become ἔδωσκα and then ἔδωκα. Perhaps, also, a κ may have originally been prefixed to the σ of the pre-supposed ἔδωσα, as in ξύν from σύν = Sanscrit *sam*, "with"; so that thus ἔδωκα would be an abbreviation of ἔδωξα, as perhaps a form *xum* preceded the Latin *cum* if it is akin to ξύν, σύν, सम् *sam*.

569. The Lithuanian also presents a form which is akin to the Greek and Sanscrit aorist, in which, as it appears to me, *k* assumes the place of an original *s*; I mean the imperative, in which I recognise that Sanscrit mood which agrees with the Greek optative aorist, and through which, therefore, the *k* of *dûk*, "give," *dûkite*, "give ye", (Sanscrit *dâsîdhvam*, "ye may give," precative medial), is connected with the κ of the Greek ἔδωκα. But

if, then, the κ of ἔδωκα, ἔθηκα, ἧκα, has either, as I prefer to assume, directly, or through the medium of σκ or ξ, proceeded from σ,* then there is no difficulty in deducing also the κ of perfects like δέδωκα from σ, and therefore from the verb substantive, although the Sanscrit in this sense refrains from combining with the root *as*. But fundamentally all tenses have an equal claim to this root, to express the copula, and if, in Greek, imperfects like ἐδίδων, and aorists like ἔδων, in the third person plural, combine with the verb substantive, while the Sanscrit forms *adadâm*, *adâm*, remain simple; and if, further, the Greek dialectically combines the imperfect ἔσκον with the imperfects of attributive verbs, and the Latin here uses its *bam*, while the Sanscrit imperfects nowhere receive the verb substantive, it cannot surprise us if the Greek restores that in the perfect which the Sanscrit has neglected. The incumbrance of the root, which occurs in the perfect through reduplication, is not favourable to the reception of the verb substantive; and the Greek also admits the addition of the κ only there where the least difficulty exists, viz. after vowels and the lightest consonants, the liquids; thus, δέδωκα, indeed πεφίληκα, ἔφθαρκα, ἔσταλκα, πέφαγκα, but not τέτυπκα, πέπλεκκα: but, in order to avoid the harshness of this combination, the κ of the auxiliary verb is changed to *h*, somewhat in the spirit of the German law for the mutation of sound,† and this, with the preceding tenuis or medial, is changed to an aspirate;

* Regarding the reverse case, the transition of gutturals into σ, see §. 501.

† See §. 87. In the Malay-Polynesian languages, also, mutations of tenues into aspirates occur; for example, *h* for *k* and *f* for *h*. In the Madagascar, also, *ts* for *t*, as in German *z* instead of the aspirate of *t*; as *futsi*, "white," corresponding to the Malay *pûtih* and Sanscrit *pûta*, "pure," of the same meaning. See my Treatise on the Connection of the Malay-Polynesian Languages with the Indo-European, Remark 13.

thus, τέτυφα for τέτυπα from τέτυπ-κα, πέπλεχα for πέπλεκα from πέπλεκκα. On the other hand, in T-sounds the language has preferred dropping these entirely before κ, and leaving the κ in its full right and possession; thus, ἔψευκα, πέπεικα for ἔψευδκα, πέπειθκα. The passive, on account of its heavy terminations, is less favourable to the reception of the auxiliary verb. And as, together with ἐδίδοσαν, ἔδοσαν, no forms ἐδιδόσαντο, ἐδόσαντο, exist, so to the active perfects in κα no passives in καμαι (or σαμαι, with the original sound preserved) correspond. It might, however, be assumed, that the σ, which has remained in forms like τετέλεσμαι, ἔσπασμαι, ἤνυσμαι, especially after short vowels, sometimes also after long ones (ἤκουσμαι), is not euphonic, but belongs to the verb substantive; for it is assuredly treated precisely like the σ which takes the place of a radical T-sound (ἔψευσ-μαι, πέπεισ-μαι), and is only dropped before another σ (πέπεισαι, ἤκου-σαι). In verbs in ν the ν and σ, in a certain measure, contend for the honour of being retained: πέφανσμαι would be an impossibility in the present state of the language, but πέφα-σμαι has obtained currency in preference to πέφαμ-μαι (as ἔξηραμμαι and others); while in the third person πέφαν-ται has carried off the victory from πέφα-σται, perhaps under the protection of πέφαν-σαι, which must gain the preference over πέφα-σσαι, which would have been contrary to all custom, and over πέφα-σαι, in which the ν would have been unnecessarily abandoned. The circumstance that verbs of this kind exhibit the σ also in the formation of words, before suffixes which begin with μ or τ (τέλεσμα, τελεστής), is no argument against the opinion that the σ in the perfect passive has more than a euphonic foundation; for without deriving such words from the perfect passive, still the custom of writing σμ, στ, which might have good foundation in the perfect passive, may have exerted an influence on such forms, in which the σ before μ and τ can only appear as an idle or euphonic accompaniment.

570. That aorist formation, to which, in my Sanscrit grammar, I have assigned the fourth place, is of less importance for comparison with the European cognate languages, but deserves notice on this account, that it makes the verb substantive so broad that it cannot be overlooked; for in forms like *ayâ-sisham,* "I went," it receives the word in its broadest extent, and exhibits its radical consonants in a double form; and so in the other persons, with the exception of the second and third singular, in which we have *ayâ-sîs, ayâ-sît,* for *ayâsiksîs, ayâsisht,* on the same ground on which, in the third formation, are used *abôdhîs, abôdhît,* completely passing over the auxiliary verb (see §. 560.). The full conjugation of *ayâsisham* is as follows:

SINGULAR.	DUAL.	PLURAL.
ayâ-sisham,	*ayâ-sishva,*	*ayâ-sishma.*
ayâ-sîs,	*ayâ-sishtam,*	*ayâ-sishta.*
ayâ-sît,	*ayâ-sishtâm,*	*ayâ-sishus.*

571. This aorist formation is not used in the middle, or has fallen into disuse; probably because the broad form of the auxiliary verb accorded just as little with the heavier middle terminations, as in Greek the syllable σα of ἐδίδο-σα-ν, ἔδο-σα-ν, with the passive ἐδίδο-ντο, ἔδο-ντο. The active also, in Sanscrit, avoids this formation in roots which are encumbered with a final consonant, with the exception of three roots in *m*: *ram,* "to play," *nam,* "to bend," *yam,* "to restrain." As, however, *m* before *s* must pass into the very weak nasal sound of Anusvâra (*n*), which, in comparison with other consonants, is almost nothing, the forms, therefore, *aran-sisham, anan-sisham, ayan-sisham,* come, in respect to the weight of the root, very near to forms like *ayâsisham.*

"Remark.—If it is asked, in what way the language has arrived at the form *sisham,* two modes of deriving it present themselves. Either, as I have before assumed, *si*

is a syllable of reduplication, and *sham* (properly *saṃ*, the *s* of which, through the influence of a preceding *i*, becomes *sh*) the principal syllable; or *sisham* was originally *sasam*; *sishva*, *sasva* or *sâsva*; and *sishma*, *sasma* or *sâsma*, &c.; and these forms have been developed from the second aorist formation, corresponding to the Greek first (see §. 555.); so that the verb substantive, which already existed accompanied by *a*, attached itself a second time, preceding the personal terminations (probably at a time when the auxiliary verb was no longer recognised as such); just as in Latin third persons plural, as *serpserunt* from *serpsesunt*. From *sâva*, *sâma* (*adikshâva*, *adikshâma*, ἐδείξαμεν), would consequently next be formed *sâsva*, *sâsma*; from *satam*, *sata* (*adikshatam*, *adikshata*, ἐδείξατον, ἐδείξατε), *sastam*, *sasta*. But subsequently, after the *â* and *a* of the first syllable had, in order to lighten the weight, become *i*, the following *s* must have become *sh*; thus, dual *sishva*, *sishṭam*, *sishṭâm*, from *sâsva*, *sastam*, *sastâm*; and, in the first and second person plural, *sishma*, *sishṭa*, from *sâsma*, *sasta*. The root शास् *śâs*, 'to rule,' in some persons affords us an excellent prototype or counterpart of this process of corruption. It weakens, viz. before the heavy personal terminations beginning with mutes (not, however, before the weak *v* and *m*) its *â* to *i*, and must also change its final *s* into *sh*, and a following *t*, *th*, into *ṭ*, *ṭh*; and exhibits, therefore, in the dual, *śishṭam*, *śishṭhâm*, instead of *śâstam* *śâstâm*, in the plural, *sishṭha* for *śâsta*. In the third person plural the appended auxiliary verb under discussion exhibits the termination *us* for *an*; thus, *ayâsishus* for *ayâsishan*, as might be expected according to the analogy of *adikshan*, ἔδειξαν. The replacing of the termination *us* by *an* is easily explained by considering that *us* passes as a lighter termination than *an* (§. 462.), and that, on account of the doubling of the auxiliary verb, occasion arises for lightening the word in every other manner possible.

The root *śâs*, too, which is so liable to be weakened, selects, in the third person plural of the imperfect, the termination *us* for *an;* thus *aśâs-us*, corresponding to the second person *aśish-ta*. If, then, as I scarce doubt, the aorist form in *sisham*, &c., has arisen in this way, that the auxiliary verb has been re-attached to itself, being first simply combined with the root; then this form in principle corresponds with the Ionic aorist forms like ἐλάσασκε (for ἤλασε from ἤλασατ), δασάσκετο for ἐδάσατο. The dropping of the augment in these aorists and similar imperfects is clearly occasioned by the new burthen which has been attached; and we might therefore, in Latin, also ascribe the dislodgement of the augment to the circumstance (or find it promoted thereby), that all imperfects and perfects (aorists) of attributive verbs, according to what has been before remarked, are or were encumbered with an auxiliary verb (*bam, si, vi, ui*), or a syllable of reduplication, either visible or concealed by subsequent contraction (*cucurri, cêpi*). In the isolated and unsupported *ĕram* for *êram* = आसम् *âsam*, the augment was laid aside by the simple abbreviation of the vowel."

572. In Zend, those aorist forms which unite the verb substantive with the root, are of rare use, but are not entirely wanting. The only instance which I can cite is, however, the form [Zend] *mańśta*, "he spoke" (Vend. S. p. 132), a middle of the first formation, corresponding to the Sanscrit अमंस्त *amaństa*, "he thought," from the root *man*, which, in Zend, has assumed the meaning "to speak," and has also produced the substantive [Zend] *mań-thra*, "speech." The frequently occurring [Zend] *daśta*, "he gave," is not, as might be imagined, an aorist, but is based as the imperfect on the Sanscrit अदत्त *adatta* (from *adad-ta* for *adadâ-ta* = ἐδίδοτο), since, according to §. 102. (end), the first *t* must be changed into *ś*.

573. We now pass on to those formations of the San-

scrit aorist, which are known, in Greek under the name of the second. Here belong, according to the arrangement of my Sanscrit grammar, the fifth, sixth, and seventh formations. The fifth annexes the personal terminations direct to the root, and is distinguished from the imperfect only by the removal of class characteristics; thus as, in Greek, ἔδων is distinguished from ἐδίδων; so, in Sanscrit, *adâm* is distinguished from *adadâm* (see p. 674): and in Zend, where, too, this kind of aorist formation is in like manner found, *daňm* from *dadhaňm* (regarding *dh* for *d*, see §. 39.). To the Greek ἔστην, ἔστης, ἔστη, correspond अस्थाम् *asthâm*, अस्थास् *asthâs*, अस्थात् *asthât*, in opposition to the reduplicated *atishtham*, *atishthas*, *atishthat* (see §. 508.). The relation of the Greek ἔθην to ἐτίθην corresponds to that of *adhâm* to *adadhâm* (from *dhâ*, "to lay," "to place." The relation of the Greek ἔφῡ-ν, ἔφῡ-ς, ἔφῡ-(τ), to ἔφυ-ο-ν, ἔφυ-ε-ς, ἔφυ-ε, answers to that of the Sanscrit *abhûv-am*, "I was" (not *abhû-m*, see §. 437. Rem.); *abhû-s*, *abhû-t*, to *abhav-a-m*, *abhav-a-s*, *abhav-a-t*, since *bhû*, as belonging to the first class, assumes, in the special tenses, an *a*, but withdraws it in the aorist, as the Greek does its ο, ε.

574. The Latin *fui*, which, like all perfects, according to what I have before remarked (see §§. 546. &c.), I regard as originally an aorist, is removed from the corresponding form of the Sanscrit and Greek, by the assumption of a conjunctive vowel *i*, and thus corresponds to the sixth formation; hence *fu-i-sti** for *abhû-s*, ἔ-φῡ-ς, or rather for the Sanscrit middle form *a-bhû-thâs*; for although the fifth formation is not used in the middle, and no *adâ-ta*, *as-thâ-ta*, *adhâ-ta*, correspond to the Greek ἔδο-το, ἔστα-το, ἔθε-το, still it may be presupposed that they were originally in use. In the third person, *fu-i-t* stands for

* Respecting the *s* of *fu-i-sti*, *fu-i-stis*, see §. 549.

abhû-t, ἔφυ; in the plural, *fu-i-mus* for *abhû-ma*, ἔφυ-μεν; *fu-i-stis* for *abhû-ta*, ἔφυ-τε. If this aorist formation were employed in Sanscrit in the middle also, the first person singular would be *abhûv-i*,* and, without euphonic permutation of sound, *abhû-i*. To the former corresponds the obsolete *fuvi*; to the latter, *fu-i*. I do not, however, place any weight on this surprising accordance; for although *fui* is based on a middle form (the *m* of *abhûvam* would probably have been retained, see §. 431.), still it is certain that, in Sanscrit, the termination of the first person singular middle, before the division of languages, had not yet fallen into the abbreviated condition in which we now see it; and, according to the analogy of the pre-supposed third person, *abhû-ta*, *abhû-ma* (from *abhûmam* or *-mâm*, see §. 552.), must have existed in place of *abhûv-i*. I do not, therefore, regard the *i* of *fu-i* as identical with the Sanscrit *i* of the pre-supposed *abhûvi*, but as identical with the conjunctive vowel *i* of *fu-i-sti*, *fu-i-t*, &c. Consequently, the form *fu-i* is entirely deficient in a personal termination, just as present forms like *veh-o* = *vah-â-mi*.

575. The sixth Sanscrit aorist formation is distinguished from the fifth simply by this, that the personal terminations are united with the root by a conjunctive vowel *a*, and this *a* is treated in conjugation exactly like the class vowel of the first and sixth class (§. 109[a]. 1.). This aorist, therefore, is distinguished from the imperfect of the first class simply by the withdrawal of the Guna; *e. g.* the imperfect of *rish*, "to injure," class 1, is *arêsh-a-m* (= *araisham*), and the aorist *arish-a-m*. We have, therefore, here the relation of the Greek ἔλειπ-ο-ν to the aorist ἔλιπ-ο-ν, which is without

* The common rule would require *abhuvi* (with a short *u*), but *bhû* has this property, that before vowels it becomes *bhûv*: hence, in the first person singular, *abhûv-am*, and in the third plural *abhûv-an*; in the first and third person singular of the reduplicated preterite *babhûva* stands irregularly for *babhâv-a*.

Guna. From *budh*, "to know," class 1, comes the imperfect *abôdh-a-m* (=*abaudh-a-m*), and the aorist *abudh-a-m*, just as, in Greek, from ΦΥΓ, ἔφευγ-ο-ν opposed to ἔφυγ-ο-ν.

576. In the Sanscrit sixth class, which has *a* as its class vowel in common with the first, but does not admit of Guna in the special tenses, which would have to be withdrawn in the aorist, the formation under discussion is possible only in a small number of irregular verbs, which, in the special tenses (see §. 109[a]. 1.) insert a nasal, and again reject it in the aorist, as generally in the common tenses. Thus *lip*, which has been repeatedly mentioned, "to smear" (compare ἀλείφω), forms, in the imperfect, *alimpam*, and in the aorist *alipam*. Another form of this kind is *alupam*, "I did cut off," in contradistinction to *alumpam* (compare the Latin *rumpo, rupi, ruptum*). The same is the relation of Greek aorists like ἔλαβον (Sanscrit *labh*, "to take"), ἔχαδον, ἔλαθον, to their imperfects ἐλάμβανον, ἐχάνδανον, ἐλάνθανον, only that these, besides the inserted nasal, have also another external addition, which is likewise rejected, as, in Sanscrit, the fifth and ninth classes reject their intermediate syllable *nu*, *nâ*. As to the imperfect *aśak-nav-am* and the aorist *aśak-a-m*, which, in Sanscrit, come from *śak*, "to be able," class five, these two forms stand in a relation to one another similar to that in which the Greek passive aorists ἐζύγην, ἐμίγην, ἐπάγην, stand to their imperfect actives ἐζεύγνυν, ἐμίγνυν, ἐπήγνυν; and as for the imperfect *akliś-nâ-m*, and the aorist *akliś-a-m*, which come from *kliś*, class nine, this corresponds exactly to the relation of the Greek ἐδάμ-νη-ν to ἔδαμ-ο-ν. From *svid*, "to sweat," class four, come the imperfect *asvid-ya-m*, and the aorist *asvid-a-m*: here the relation is similar to the correspondence of an aorist ἔβαλον, in Greek, to the imperfect ἔβαλλον, it being pre-supposed that the gemination of βάλλω * is the consequence of an assimilation (see

* If we assume in βάλλω the mutation of an original tenuis to its middle

§. 501.), and that therefore *βάλλω* has arisen from *βαλγω*, as *ἄλλος* from *ἄλγος*.

577. In roots which end with vowels this aorist formation is, in Sanscrit, little used, and where it occurs the radical vowel is rejected before the vowel of conjunction, with the exception of ऋ *ri* and ॠ *rî*, of which the former becomes *ar*, the latter *îr*; e.g. *ásar-a-m*, *ajîr-a-m*, from सृ *sri* (originally *sar*), "to go," जॄ *jrî* (properly *jar*, *jîr*), "to grow old," *áśv-a-m*, from *śvi*, "to grow." Roots in *u* and *û* do not occur in this aorist formation; otherwise from *bhû*, "to be," if it followed this formation, and in like manner rejected its vowel, would come *abham*, *abhas*, *abhat*, which would approach the Latin *bam* of *ama-bam* very closely; or, if the *û* were not rejected, but, according to §. 574, was changed into *ûv*, or, according to the general law of sound, into *uv*, then, in respect to the conjunctive vowel, in the third person singular the Latin *fu-i-t*, and, in the first person plural, *fu-i-mus*, would have the same relation to *abhuv-a-t*, *abhuv-â-ma*, of *abhûv-a-t*, *abhûv-â-ma*, that, as above (§. 507.), *veh-i-t*, *veh-i-mus* have to *vah-a-ti*, *vah-â-mas*.

578. In Zend it is hardly possible to distinguish everywhere with certainty the aorist formation under discussion from the imperfect, at least not in examples of the kind like the frequently-occurring *zanaț*, "he struck." This form may be regarded as an aorist, because the root हन् *han*, to which the Zend *zan* (for which also *jan*) corresponds, belongs to the second class; and therefore, in the second and third person singular, the imperfect forms

medial, as, *vice versâ*, in ΠΥΘ = *budh*, "to know," a tenuis stands in place of a medial, then *βάλλω* would be referable to the Sanscrit root *pad*, whence *padyê*, "I go" (middle), assuming a causal meaning. As regards the weakening of the *d* to *l*, ΒΑΛ answers, in this respect, to the Prakrit *pal*. The same may be said of *πάλλω*, where the initial sound presents no difficulty.

ahan for *ahaṇs*, *ahaṇt*, according to §. 94. In Zend, also, this root prevails chiefly in the second class. We find in the Vend. S. p. 158. &c. repeatedly *jainti*, "he beats," also *zaintê* (p. 157, perhaps erroneously for *zainti*, or it is a middle); but at p. 177 we find *janaiti*, according to the first class, and therefore *zanaṭ* also may be allotted to the first class, and regarded as the imperfect. But although *zanaṭ* should be explained as belonging to the class to which this verb is principally referable, it may be still regarded as the imperfect, and, in fact, as following the analogy of the Sanscrit अरोदत् *arôdat*, "he wept," and the Zend *aṇhaṭ*, "he was" (see §. 532.).

579. The Sanscrit seventh aorist formation is distinguished from the sixth by a syllable of reduplication preceding the root, and therefore answers to the Greek aorists, as ἔπεφνον, ἐπέφραδον, ἐκέκλετο, and such as have dropped the augment, as τέτυκον, πέπιθον. We have already adduced above (§. 546) Latin perfects like *cucurri*, *tutudi*, *cecini*, and remarked, that such as *cêpi*, *frêgi*, *fêci*, and probably also such as *lêgi*, *fôdi*, *sêdi*, *vîdi*, *fûgi*, (if in the latter the length of the vowel is not to be regarded as compensation for an *s*, which has been dropped after the final consonant of the root,) contain a concealed reduplication (see §§. 547, 548). The Sanscrit *apaptam*, "I fell" (*), for *apapatam*, from *pat*, "to fall," corresponds exactly to the above-mentioned Greek ἔπεφνον in its entire structure, and therefore, also, in the rejection of the radical vowel. While the Greek reduplicates this root in the present and imperfect, and withdraws the reduplication in the aorist, so that the Doric ἔπετον (commonly ἔπεσον) has the same relation to ἔπιπτον that ἔδων, ἔθην, ἔστην, have to ἐδίδων, ἐτίθην, ἵστην, the Sanscrit, with this verb, adopts the reverse method, and opposes to the imperfect *apatam* an aorist

* See my lesser Sanscrit Grammar, §. 382., Remark.

apuptam. The Greek imperfect, therefore, ἔπιπτον, corresponds most surprisingly with this aorist *apaptam*, and the Greek aorist ἔπετον with the Sanscrit imperfect *apatam*.

580. In Sanscrit all verbs of the tenth class follow this seventh aorist formation, and, what is the same, all causal forms, for these are in their formation identical with the tenth class. And here the rhythmical law is valid, that either the syllable of reduplication, or the base-syllable, must be long, whether by natural length of the vowel or by position, as in *apaptam*. Both kinds are often at will admissible in one and the same root, but in most cases the use of language has exclusively decided for one or the other kind, and, in fact, most frequently for the length of the syllable of reduplication; *e.g.* from *śil*, "to make," comes *aśiśilam* or *aśiśilam*; from *chur*, "to steal," comes *achûchuram*.

581. Besides the verbs of the tenth class and causal forms, as the above-mentioned *apaptam*, and some others to be given in the following paragraphs, only four other roots ending with a vowel belong here, viz. *śri*, "to go," *śvi*, "to grow," "to go,"* *dru*, "to run," *śru*, "to hear," *snu*, "to flow,"† whence *aśiśriyam*, *aśiśviyam*, *adudruvam*, *aśuśruvam*, *asusnuvam*.

582. I have already remarked (§. 548) that *anêśam*, "I went to ruin," from *naś*, in my opinion contains a concealed syllable of reduplication, and has arisen from *ananiśam* (for *ananaś-a-m*) by rejection of the second *n*; and, moreover, that Latin perfects like *cêpi* rest on the same principle. In अवोचम् *avôcham*, also, "I spoke," I

* These two roots may be originally identical, as semi-vowels are easily interchanged (see §. 20.), and the Latin *cres-co* may be referred to one or the other.

† This is connected with *sru*, "to flow," by the affinity of the liquids: compare the Greek νέω, νεύ-σομαι; ῥέω, ῥεύ-σομαι.

recognise a reduplication, though it appears that the *ô* is only an alteration of the *a* of the root. The root *vach* has, however, a tendency to suppress its radical vowel and vocalize its *v*: hence, in the participle present, *ukta*, and in the plural of the reduplicated preterite *ûch-i-ma*, from *u-uchima*. If, then, it is assumed that in the aorist formation under discussion the root *vach* has been contracted to *uch*, then *vôch* may very satisfactorily be deduced from *va-uch* for *vavach*. The syllable of reduplication, therefore, has in this form, with regard to gravity, carried off the superiority over the base-syllable, in forms like *achûchuram*, "I stole." Whether the Zend *vaôchĕm*, "I spoke," the third person of which, *vaôchat*, occurs very frequently, is identical with the Sanscrit *avôcham*, and therefore, in like manner, reduplicated, cannot be decided with certainty, for this reason, that, as Burnouf has shewn, the Zend has a tendency to change an *a*, through the influence of a preceding *v*, into *ô*, and thus to make it more homogeneous to the nature of the *v*; but, according to §. 28., an *a* is prefixed to the *ô*. A present middle, also, *vaôchê*, occurs in Zend*, and a potential (optative) *vaôchôit* (Vend. S. p. 163), which might, however, also be regarded as aorist of the potential, from the root *vadh*.

583. In *arandham*, also, "I injured," "I slew," I think I discover a reduplication,† assuming an exchange of the

* Vend. S. p. 83: *tat vachô vaôchê*, "this speech I speak." Or should *vaôchê* be considered a reduplicated preterite? It is certain that Anquetil is wrong in regarding it as the imperative, and translating the passage by "*prononcez bien cette parole.*"

† This root may be akin to *vadh*, "to beat," "to slay" (see §. 20.), to which A. Benary has referred the Latin *laedo*, which, therefore, would be also connected with *radh*, and stands nearer to the latter, as *r* and *l* are almost identical.

liquids; thus, *arandham* for *arardham*, from *araradham*, as *apaptam* from *apapatam*. With regard to the exchange of the *r* for *n*, it may be proper to advert to the Tongian *nima*, "five," in opposition to *rima*, *lima*, of the dialects near akin. Observe, also, that in the intensive forms चञ्चल् *chanchal* and चञ्चुर् *chanchur*,* the nasal of the syllable of reduplication is the representative of the *l* and *r* of the root, just as of the μ of the Greek πίμπλημι, πίμπρημι, where, therefore, μ for λ stands in the reverse relation of the Latin *flare* for the Sanscrit ध्मा *dhmâ*.†

584. In verbs which begin with a vowel in Sanscrit, in this aorist formation, the whole root is twice employed, and the first time, indeed, uniting the radical vowel with that of the augment, according to the principle of §. 530, in accordance, therefore, with the Greek aorists with Attic reduplication, as ἤγαγον ὤρορον. The Sanscrit, however, requires, in the second position of the root, the lightest vowel of all, *i*, as the representative of all the rest. Not only, therefore, are *î* and the diphthong *ê* (*a* + *i*) shortened to *i*, and from *îḍay* (causal from *îḍ*, "to praise,") *âiḍiḍam* formed, but *a* and *â* also are weakened to *i*, after the principle of Latin forms like *tetigi*, *contingo*, where the encumbrance of the root by the syllable of reduplication or the preceding preposition is the occasion of the vowel being weakened. Hence, in Sanscrit, from *aṭay* (causal from *aṭ*, "to go,") comes the aorist *âṭiṭam*, and from *âpay* (causal from *âp*, "to reach,") *âpipam*, with which the Latin *adipiscor* for *adapiscor* may be compared, and the

* From *chal*, *char*: see lesser Sanscrit Grammar, §§. 506. 507.

† Pott (Etym. Forsch. II. 690.) properly derives the Lett. *dunduris*, "hornet," from *dur-t*, "to stick"; it has, therefore, in the repeated syllable likewise an exchange of liquids: thus, also, the Greek δένδρον is to be derived from δέρδρον, and is akin to δρῦς and the Sanscrit *druma*, "tree" (compare Pott, II. 235.).

Greek reduplicated forms *ἀτιτάλλω*, *ὀνίνημι*, *ὀπιπτεύω*, for *ἀταττάλλω*, *ὀνόνημι*, *ὀποπτεύω* (compare Pott. II. 690.). And उ *u*, also, and ऊ *ú*, and the diphthongs in which *u* is contained, are changed into *i*; hence *áundidam* from *unday* (caus. of *und*, "to make wet," compare Latin *unda*), *áuninam* from *ún*, class ten, "to abate." It was first from these formations, and the analogous forms of desideratives, that I perceived that the weight of the *u* is borne less readily by the language than that of the *i*; for otherwise it would not be replaced by *i* in syllables, where the whole attention of the language is directed to make them as light as possible. But in the whole of Sanscrit Grammar no other case exists where *u*, to lighten the syllabic weight, becomes *i*: for while in roots beginning with a consonant desideratives in the syllable of reduplication weaken a radical *a* to *i* (*e.g. pipatish* from *pat*, "to cleave,"), *u* remains unaltered (*yuyuts*, from *yudh*, "to struggle,"), which serves as a proof that *u* is lighter than *a*, because, were it heavier than *a* it would have a better right to be changed into *i*.

585. In roots which end with two consonants, of which the first is a liquid, this is rejected, in order the more to relieve the weight in the base syllable, but it is retained in the syllable of repetition; hence above (§. 584.), *áundidam* for *áundundam*; so, also, *árjijam* for *árjarjam*, from *arj*, class ten, "to earn." According to this principle, in Latin also, *pungo*, if encumbered by reduplication, loses its nasal; thus, *pupugi*, not *pupungi*. The loss of the nasal in *tetigi*, *tutudi*, surprises us less, because in these verbs it in general belongs less strictly to the root, and is dropped also in the supine and analogous formations. But if, in Sanscrit, the first of two final consonants is a mute, and the second a sibilant, then the syllable of repetition receives only the first of the two consonants, and the base-syllable retains them both; as from *íkshay* (causal from *íksh*, "to see"), comes *áichikisham*, for

âikikṣham or *âikshikṣham*.* This principle is followed by the Greek ἄλαλκον, for which, according to the principle of the abovementioned *âundidam*, ἄλκακον, or, with the augment, ἤλκακον would be used.

586. In the few verbal bases which, exclusive of the causative affix *ay*, contain more than one syllable, the Sanscrit receives, in the syllable of repetition, only as much as can be contained in one syllable; as from *avadhir*, class ten, "to despise,"† comes *âv-avadhîram*. The Greek follows the same principle in forms like ἀλ-ήλιφα, ἀγ-ήγερκα, ὀρ-ώρυχα.

587. The Zend supplies us with an excellent aorist form of the seventh formation, which has been already several times mentioned, and which was first brought to light by Burnouf, viz. [Zend] *urûrudusha*, "thou growest" (see §. 469.), from the root *rudh*, "to grow," which, in the Sanscrit रुह् *ruh*, has preserved of the *dh* only the aspiration. With respect to the length of the syllable of reduplication this form answers to those in Sanscrit like *achûchuram* (see §. 580.). The initial *u* of [Zend] *urûrudusha* is regarded above (§. 518.) as the representative of the *a* of the augment, through the assimilating influence of the *û* of the following syllable. But it now appears to me more correct to recognise, in the initial vowel of the form spoken of, only the original accompaniment of the augment, which has been dropped, and that, therefore, from *arûrudhusha*, by the retro-active influence of the *û* of the second syllable, next arose *aurûrudhusha*, as, in §. 46., I have endeavoured to derive [Zend] *haurva* from the Sanscrit *sarva*, through the euphonic influence of the *v*; and as the base word *âtharvan*, "priest," in the weak cases, in which the final syllable *van* is contracted to *un*, adds,

* Gutturals in the syllables of repetition are always replaced by palatals.

† I explain *ava* as the preposition which has grown up with the base, and regard the termination as akin to *dhyâi*, "to think," *dhîra*, "sage."

through the influence of the *u* of this syllable, a *u* to the preceding *a*, thus *athaurun*,* from which, by dislodging the *a*, is formed the more common *athurun*,† as for the Sanscrit *taruṇa*, "young," we find in Zend both *tauruna* and *turuna*. The *u* of the penultimate of *urûruhdh-u-sha* corresponds to the conjunctive vowel *a* of Sanscrit forms like *achûchur-a-s*, *achûchur-a-thâs*, and may have proceeded from *a* by an assimilating influence of the *u* of the preceding syllable. If the older *a* had been retained, we should then find, according to §. 56[a].), *urûrudhaṇha*.

THE PERFECT.

588. It has been already remarked, that that Sanscrit preterite which agrees in form with the Greek perfect is, according to its signification, not a perfect, but is most frequently used in the sense of the Greek aorist (§. 513.).

* I find the initial *â* of the strong cases abbreviated in the examples I have before me of the weak cases. The strong cases change the proper theme *atharvan* to *âthravan*; hence the nominative *âthrava* (Vend. S. p. 55). Without transposition, an *ĕ*, or some other auxiliary vowel, must have been inserted between the *r* and *v*, because *r* can neither stand at the end, nor in combination with a consonant.

† Thus Vend. S. p. 65, the genitive *athurunô*, and p. 234 twice, the dative *athurunê*: on the other hand, p. 65, Z. 13, the accusative plural *athauru-nanś-cha*. The view I now take of the phenomenon under discussion differs from that in §. 46. in this, that I there represented the *u* of the second syllable of *athurun* as proceeding directly from the *a* of the original form, in consequence of an assimilation, while I now regard it as a remnant of *au*, and look upon the *a* no longer as a prefixed vowel, but as the original one, by the side of which a *u* has been placed through the influence of the *u* of the following syllable; as frequently happens with an *i*, through the influence of a following *i* or *y* (see §. 41.). I fully agree in this point with the opinion expressed by Burnouf in his review of the First Part of this book (Journal des Savans, 1833, in the separate impression, p. 8), where, also, the Zend *aurvat*, "horse," is in this way compared with the Sanscrit *arvan*.

Our German unparaphrased preterite, which, in its origin, coincides with the Greek perfect and Sanscrit reduplicated preterite, has likewise renounced the perfect meaning, but in Gothic represents both the Greek imperfect and the aorist, as well as the perfect, and, in the earliest Old High German authorities, besides these tenses, the pluperfect. In the ninth, and, as Grimm remarks, perhaps so early as the eighth century, begin the circumlocutory forms of the perfect by the passive participle with the auxiliary verb *haben*, and, in neuter verbs, with the verb substantive, in which respect we must advert to the practice of the Sanscrit language, in expressions like *gatô śmi* (for *gatas asmi*), "*ich bin gegangen*," "I went" (see §. 513.); as also to the circumstance, that, in the forms in तवत् *tavat* (*tavant*), the idea of possession is contained, and that *uktavan asmi*, "*dixi*," properly means, "I am gifted with having said" (therefore "having said") (see §. 513.). The Old High German uses, beside the verb corresponding to our *haben*, also *eigan*, which has the same import, for its paraphrase of the perfect; in the indicative, only in the plural; but, in the conjunctive, in the singular also (see Grimm, IV. 149).

589. As regards the formation of the German unparaphrased preterite, the Gothic has, in the strong conjugation, under certain circumstances, regularly preserved the reduplication, which, from the earliest period, belongs to this tense; viz. first, in all verbs (their number is, it must be allowed, but small) which have a long vowel in the root (not, perhaps, merely in consequence of a Guna in the present, and the forms thereto belonging); secondly, in those verbs which exhibit unchanged, in the present, an *a* long by position; as, from the roots *slêp*, "to sleep," *vô*, "to blow" (Sanscrit *vâ*), *hait*, "to be called," *auk*, "to increase," *fald*, "to fold" (present *falda*), the first and third person singular are *saizlêp*, *vaivô*, *haihait*, *aiauk*,

faifalth (for *faifald*, see §. 93[a].) The form *saizlêp* (regarding *z* for *s*, see §. 86. 5.) stands so far isolated, as all other verbs, which exhibit an *ê* in the present, replace this in the preterite by *ô*. They are the following: *têka*, "I touch," *taitôk*, "I touched," *grêta*, "I weep" (Sanscrit *krand*, "to weep"), *gaigrôt*, "I wept," *lêta*, "I leave," *lailôt*. "I left," *flêka*, "I lament" (Latin *plango*), *faiflôk*, "I lamented," *rêda*, "I advise," *rairôth*, "I advised." This change of the vowel cannot surprise us, as *ê* and *ô* are the common representatives of the original long *â* (see §. 69.), as, in Greek, ε and ο are the usual representatives of the short α: *taitôk*, therefore, has the same relation to *têka*, that, in Greek, τέτροφα has to τρέφω, λέλοιπα to λείπω, πέποιθα to πείθω; or, more strictly, as ἔῤῥωγα to ῥήγνυμι; for in Greek, both η and ω are representatives of the long α. I believe that the reason of this exchange of vowels in both languages is to be found in this, that the quality of *O* is heavier than that of *E*, and that the tense under discussion, on account of its being encumbered with reduplication, feels a necessity to appear heavier in its root than the unencumbered present; as also, in Gothic, the reduplication has in general maintained itself only in roots of strong construction.*

590. *Vahsya*, "I grow" (Zend [Zend script] *ucs*, "to grow"), from the root *vahs*, with the character of the Sanscrit fourth class (see §. 109[a]. 2.), and *standa*, "I stand," are the only verbs which, notwithstanding that they exhibit in the present an *a* long by position, have nevertheless permitted the reduplication to disappear. They form, in the first and third person singular preterite, *vôhs*, *stôth*. The dropping of the class syllable *ya* of *vahsya* is regular, as this syllable belongs only to the special tenses (see §. 109[a].).

* I hereby retract the conjecture I formerly made that the *a* which follows the root of the Greek perfects exercises an influence in changing the ε of the root (Vocalismus, p. 40).

In this respect, therefore, *vôhs* has the same relation to *vahsya*, that, in Sanscrit, *nanâśa* has to *naśyâmi*, "I go to ruin"; and the *ô* of *vôhs* and *stôth* corresponds as the regular long vowel of the *a* (see §. 69.) to the Sanscrit *â* of forms like *nanâśa*. While the Old High German contrasts with its present *stantu* a preterite *stuont* (see §. 109[b]. 1. p. 112) *stôth*, which has abandoned the unorganic nasal of *standa*, presents, moreover the irregularity that the *th*, which, according to §. 93[a]., has assumed the place of the *d*, is preserved also in the terminations which are annexed; thus, first person plural, *sthôthûm* for *stôdum*, as the analogy of *bauth*, *budum*, from the root *bud*, would lead us to expect.

591. The difficulty that, in Gothic, there are two verbs with a radical *a* in the present, which, in spite of their length by position, have nevertheless lost the reduplication of the preterite, is again, in a certain degree, obviated by the existence of two preterites, which have preserved the reduplication without their vowels being long naturally or by position; viz. *haihah*, "I hanged," *faifah*, "I seized" (present *haha*, *faha*). But if it is considered that these verbs, in the other German dialects, have really length by position, and probably originally had it in Gothic also, the violation of the proposition expressed above, that the reduplication is borne in Gothic only by roots with long syllables, appears, through this consideration, less important.*

* In Old High German the preterite is *hiang*, *fiang* (*hianc*, *fianc*), which would lead us to expect a present *hangu*, *fangu*, for which, however, occur *hâhu*, *fâhu*, infinitive *hâhan*, *fâhan*. Graff gives only to the former a long *a*, to the latter a short one; but the quoted examples confirm also the length of the former, not by circumflex or doubling of the *a*. It is highly probable, however, that the same quantity belongs to both verbs: thus they are either *hahan* and *fahan*, or *hâhan* and *fâhan*. As they have no preterite, if the length of the *a* is not proved, it cannot be decided from the

point

592. J. Grimm first acutely remarked, that the other German dialects, in those classes of verbs which in Gothic clearly exhibit the reduplication, continue it in like manner, although scarcely perceptibly. The syllables of reduplication lose the appearance of a syllable of reduplication, when the following syllable is either quite passed over, or only loses its consonant, and unites its vowel with that of the syllable of reduplication. The former is the case in some Sanscrit desiderative forms, as *lips*, *pits* (Lat. Sanscrit, Greek; §. 490.), for which, according to rule, we should have *lilaps*, *pipats*;* wherefore it appears to me far more proper to assume the suppression of the second syllable, than that of reduplication, together with the change of *a* into *i*, for which no reason at all could exist, because the form would have been already sufficiently weakened by the suppression of the syllable of reduplication. A simple consonant is suppressed in the Greek γίνομαι from γί-γνομαι, which is, however, itself an abbreviation of γιγένομαι: moreover, in the Sanscrit aorist, *anêśa.n* (=*anaiśam*) from *ananiśam*, and, in the Latin perfects analagous with it, as *cêpi* (see §. 548.): finally, in the Old High German preterites, as *hialt* (our *hielt*) from *hihalt*, for which, in Gothic, *haihald*.

593. It must, perhaps, be regarded as a dialectic peculiarity in Gothic, that the syllable of reduplication has always *ai*. It was the custom, perhaps, at the time when all Ger-

point of view of the Old High German, whether they are to be allotted to Grimm's fourth class (with long *â* in the present), or to the seventh (with short *a* in the present). The Middle High German *hâhe*, *vâhe*, *hæhest*, *væhest*, preterite *hie*, *vie* (for *hieh*, *vieh*), speaks in favour of the fourth class, to which they are ascribed by Grimm also, who writes *hâhu*, *fâhu*. In Gothic, then, instead of the existing *haha*, *faha*, we should expect *hêha*, *fêha*, as *slêpa*, *lêta*, answering to the Old High German *slâfu*, *lâzu*.

* I consider, also, *dhiksh*, "to kindle," which is held to be a primitive root, as a desiderative of this kind, and I derive it from *di(dha)ksh* from *dah*, "to burn."

man languages were still one, that the heaviest vowel, *a*, was weakened in the syllable of repetition to the lightest, *i*, as is the case in Sanscrit in the syllable of repetition of desideratives, where from *dah*, "to burn," comes *didhaksh*, not *dadhaksh*; and as in Latin reduplicated forms like *cecini*, the *a* in the syllable of repetition becomes *e*, and in the base *i*, while a radical *o* and *u* in both places remain unchanged (*momordi*, *tutudi*). For the diphthong *ai* of *HAIT*, "to be called," *i* would be, in the syllable of repetition, quite as much in its place, as, in Sanscrit, of the diphthong ए *ê* (= *a* + *i*); and generally of diphthongs only the last element enters the syllable of repetition; wherefore the reduplicated preterite of *kêt* (= *kait*), "to invite," is *chikêta* (first and third person singular). If an infringement of the law for the mutation of sounds, by preserving the old tenuis in the initial sound (as in *slêpa* = स्वपिमि *svapimi*, "I sleep"), be assumed, it might be said that the Gothic *HAIT* would correspond to this Sanscrit *kêt*, and therefore *haihait* (for *hihait*) with the abovementioned चिकेत *chikêta*. But if *au* also is, in Gothic syllables of reduplication, represented by *ai*, as *ai-auk*, "I increased," while, in Sanscrit, *ô* (= *a* + *u*) becomes *u*, as, *puprôtha* from *prôth*, "to satisfy;" then the *i* of this *ai* may be regarded as a weakening of *u*, as we have seen above, in Sanscrit, from उन्द् *und* proceeds the reduplicated aorist *âundidam* for *âundudam* (§. 581.). We might also regard the *i* of *ai-auk* as a weakening of the *a* of the base syllable, which, however, appears to me less probable, as in diphthongs the second element always has the etymological preponderance, and the first is a mere phonetic prefix; on which account I prefer recognising in the syllable of repetition of the Latin *cecîdi*, of *cædo* (= *caido*), the second element of the diphthong *æ*, rather than the first, although *a* in the Latin syllables of repetition is regularly replaced by *e*. Be this as it may, I consider this, however, as certain,

that the *ai* in Gothic syllables of reduplication was formerly a simple *i*, and that this *ai* is a dialectic peculiarity limited to the Gothic, like that which, according to §. 82., the Gothic employs instead of a simple *i* before *h* and *r*; which latter, in the other dialects also, is alone represented. We miss, therefore, in the Old High German *hialt* for Gothic *haihald* (from *hihald*), only the *h* of the second syllable; and in the old Northern *iók*, "I" or "he increased," nothing is wanting of the Gothic *ai-auk*, as far as the latter is an unorganic extension of *i-auk;* but *au* has, according to the Sanscrit principle, been contracted to *ó*, while in the participle passive *aukinn* it has remained open, and in the present, by a doubled *umlaut*,* become *ey*.

594. The old Northern reduplicated preterites of verbs with a radical *a* (Grimm's first conjugation) appear to me to stand upon a different footing from the Gothic like *hai-hald*, in so far as the latter have weakened the *a* in the syllable of repetition to *i*, and have prefixed to the latter an *a*, while the former (the old Northern), quite in accordance with the Sanscrit principle, have left the *a* of the syllable of reduplication unaltered and without addition, but, on the other hand, (like the Latin perfects *teligi*, *cecini*) have weakened the *a* of the base to *i*, and, in agreement with the Sanscrit law of sound, have contracted the latter with the *a* of the syllable of repetition to *ê*. In this way only, in my opinion, can we explain it, that as, in old Northern, from the root *HÁLD*, "to hold," (whence the present is, by the *umlaut*, *held*, and the participle passive *haldinn*), comes the preterite *hélt* (the tenuis for the medial at the end of the word, as in Middle High German, see §. 93[a]), plural *héldum ;* therefore *hélt* from *hahilt* for *hahalt*, as the reverse case of the Old High German *hi-alt* from *hihalt* for *hahalt*. So also in roots with a long *á*, for which the Gothic

* By the *umlaut* the *a* becomes *ä*=*e*, and the *u*, *ü*=*i*=*y*.—*Translator's Note.*

uses *ê* (§. 69); *e.g.* from *GRĀT*, "to weep," and *BLĀS*, "to blow," come *grêt*, *blês*, as the contraction of *gra(gr)it*, *bla(bl)is*,* in contradistinction to the Old High German *blias* (*blies*) from *bliblas*. The Old Saxon stands on the same ground as the Old Northern; hence, from *fallu*, "I fall," *fêll*, "I fell," from *fafill*; and from *slâpu*, "I sleep," *slêp*, "I slept," from *slâslip*; just as, in Sanscrit, plurals like *nêmima*, from *nanimima*, correspond to singulars like *nanâma*, "I bent myself," of which more hereafter.

595. Verbs which, in Gothic, have the diphthong *ai* as the radical vowel, lay aside, in Old High German, in the base syllable, the last element of the said diphthong, and retain only the first, either unaltered, or corrupted to *e*, which, indeed, happens in most of the received authorities; hence, to the Gothic preterite *haihait*, "I was called," in Otfrid *hiaz* (for *hihaz* from *hihaiz*,) corresponds, in the other authorities quoted by Graff, *hiez*; which latter, in respect to its *e*, answers better to the present *heizu* (= Gothic *haita*), where, however, the *ie* is not yet to be regarded as one sound (= *î*), as in our New German *hiess*. Of the Gothic diphthong *au*, we find, according as authorities vary, either the first or the second element preserved, and the former, indeed, either unaltered or changed to *e*, and also the latter either unchanged or corrupted to *o* (see §. 77); *e.g.* from *hlaupa* comes, in Gothic, the preterite *haihlaup* (see §. 598), for which, in Old High German, we find in Graff the forms *liaf* (from *lilaf* for *hlihlauf*), *lief*, *liuf*, *liof*.

596. In Sanscrit the syllable of reduplication always has the radical vowel, only shortened, if long; and, as has been already remarked, of diphthongs only the last ele-

* Present, with *umlaut*, *grœt*, *blœs*, participle passive *grâtinn*, *blâsinn*. With respect to the rejection of a double consonant in the reduplicated preterite, compare the relation of the Old High German *vior*, "four," for Gothic *fidvôr*.

ment (see §. 593); hence, *babandh*,* from *bandh*, "to bind"; *babhâs*, from *bhâs*, "to strive"; *bibhid*, from *bhid*, "to cleave"; *didîp*, from *dîp*, "to shine"; *tutud*, from *tud*, "to beat, push"; *pupûr*, from *pûr*, "to fill." If for the vowel *ṛ* the syllable of reduplication contains an *a*, this proceeds from the primitive form *ar*; *e.g. mamarda*, "I and he crushed,"† comes not from *mṛid*, but from *mard*, which in the dual and plural is contracted to *mṛid*; hence first person plural *mamṛidima*. Roots which begin with vowels we have already discussed (see §. 534); only this may be here further mentioned, that roots which begin with *a* and end with two consonants proceed in a very peculiar and remarkable way, since they first contract the vowel of repetition with that of the root to a long *a*, then add an euphonic *n*, and then annex the whole root a second time, so that thus the radical vowel occurs three times; as, *â-n-anj*, from *aa-n-anj*, from *anj*, "to anoint" (Latin *ungo*).

597. The Greek pays no regard, in its syllables of reduplication in roots beginning with a vowel, to the vowel of the base, but always replaces it by ε, which the Latin does in its perfects, which are reduplicated and carried back to the Sanscrit seventh aorist formation only in the case, in which the root exhibits the heaviest of all vowels, viz. *a*, which appears too heavy for the syllable of reduplication, as it is found inadmissible in Sanscrit, in the syllables of reduplication of desideratives, and is replaced by the lightest vowel, *i*. Thus in Greek the perfect τέταφα corresponds to the Sanscrit *tatapa* or *tatâpa*, "I burned," just as τέτυφα to the Sanscrit *tutôpa* (pl. *tutupima* = τετύφαμεν) "I beat,

* I give the theme without any personal termination whatever.

† Compare the Latin *momordi*, although this is based on the aorist of the seventh formation, where *amamardam*, middle *amamardê* might have been expected.

wounded, slew," πεφίληκα* to the Sanscrit *pipraya* or *piprâya*, from *prî*, "to rejoice, to love" (compare the Gothic *friyô*, "I love"). It is certain, that originally the Greek, also, must, in the syllable of reduplication, have had regard to the radical vowel; that however, in the course of time, all vowels in this place were weakened to ε, as is the case in New German in the final syllables of polysyllabic words; as we contrast *binde, salbe, gaben*, with the Gothic *binda, salbô, gabum*, and *Gäste, Gästen*, with the Gothic *gasteis, gastim*. A similar weakness or vitiation to that which has overtaken our final syllables might easily have befallen a Greek initial syllable not belonging to the base itself.

598. As regards the laws to which the consonants in the syllables of reduplication are subjected, the Sanscrit replaces the gutturals by corresponding palatals, and, in agreement with the Greek, the aspirated consonants by corresponding non-aspirates; e.g. *chakâs*, from *kâs*, "to give light";† *jagam*, from *gam*, "to go"; *dadhâ*, from *dhâ*, "to set, lay"; as, in Greek, τεθη, from the corresponding root ΘΗ. Of two consonants combined in the initial sound in Sanscrit, the first is usually repeated; hence *chakrand*, from *krand*, "to weep"; *chikship*, from *kship*, "to cast." The Gothic follows the same principle, if the second of the combined consonants is a liquid; hence *gaigrôt*, "I wept," corresponds to the Sanscrit word of the same import, *chakranda*; and *saizlêp* (see §. 86. 5.), "I slept," to the Sanscrit *sushvâpa*.‡ We might hence infer that the preterite

* Regarding the origin of the *k* and the aspirate of τέτυφα, see §. 568. &c.

† I refer the Gothic *haiza*, "torch" (*z* a softened *s*, see §. 86. 5.) to this root.

‡ The root *svap* is irregular in this, that it is contracted before the heavy terminations into *sup* (*shup*); and on this form is founded the syllable of reduplication, through the *u* of which the *s* following becomes *sh*.

which nowhere occurs, of *hlaupa* is *haihlaup*, not *hlaihlaup*. But if, in Gothic, the second of the combined consonants is a mute, this finds its way into the syllable of reduplication also; hence *skaiskaith*, "I separated," the third person plural of which, *skaiskaidun*, occurs in Luke ix. 33: hence might be deduced, also, *staitaut*, from *STAUT*. The other German dialects have, unrestrictedly, left two combined consonants together in the syllable of repetition; hence, in Old High German, *sliaf*, "I slept," *spialt*, "I cleft," from *slislaf*, *spispalt*; unless in the second syllable one of the two consonants be rejected, as in the Latin *spopondi*, *steti*, for *spospondi*, *stesti*. But the Gothic *skaiskaith* speaks against the latter.

599. It remains to be remarked, with respect to the Sanscrit syllables of reduplication, that if a root begins with a sibilant before a mute, the syllable of repetition, according to the general law, does not contain the first consonant but the second, respect being had to the rules of sound before mentioned; *e.g.* from *sthâ* comes *tasthâu*, "I, he stood;" from *spriś* (*sparś*); *pasparśa*, "I or he touched," in opposition to the Latin *steti*, *spopondi*. The Zend, closely as it is allied to the Sanscrit, does not recognise this rule. I cannot, indeed, quote the perfect of 𐬯𐬙𐬁 *stâ*, nor any other perfect of roots with an initial sibilant before a mute, but as *sthâ* in Sanscrit has a syllable of reduplication in the special tenses also, and forms, in the present, *tisthâmi*, we see, from the Zend 𐬵𐬌𐬯𐬙𐬁𐬨𐬌 *histâmi*, that the law of reduplication under discussion, at the time of the identity of the Zend with the Sanscrit, was not yet in force, or at least not in its full extent. Of the Latin it deserves further remark, that in its *sisto*, which is properly the counterpart of the Sanscrit *tisthâmi*, Gr. ἵστημι, and Zend *histâmi* (see §. 508), it follows the general law for syllables of reduplication, while analogically with *stete* a present *stito* might have been expected.

600. With respect to the Greek, as soon as we recognise in the ἱ of ἵστημι, as in the Zend *hi* of *histâmi*, a syllable of reduplication, to which we are compelled, by its analogy with δίδωμι, τίθημι, βίβημι, &c., and by the circumstance that σ in the initial sound is easily weakened to the rough breathing, it must be allowed, that in the perfect ἕστηκα the rough breathing stands for σ, and that, therefore, we have in this form a more perfect syllable of reduplication than is usually the case in roots which have in the initial sound a heavier consonant combination than that of a mute before a liquid. We cannot place ἕστηκα on the same footing with εἵμαρται, which we would suffer to rest on itself; for the latter has just as much right to the rough breathing as the Latin *sisto* to its *s*: and when Buttmann says (Gr. Res. §. 83. Rem. 6.), "The often-occurring ἀφέσταλκα (pre-supposing ἕσταλκα) in the Milesian inscription given by Chishull, p. 67, furnishes a proof that the rough breathing instead of the reduplication of the perfect went further in the old dialects than the two cases to be met with in the current language (ἕστηκα, εἵμαρται)," it is important to observe, that here, also, the root begins with σ, which has been preserved in the syllable of repetition as the rough breathing. In ἕστηκα this phenomenon has been preserved in the language as commonly used, because, in my opinion, the analogy of the present and imperfect has protected the breathing which belongs to the perfect reduplication.

601. For the rest, if, in other consonant combinations than that of a mute before a liquid, the syllable of repetition has usually dropped the consonant to be repeated, this clearly happened because a greater weight of sound in the base syllable rendered a lightening of the syllable of repetition desirable; hence, ἔψαλκα, ἔφθορα, from πέψαλκα, πέφθορα. In these and similar forms the coincidence of the initial syllable with the augment is only casual; and if in the ε a remnant of a syllable of reduplication is recognised, we are

thereby compelled to explain the ε of ἔψαλλον, ἔφθειρον, also as the syllable of reduplication, as in the imperfect and aorist (and this appears from the Sanscrit), a simple vowel, independent of the root, has just as much a primitive foundation, as in the perfect, in roots beginning with a consonant, a syllable beginning with the radical consonant or its representative has. It cannot, however, be denied, that in some cases, through an error in the use of language, the example of the augmented preterites has operated on the perfect. It may be, that the ε of ἔαγα, ἐούρηκα, is just as much the augment as that of ἔαξα,* ἐούρουν: but it also admits of being regarded in the perfect as the reduplication, since ε and ο are originally identical with α, and have proceeded from it by corruption (see §. 3.); and since both *a* and *o* easily become ε, as the final ε of ἔδειξε (=अदिक्षत् *adikshat*) is, according to its origin, identical with the α of ἔδειξα, ἔδειξα-ς, &c., and the ε of the vocative, as λύκε (=वृक *vrika*), is only a weakening of the *o* concluding the base-word, and corrupted from the older α (see §. 201.).

602. To pass over, then, to the alterations, to which the radical vowel in the Sanscrit reduplicated preterite is subjected, we will consider first the roots with *a*. This is lengthened before a simple consonant in the third person singular active, and at pleasure, also, in the first; hence, from *char*, "to go," to which the Gothic root *FAR*, "to wander," corresponds; *chachára* or *chachara*, "I went," *chachára*, "he went." This analogy is followed by those Gothic verbs which have preserved a radical *a* before simple consonants in the present, but replace it in the preterite with *ó*; as *fara*, the preterite of which, *fór*, in respect to its vowel, corresponds as exactly as possible to the Sanscrit *chár* of *chachára*,

* The digamma, which belongs to this verb, which rests on the Sanscrit *bh* of *bhanj*, "to break," leads us to expect an aorist, ἔϝαξα, and in the most ancient time a perfect ϝέϝαγα for the Sanscrit *babhanja*.

for *ô* is, in Gothic, the regular representative of the long *â*, and takes the place of the short *a*, where the latter is to be lengthened, as, *vice versâ*, *ô*, in case of abbreviation, becomes *a*; on which account feminine bases in *ô* (= Sanscrit *â*) exhibit in the uninflected nominative an *a*, since long vowels at the end of a word are the easiest subjected to abbreviation (see §. 137.). The relation, therefore, of *fôr* to *fara* is based originally not on an alteration of quality, but only on that of quantity; and the vowel difference has here just as little influence in the designation of the relation of time, as, in the noun, on that of the case relation. As, however, in *fôr* the true expression of past time, viz. the reduplication, has disappeared, and *fôr* stands for *faifôr*, the function performed by the difference of the vowel of the root, in common with that of the personal terminations (or of the absence of terminations, as in *fôr* as first and third person singular), is, for the practical use of language, the designation of time. Thus, in our German conjunctive preterite in the plural, the *umlaut* is the only sign by which we recognise the relation of mood, and which, therefore, is to be held as the exponent of the modal relation, since the true expression of the same, viz. the vowel *e* (*e. g.* of *wären*, *wäret*), which was formerly an *î* (Old High German *wârîmês*, *wârît*), and, as such, has produced the *umlaut* by its assimilative power, is no longer, in its corrupted form, distinguishable from the termination of the indicative.

603. The Gothic *fôr* is distinguished from the Sanscrit *châr* of *chachâra* by this, that it retains its long vowel through all persons and numbers, while in Sanscrit it is necessary only in the third person singular, and is found or not, at will, in the first person singular. To the Gothic, however, answers the Greek second perfect in the case where a radical ᾰ is lengthened to ᾱ, or its representative, η. The relation of κράζω (ἔκρᾰγον) to κέκρᾱγα, of θάλλω (θᾰλῶ) to τέθηλα, corresponds exactly to the relation of the Sanscrit *charâmi* and Gothic *fara* to *chachâra*, *fôr*. In Greek verbs which have changed

a radical *a*, in the present, to *e*, the change of this *e* into the heavier *o* compensates for its being lengthened (see §. 589.).

604. In verbs which end with two consonants the lengthening of the *a* to *â* is, in Sanscrit, quite omitted, and so, in Gothic, that of *u* to *ô*; as, in Sanscrit, *mamantha*, "I or he shook," *mamanthima*, "we shook," from *manth*; so, in Gothic, *vaivald*, "I or he ruled," *vaivaldum*, "we ruled," from *vald*. Those Gothic verbs which weaken, in the present, a radical *a* before a double consonant to *i* (see §. 116.), replace the same in the plural numbers of the preterite, and in the whole conjunctive preterite, by *u*; hence, *BAND*, "to bind" (from which the present *binda*), forms in the singular of the preterite *band*, *bans-t* (see §. 102.), *band*, answering to the Sanscrit *babandha*, *babandh-i-tha*, *babandha*: in the second person dual, however, *bund-u-ts* for Sanscrit *baband-a-thus*; and in the plural, *bund-u-m*, *bund-u-t*, *bund-u-n*, for Sanscrit *babandh-i-ma*, *babandh-a-(tha)*, *babandh-us*. The conjunctive is *bundyau*, &c. The Old High German, which has an *i* for its termination in the second person singular instead of the Gothic *t*, which, in my opinion, corresponds to the Sanscrit conjunctive vowel *i*, exhibits, before this *i*, also the alteration of the *a* to *u*; hence, in the first and third person singular *bant* corresponding to the Sanscrit *babandha* and Gothic *band*; but in the second person *bunt-i*, answering to the Sanscrit *babandh-i-tha* and Gothic *bans-t*. Hence we perceive that the change of the *a* into *u* depends on the extent of the word, since only the monosyllabic forms have preserved the original *a*. We perceive further, that the weight of the *u* appears to the German idioms lighter than that of the *a*, otherwise the *u* would not unbind the *a* in the same way as we saw above *ai* and *au* replaced by *i* in the polysyllabic forms, or before heavy terminations (see §. 489.); and as, in Latin, the *a* of *calco* and *salsus*, under the encumbrance of a preceding preposition, is represented by *u* (*conculco*, *insulsus*).

605. Where, in Gothic, a radical *a* is weakened before simple consonants, in the present, to *i*, but retained in the singular of the preterite, we find instead of it, in both the plural numbers and in the whole conjunctive preterite, in all the polysyllabic past forms, an *ê*, and for that in the Old and Middle High German an *â*, which here, however, occurs as soon as in the second person singular indicative, because it is polysyllabic: in Middle High German, however, it is changed to *a*. The present of the root *LAS*, "to read," is, in Gothic, *lisa*, in Old High German *lisu*, in Middle High German *lise*; the preterite in Gothic is *las*, *las-t*, *las*, *lêsum*, *lêsut*, *lêsun*; conjunctive *lêsyau*, &c.: in Old High German *las*, *lâsi*, *las*, *lâsumês*, *lâsut*, *lâsun*; conjunctive *lâsi*, &c.: in Middle High German *las*, *læse*, *las*, *lâsen*, *lâset*, *lâsen*; conjunctive *læse*. This phenomenon stands in contradiction to all other strong verbs, because here the polysyllabic forms have a heavier vowel than the monosyllabic; but the reverse naturally appears everywhere else. Even in the Sanscrit we find this apparent contradiction to the law of gravity, and the surprising, although, perhaps, accidental, coincidence with the Gothic, that in both languages in similar places—viz. before the heavy terminations of the dual and plural—a radical *a* is changed into *ê*, in both languages only in roots which terminate in a simple consonant; to which is further added, in Sanscrit, the limitation, that the initial consonant, also, must generally be simple, and cannot be *v* or the like, which, in the syllable of repetition, according to §. 598., experiences a change. The syllable of repetition, however, is suppressed in the cases in which the *a* is changed into *ê*. This is the practical view of the rule, which we shall subsequently endeavour to elucidate theoretically. Let the root *tan*, "to stretch out," serve as example.

ACTIVE.

SINGULAR.	DUAL.	PLURAL.
tatâna or *tatana*,	*têniva* for *tataniva*,	*tênima* for *tatanima*,
tatantha, or *tênitha* for *tatanitha*,	*tênathus* for *tatanathus*,	*têna* for *tatana*.
tatâna,	*tênatus* for *tatanatus*,	*tênus* for *tatanus*.

MIDDLE.

tênê for *tatanê*,	*tênivahê* for *tatanivahê*,	*tênimahê* for *tatanimahê*.
tênishê for *tatanishê*,	*tênâthê* for *tatanâthê*,	*tênidhvê* for *tatanidhve*.
tênê for *tatanê*.	*tênâtê* for *tatanâtê*,	*tênirê* for *tatanirê*.

It appears, therefore, from this paradigm, that the form *tên* used for *tatan*, though far the most common, is adopted only before heavy terminations, or in such persons as, in their full form, would appear to consist of four syllables; for although, in the second person plural, *têna* stands for *tatana*, and in the third person plural, *tênus* for *tatanus*, still *us* in this place is an abbreviation of *anti* (compare §. 462.), and *a* is clearly only the remnant of an original termination *atha*: the *a* of *têna*, for *tên-a-tha*, corresponds merely to the conjunctive vowel of the Greek τετύφ-α-τε and of the Gothic *vaivald-u-th*, *fôr-u-th*, *lês-u-th*.* The reason of the abbrevia-

* I have already, in my System of Conjugation, and in the Annals of Oriental Literature (London, 1820) called attention to the fact, that the Sanscrit *tutupa* in the second person plural is an abbreviated form, and in the former parts of this book the fact has often been alluded to, that the Sanscrit, in particular cases, appears in disadvantageous contrast with its European sister idioms. It has therefore surprised me that Professor Höfer, in his Treatise "Contributions," &c., p. 40, has made so general an assertion, that recent investigators have not been desirous "of keeping perfectly free from the unfortunate error of believing in the imaginary inviolability and pristine fidelity and perfection of the Sanscrit." For my part I have never conceded to the Sanscrit such pristine fidelity; and it has always given me pleasure to notice the cases in which the European sister languages surpass it, as the Lithuanian does in this day, in everywhere

tion is clearly apparent in the second person singular; for if here the termination *tha* is joined directly to the root, the full reduplication remains; but if the number of syllables is increased by a conjunctive vowel, then *tên* is used for *tatan;* thus *tênitha* (from *tatanitha*) answering to *tatantha.* I recognise, as has been already observed (see §. 548.), in forms like *tên* a concealed reduplication; thus *tên* from *tatin* (as in Latin *cecini* for *cacani*), and this from *tatan*, whence, by rejecting the second *t*, *tân* (for *ta-an*) may have been formed, and so, in earlier times, have been used for *tên;* and I think that the Gothic *ê*, in forms like *lêsum*, is not found there because the Sanscrit, in analogous forms, has an *ê*, but for this reason that the Sanscrit *ê* was formerly an *â*, but the Gothic *ê* represents the *â* (§. 60.) The Old High German has preserved the original sound, and exhibits *lasumês* (from *lalasumês*), which, in contrast with the Gothic *lêsumês*, appears like a Doric form contrasted with an Ionic one.* While, in the second person singular, the Gothic *las-t*, on account of its monosyllabic nature, is based on Sanscrit forms like *tatantha*, the Old High German *lâsi* answers to the contracted form *tênitha*. It must be assumed that the Gothic *las, last*, was formerly *lailas, lailast;* and then, too, the plural *lêsum* stood in the proper relation to *lailas* (*lalas*), *i.e.* in the relation of the weaker to the stronger radical form. We give, for a complete general view of the analogies existing between the Sanscrit and the German in the case before us, the

expressing the idea "who?" by *kas*, while the Sanscrit *kas*, according to fixed laws of sound becomes at one time *kah*, at another *kô*, at another *ka*, and appears in its original form only before *t* and *th*.

* Regarding the Latin forms like *cêpi* (see §. 548.), it may be here further remarked, that Ag. Benary, also (Doctrine of Latin Sounds, p. 276, &c.), traces back the Latin perfect in all its formations to the Sanscrit aorist.

reduplicated preterite of सद् *sad*, "to sit," "to place oneself," corresponding to the Gothic *sat* and Old High German *saz*, "I sate," connected with it in form and sense.

SINGULAR.

SANSCRIT.	GOTHIC.	OLD HIGH GERM.
sasâd-a or *sasad-a*,	*(sai)sat*,	*(si)saz*.
sasat-tha or *sêd-i-tha*,	*(sai)sas-t*	*sâz-i*.
sasâd-a,	*(sai)sat*,	*(si)saz*.

DUAL.

sêd-i-va,	*sêtû*? (see §. 441.)	
sêd-a-thus,	*sêt-u-ts*,	
sêd-a-tus,	. . . .	

PLURAL.

sêd-i-ma,	*sêt-u-m*,	*sâz-u-mês*.
sêd-a,	*sêt-u-th*,	*sâz-u-t*.
sêd-us,	*sêt-u-n*,	*sâz-u-n*.

"Remark 1.—That in the example here given, as generally in Grimm's tenth, eleventh, and twelfth conjugations, the *a* of the preterite is the real radical vowel—that in the present it is weakened to *i*, and that the *i* of the present has not, *vice versâ*, been strengthened in the preterite to *a*—I infer, not only from this, that the Sanscrit, where it admits of comparison, everywhere exhibits *a* as the unmistakeable radical vowel, but especially from the circumstance that the Gothic causal verb where any such corresponds to the primitive verb, everywhere uses the *a* in the present even, which the primitive verb has retained merely in the preterite; for instance, from *SAT*, "to sit," comes the causal *satja*, "I set = Sanscrit *sâdayâmi*. If it were merely the object of the language to gain in the causal a vowel connected with the primitive verb, but

strengthened, then if *SIT* were the root, from it would perhaps have proceeded *seitya* (=*sîtya*) or *saitya*; and in reality the verbs, to which I ascribe *i* as the radical vowel, exhibit, in the causal, *ai*, as those with a radical *u* employ *au*; in exact agreement with the Sanscrit, where *i* and *u* receive Guna in the causal, *i. e.* prefix *a*. Thus in Gothic, from *ur-RIS*, 'to stand up,' (*ur-reisa*, *ur-rais*, *ur-risum*) comes *ur-raisya*, 'I raise up': from *DRUS*, 'to fall' (*driusa*, *draus*, *drusum*), *ga-drausya*, 'I plunge'; as, in Sanscrit, from *vid* and *budh*, 'to know,' *vêdayâmi* (=*vaidayâmi*), *bôdhayâmi* (=*baudhayâmi*), 'I make to know.' The circumstance, that Sanscrit verbs with a radical *a* correspond to the Gothic *sat*, 'I sate,' *band*, 'I bound,' would not alone furnish any sufficient ground for assuming that the said and analogous Gothic verbs exhibit the root in the singular of the preterite; for it might certainly be allowed that *binda* proceeds from the Sanscrit *bandh*, *sita*, from *sad*, and that an original *a* has here been corrupted to *i*; but it might still be maintained that the *a* of the pronoun *band*, *sat*, is not a transmission from the period of identity with the Sanscrit, but that it has been newly developed from the *i* of the present, because the change of sound of *i* to *a* is the symbol of the past. I object to this view, however, first, because not only does *sat* answer to *sasada* or *sasâda*, but also the plural *sêtum* from *sâtum*, Old High German *sâzumes*, 'to *sêdima* from *sâdima* (*sa(s)adima*), and it is impossible to consider this double and surprising coincidence as fortuitous; secondly, because, as has been above remarked, the causals too recognise the *a* of the verbs under discussion as a radical vowel; thirdly, because substantives also, like *band*, *satz*, which have nothing to do with the expression of past time, or any other temporal relation, conform to the vowel of the preterite; fourthly, because generally, in the whole Indo-European family of languages, no case occurs of grammatical relations being

expressed by the change of the radical vowel; fifthly, because the reduplication, which is the real expression of the past, is still clearly retained in Gothic, in the verbs mentioned above, and is therefore adequate ground for assuming that *sat* is an abbreviation of *saisat*, but that *sêtum* for *sâtum* is a contraction of *sa(s)tum*."

"Remark 2.—The Sanscrit roots which begin with a consonant which must be replaced by another cognate one, refrain from the contraction described above; for if the *g* of the base syllable of *jagam* dropped out, and the two *a* were melted down to *ê*, then *jêm* would assume an appearance too much estranged from the root; and this is certainly the reason why the contraction is avoided. It is omitted, also, in roots which begin with two consonants, and, indeed, for the same reason; for if the *st* of the second syllable of *tastan* was dropped, the contracted form would be *tên*, in which the root *stan* would no longer be recognised. There are, however, a few exceptions from the restriction specified; as, *babhaj* from *bhaj*, 'to pay homage,' is always contracted to भेज् *bhêj*, as far as is yet known, though बेज् *bêj* might be expected; but the aspiration of the base-consonant, which has been dropped, has been carried back to the syllable of repetition, according to the principle of the above mentioned धिक्ष् *dhiksh* for *didhaksh*, from *dah*, 'to burn' (see §. 593.). It is more difficult to account for the fact of some roots, which begin with two consonants having permitted themselves to be contracted, and having retained both consonants in the syllable of repetition, since to the reduplicated perfect theme *tatras* a contracted form *três* corresponds, while from *satras*, by rejecting the *tr* of the second syllable, should come *tês*. Either, then, in *três* the *r*, which is suppressed in the full reduplicated form (*tatras* for *tratras*), is again restored, in order to comply with the requirement that the form of the root be not too much disfigured, or

the forms like *três* proceed from a period when the syllable of repetition still combined the two consonants, as in the Latin *spopondi, steti,* and in the Gothic *skaiskaith ;* or, lastly, and this is most probable, forms like *três* proceed from a period when the language had completely forgotten the ground of their origin in contraction, and when in forms like *sêdima* reduplication was no longer perceived, but only the change of a radical *a* into *ê,* and it was believed that the true exponent of the relation of time was therein recognised. Thus, in a measure, the Gothic *frêhum,* 'we asked' (Sanscrit *paprichchhima,* not *prêchhima,* from *prachh,* 'to ask'), was prepared by Sanscrit forms like *trêsima,* 'we trembled,' *bhrêmima,* 'we wandered,' and some similar ones. The Sanscrit and German in this agree most admirably, that roots which end with two consonants have not permitted the combination to make its way; certainly because, through their stronger construction, they had more power to bear the full reduplication (compare §. 589.), which has at last disappeared in Gothic in those verbs with a radical *a,* which weaken that vowel, in the present, to *i ;* so that *band, bundum,* correspond to the Sanscrit *babandha, babandhima.* To a Gothic present *bandu,* would correspond a preterite *baiband.*"

606. It is not requisite to assume that forms like सेदिम *sêdima,* "we sate," which has been compared above (p. 825) to the Gothic *sêtum* and Old High German *sâzum,* existed so early as the period of the unity of language. I rather hold the Sanscrit *sêdima* and Gothic *sêtum,* besides being identical in their root, to be connected only in this point, that they both, independently of each other, have, in consequence of a contraction, lost the semblance of a reduplicated form; that in both the *ê* stands for an older *â,* which is preserved in the Old High German *sâzumês ;* that the Sanscrit *sêd* for *sâd* has sprung from *sasad,* as the Gothic *sêt* for *sât* from *sasat,* the latter natu-

rally at a time when the syllable of repetition was still faithful to the radical syllable as regards the vowel. The contraction of polysyllabic forms into monosyllabic, by rejecting the consonant of the second syllable, or the consonant together with its vowel (as above in *lîps* for *lilaps*, §. 592.) is so natural, that different languages may easily chance to coincide in this point; but such an omission might most easily occur in reduplicated forms, because the expression of the same syllable twice running might be fatiguing, and therefore there would be a direct occasion for the suppression of the second syllable or its consonant. In verbs with a radical *a* the occasion is the more urgent, because *a* is the heaviest vowel, and hence there is the more reason to seek for a diminution of weight. Latin forms like *cecini, tetigi* (compared with such as *tutudi, momordi*), comply with the requisition after being weakened by reducing the *a* to *i* in the base-syllable, and to *e* in the syllable of repetition, while perfects (aorists) like *cêpi, fêci,* in their process of diminishing the weight, coincide with the Sanscrit *sêdimá* and Gothic *sêtum,* which does not prevent the assumption that each of the three languages has arrived at the contracted form in its own way, as the Persian *em* and English *am* (=*em*), "I am," approach so closely, because they both, but quite independently of each other, have abbreviated the primitive form *asmi* in the same way, while in the third person the Persian and Latin *est* coincide, through a similar corruption of the old form *asto;* or as the Old High German *fior, vior,* stands in the same relation to the Gothic *fidvôr* that the Latin *quar* of *quar-tus* does to the to-be-presupposed *quatuor-tus.* In conclusion, I shall further observe that the Gothic *man,* "I mean," though a form according to the preterite, and based on the Sanscrit *mamana* or *mamâna,** still

* The root *man,* "to think," is indeed, in the present condition of the language, used only in the middle (thus *mênê,* "I, he thought"), which, however,

in the plural forms not *mênum*, after the analogy of *mênima*, but *munum*, which leads us to conjecture an older *maimunum* for *mamunum*, as *bundum* for *baibundum*, *babundum*. Similarly, *skulum*, "we should," not *skêlum* (singular *skal*). From *mag*, "I can," comes *magum*, without weakening the *a* to *u*. In respect to this and similar verbs it may, however, be observed, that in the Sanscrit *vêda*, "I know," and Greek οἶδα (=Gothic *vait*, see §. 491.), the reduplication is lost, and perhaps, also, all German verbs, which associate the sense of the present with the terminations of the preterite, have never had reduplication, on which account there would be no reason to expect a *mênum* for *manum* from *mamanum*.

607. Verbs with a radical *i* or *u* before a simple final consonant have Guna, in Sanscrit, before the light terminations of the reduplicated preterite, and, therefore, only in the singular of the active. This Guna is the insertion of an *a* before the radical vowel, just as in Gothic (Grimm's eighth and ninth conjugations). As, however, with the exception of the few verbs which belong to the Sanscrit fourth class (see §. 109[a]. 2.), all strong verbs belong only to the Sanscrit fourth class, which, in the special tenses, has Guna pervading it; so also, in the German verbs with a radical *i* and *u*, Guna must be looked for in the present and the moods dependent thereon. The Guna vowel *a* has, however, in the present, been weakened to *i*, and is only retained as *a* in the monosyllabic preterite singular. While, therefore, the Sanscrit root *budh*, cl. 1, "to know," forms, in the present, *bôdhâmi*, pl. *bôdhâmas* (=*baudhâmi*, *baudhâmas*), and, in the reduplicated preterite, *bubôdha* (=*bubaudha*), plural *bubudhima*, the corresponding Gothic root *BUD* ("to offer," "to order,") forms, in the present, *biuda*,* plural

however, does not prevent the assumption that originally an active also has existed.

* Graff, who has in general supported with his assent my theory of the German *ablaut* (change of sound), which I first submitted in my Review of Grimm's

biudam, and in the preterite *bauth* (see §. 93ª.), plural *budum*. In verbs with a radical *i* the Guna vowel *i* is melted down in German with the radical vowel to a long *î*, which, in Gothic, is written *ei*:* hence the Gothic root *BIT*, "to bite," forms, in the present, *beita* (=*bîta*, Old High German *bîzu*), and in the singular of the preterite *bait*, plural *bitum*, answering to the Sanscrit *bibhêda* (from *bibhaida*), "I and he cleft," *bibhidima*, "we cleft." In the present, भिद् *bhid*, if it belonged to the first class, would form *bhêdâmi*, to which the Gothic *beita* (from *biita*) has the same relation as above *biuda* to *bôdhâmi*. The relation of the Gothic *beita* from *biita* to the Sanscrit *bhêdâmi* from *bhaïdâmi*, is like that of the plural nominative *fadei-s* (from the base *FADI*) to the Sanscrit *patay-as* from *pati*, "lord," only that in *patay-as* the *ê*, = *a* + *i*, is resolved into *ay* on account of the following vowel.

608. We give here, once more, the Gothic *bait*, "I bit," and *baug*, "I bowed," over against the corresponding Sanscrit forms, but so that, varying from §. 489. and our usual method, we express the Sanscrit diphthongs ए *ê* and ओ *ô*, according to their etymological value, by *ai* and *au*, in order

Grimm's German Grammar, differs in this point from the view above taken, that he does not recognise in the *i* of *biudu* and in the first *i* of *beita* (=*bîta*, from *biita*) the weakening of the Sanscrit Guna vowel *a*, but endeavours in three different ways to gain from the radical *i* and *u*, in the present *î* (written *ei* in Gothic) and *iu* (Old High German Thesaurus I. pp. 21, 22), of which modes, however, none is so near and concise as that, according to which the *i* of *biudu* is the weakening of the *a* of the Sanscrit *baudhâmi* (contracted, *bôdhâmi*), to which *biudu* has the same relation that the Old High German dative *suniu*, "to the son," has to the Gothic *sunau* and Sanscrit *sûnav-ê*, from the base *sûnu*, the final *u* of which receives Guna in the dative singular and nominative plural. In the former place the Gothic has retained the old Guna *a*; and it is not till several centuries later that we first see this in Old High German weakened to *i*: in the latter place (in the nominative plural) the Gothic even has admitted the weakening to *i*, but changed it to *y*; hence *sunyu-s* for Sanscrit *sûnav-as*.

* See §. 70., and Vocalismus, p. 224, Remark 13.

to make the really astonishing agreement of the two languages more apparent. We also annex the Old High German, which replaces the Gothic diphthong *ai* by *ei*, and *au* by *ou* (before *T*' sounds, *s* and *h* by *ô*). In the Old High German it is especially important to remark, that it replaces by the pure vowel of the root the diphthong in the second person singular, on account of the dissyllabic form, which here corresponds to the Gothic monosyllabic one, as a clear proof that the vowel opposition between singular and plural depends on the extent of the word or the weight of the terminations, as we have already perceived by the opposition between *a* in monosyllabic and the lighter *u* in polysyllabic ones (*bant, bunt, buntumês*, see §. 604.).

Sanscrit.	*Gothic.*	*O. H. Germ.*	*Sanscrit.*	*Gothic.*	*O. H. Germ.*
			ROOT.		
bhid, "split,"	*bit*, "bite,"	*biz*, "*id.*"	*bhuj*, "bend,"	*bug*, "*id*,"	*bug*, "*id.*"
			SINGULAR.		
bibhaid-a,	*bait*,	*beiz*.	*bubhauj-a*,	*baug*,	*boug*.
bibhaid-i-tha,	*bais-t*,[1]	*biz-i*.	*bubhauj-i-tha*,	*baug-t*,	*bug-i*.
bibhaid-a,	*bait*,	*beiz*.	*bubhauj-a*,	*baug*,	*boug*.
			DUAL.		
bibhid-i-va,	*bit-û*,[2]	....	*bubhuj-i-va*,	*bug-û*,[2]	....
bibhid-a-thus,	*bit-u-ts*,	....	*bubhuj-a-thus*,	*bug-u-ts*,	....
bibhid-a-tus,	....	....	*bubhuj-a-tus*,	....	....
			PLURAL.		
bibhid-i-ma,	*bit-u-m*,	*biz-u-mês*.	*bubhuj-i-ma*,	*bug-u-m*,	*bug-u-mês*.
bibhid-a-',	*bit-u-th*,	*biz-u-t*.	*bubhuj-a-'*,	*bug-u-th*,	*bug-u-t*.
bibhid-us,	*bit-u-n*,	*biz-u-n*.	*bubhuj-us*,	*bug-u-n*,	*bug-u-n*.

[1] See §. 102. [2] See §. 441.

609. The Greek second perfects like πέποιθα, λέλοιπα, ἔοικα, πέφευγα in respect to their Guna answer to the Sanscrit word just discussed, *bibhaida* (*bibhêda*), *bubhauja* (*bubhôja*), and Gothic *bait*, *baug*. The circumstance, however, that the

Greek retains the Guna in the dual and plural, and uses not πεπίθαμεν, πεφύγαμεν, but πεποίθαμεν, πεφεύγαμεν, raises a suspicion against the originality of the principle followed by the Sanscrit and German. We will therefore leave it undecided whether the Greek has extended unorganically to the plural numbers the Guna, which was created only for the singular or whether the vowel strengthening of the reduplicated preterite was originally intended for the three numbers of the active; and the coincidence of the Sanscrit and German in this point is only accidental, that they have, in the tense under discussion, accorded to the weight of the terminations, or extent of the word, an influence in shortening the base-syllable. This influence is so natural, that it need not surprise us, if two languages, in the course of time, had admitted it independently of each other, and then, in the operation of this influence, coincided; as, on one side, the Gothic *bitum, bugum,* answering to *bait, baug,* and, on the other side, the Sanscrit *bibhidima, bubhujima,* answering to *bibhaida bubhauja.* The German obtains a separate individuality in that the Old High German, in the second person singular, employs *bizi, bugi,* and not *beizi, bougi,* on account of their being dissyllabic; while the Sanscrit, in spite of their being of three syllables, uses *bibhaiditha, bubhaujitha.* It is certain that the Sanscrit, in its present state, has given to the weight of the personal terminations a far greater influence than could have existed at the period of the unity of language; and that the Greek δεδόρκαμεν, with reference to the singular δέδορκα, stands nearer to the primitive condition of the language than the Sanscrit *dadriśimu,* which has abbreviated the syllable *ar* of the singular *dadarśa* to *ri.* Observe, also, what has been remarked above regarding the retention of the Gothic *â* and Greek *ā* or *η* in the dual and plural, while the Sanscrit exhibits the lengthening of a radical *a* to *â* only in the first and third persons singular (§. 603.).

610. As to the personal terminations of the reduplicated preterite, they deserve especial consideration, as they do not answer exactly to the primary endings, nor to the secondary. The ground of their varying from the primary terminations, to which they most incline (in Greek more clearly than in Sanscrit), lies palpably in the root being encumbered with the syllable of reduplication, which in various places has produced an abbreviation or entire extinction of the personal terminations. The first and third person singular have the same sound in Sanscrit, and terminate with the vowel, which should properly be only the bearer of the personal termination. The Gothic has even lost this vowel; hence, above, *baug, bait,* answering to *bubhauja* (*bubhôja*), *bibhaida* (*bibhêda*). The Greek, however, has, in the third person, corrupted the old *a* to *ε*, just as in the aorist, where we saw *ἔδειξε* answer to the Sanscrit *adikshat.* In the same way, in the perfect, *τέτυφε, δέδορκε,* &c. answer to the Sanscrit *tutôpa* (= *tutaupa*) *dadarśa*; while in the first person, *τέτυφα, δέδορκα,* stand on the same footing with the Sanscrit *tutôpa, dadarśa* (from *dadarka*). As three languages, the Sanscrit, Greek, and Gothic, and a fourth the Zend (where *dadarśa* appears in the form دادارشا *dadarĕśa*), agree with one another in this, that in the first and third person of the sense under discussion they have lost the personal designation, it might be inferred that this loss occurred as early as the period of the unity of language. But this inference is not necessary; for in the incumbrance of the root by the syllable of reduplication there lies so natural an occasion for weakening the termination, that the different cognate languages might well have followed this impulse independently of each other. And the three languages (the Zend, whose long sojourn with the Sanscrit is evident, may remain unnoticed) do not stand quite on the same footing with respect to the disturbing influence which they have permitted to the syllable of reduplication: the Sanscrit has yielded more to this influence than

its Greek and German sisters; and our forms like *ihr bisset*, "you bit," *ihr boget*, "you bent," are more perfect in their termination at this day than what we can draw from the Sanscrit, in contrast to them, from the oldest period of its literature. The Sanscrit reduplicated preterite has, for instance, lost the termination of the second person plural from the oldest time; and this person is therefore either completely the same with the first and third person singular, or distinguished from it only by the removal of the Guna, or by an abbreviation in the interior of the root from which the singular has remained free; *e.g.* the first and third person singular and second person plural of *krand*, "to weep," are *chakranda*: in the two former places the Gothic *gaigrôt* corresponds to it, and, indeed, shews to disadvantage through its loss of the final vowel: in the second person plural, however, *gaigrôt-u-th* surpasses the Sanscrit *chakrand-a*, which has evidently been preceded by a form *chakrand-a-tha* or *chakrand-a-ta*. To the Greek τετύφ-α-τε, δεδόρκ-α-τε, correspond, in Sanscrit, *tutup-a*, *dadriś-a*, for *tutup-a-tha*, *dadriś-a-tha*.

612. The Sanscrit reduplicated preterite stands in disadvantageous comparison with the Greek perfect in this point also, that, in the middle and passive it has not only, like the present, lost the *m* of the first person, but also the *t* of the third; thus, *tutupê* stands for *tutup-mê* and *tutup-tê*, and in the former case is surpassed by τέτυμ-μαι, in the latter by τέτυπ-ται, as respects the correct preservation of the termination. From τέτυμ-μαι, τέτυπ-ται, it may be inferred that the active was formerly τετύπαμι, τετύπατι, or τετύφαμι, τετύφ-α-τι, and in Sanscrit *tutôp-a-mi* (or *tutôp-â-mi*, see §. 434.), *tutôp-a-ti*. The conjunctive vowel is suppressed in Greek before the weightier terminations of the middle passive, according to the principle by which the η of the optative, and the corresponding *â* of the Sanscrit potential, is dropped in the middle, and *e.g.* διδοίμεθα, *dadîmahi*, correspond to the active διδοίημεν, *dadyâma*. The Sanscrit, in the middle and the

passive, which in this tense is fully identical with the middle, prefixes to the personal terminations beginning with a consonant a conjunctive vowel *i* (see §. 605.); hence *tutup-i-shê* answering to the Greek τέτυπ-σαι. Yet in the Vêda dialect the form *tutup-sê* might be expected, as this dialect often suppresses the conjunctive vowel of the common language, and, in the Rig Vêda (XXXII. 4.), from *vid*, class 6, "to find," occurs the form *vivit-sê*, "thou didst find," for the common *vivid-i-shê*.

612. The third person plural of the middle passive exhibits in Sanscrit the termination *rê*, which, in the common language, always precedes the conjunctive vowel *i*, which, however, may be withdrawn in the Vêda dialect, where, *dadris-rê*, "they were seen," occurs for *dadris-i-rê* (Rig Vêda, XXXIV. 10.). It is hardly possible to give a satisfactory explanation of this termination. I have elsewhere (Lesser Sanscrit Grammar, §. 372. Rem. 4.) remarked, that its *r* is perhaps a corruption of an original *s*, which otherwise, in Sanscrit, occurs only in the initial sound, and regularly, indeed, before sonant letters, in case a vowel other than *a* or *â* precedes the *s*. This being the case, this *r* would belong to the verb substantive; and we should remark, that in Greek, also, this verb, in certain tenses, is found only in the third person plural, while the rest are simple (ἐδίδοσαν, ἔδοσαν). The Sanscrit intended probably, in the case before us—if the *r* really stands for *s*—by this change to lighten the sound, as occurs in the Old High German, where, in all roots in *is* and *us*, and in part of the roots in *as*, the radical sibilant in the preterite is retained only in the monosyllabic forms, but in the polysyllabic is weakened to *r*; hence, from *RIS*, "to fall" (Sanscrit *bhrans*), *reis*, *riri*, *reis*, *rirumes*, &c.; from *LUS*, "to lose," *lôs*, *luri* (see §. 608.), *lôs*, *lurumês*, &c.; from *was*, "I was," "he was," comes the second person *wâri*, the plural *wârumês*, &c.

613. With the *r* of the Sanscrit termination *rê* is

clearly connected that of the termination *ran* of the third person plural, middle, potential, and precative, where *ran*, in my opinion, is an abbreviation of *ranta;* and also the *r*, which the root *śî*, "to lie" (Greek κεῖμαι), adds, in the third person plural of all special tenses (*śêratê*, "they lie," *aśêrata*, "they lay," *śêratâm*, "let them lie"). The root *vid*, "to know," Class 2, in combination with the preposition *sam*, admits at will the addition of such an *r* in the present, imperfect, and imperative; hence, *saṅvidratê* or *saṅvidatê*, "they know" (Pânini VII. 1. 7.). The Vêda dialect gives to the addition of this enigmatical *r*, in the middle and passive, a still wider extension (Pânini VII. 1. 8.), and exhibits *aduhra*, "they milked," for *aduhrata*, instead of the common *aduhata*. Remarkable, also, are the forms अदृश्रं *adṛiśraṅ* and असृग्रं *asṛigraṅ*,* from अदृश्रन्त *adṛiśranta*, असृग्रन्त *asṛigranta*, for *adṛiśanta*, *asṛijanta*. The Anusvâra of this Vêda termination *raṅ*, which may have been formerly *raṅs* (with *s* from *t*, compare p. 754.), passes into *m* before vowels; hence, Rig. Vêda IX. 4., असृग्रम् इन्द्र ते गिरः *asṛigram Indra tê giraḥ* "*effusi sunt, Indra! tibi hymni*"; L. 3. अदृश्रम् अस्य केतवो वि रश्मयो जनां अनु *adṛiśram asya kêtavô vi raśmayô janâṅ anu* "*conspiciuntur ejus collustrantes radii inter homines.*"†

* The former is an aorist of the sixth formation, from the root *dṛiś*, which is not used in the special tenses; but *asṛigraṅ*, in which the retention of the original guttural instead of the palatal of the common language is to be noticed, does not, in my opinion, admit of being explained as an aorist, as Westergaard makes it, but appears to me as an imperfect; as the roots of the sixth class, when they do not insert a nasal in the special tenses, are incapable of the sixth aorist formation, because they could not be distinguishable from the imperfect. Why should not the imperfect, as well as the aorist, be capable of replacing the termination *anta* by *raṅ?*

† Compare Westergaard, Radices, p. 269. Rosen takes *adṛiśram* actively, and, in the first passage, *asṛigram*, as the first person singular active, which, however, will not do. Preterites with a present signification are very common in the Vêdas.

614. The conjunctive vowel *i*, which the middle uses in almost all persons, may formerly have been an *a*; and it is still more probable that the active, as in Greek, everywhere had an *a* as conjunctive vowel; that therefore the form *tutup-i-ma* was preceded by a form *tutup-a-ma* (or *tutup-â-ma*, see §. 434.), as analogous to the Greek *τετύφ-α-μεν*;—an opinion which is also corroborated by the Gothic *u-m*, as in *gaigrôt-u-m*, "we wept," which leads us to expect a Sanscrit *chakrand-a-ma* or *â-ma* for *chakrand-i-ma*, as the Gothic *u* very often occurs as the weakening of an original *a*, but not as the increase of an original *i*.

615. In the second and third person dual the Sanscrit has firmly retained the old conjunctive vowel *a*; but the *a* of the primary terminations *thas*, *tas*, has been weakened to *u*, probably on account of the root being encumbered by the syllable of reduplication; hence, *tutup-a-thus*, *tutup-a-tus*, correspond to the Greek *τετύφ-α-τον*, *τετύφ-α-τον* from -*τος*, *τος*, see §. 97.); and *chakrand-a-thus*, "ye two wept," to the Gothic *gaigrôt-u-ts* of the same import. The अ *a* of these dual forms is never suppressed, and hence is regarded by grammarians as belonging to the termination itself, while the terminations *va* and *ma* of the first person dual and plural occasionally occur also, in direct combination with the root; as from *sidh*, "to stop," come both *sishidhiva*, *sishidhima*, and *sishidhva*, *sishidhma*. Thus we find in Greek, also, the *α* occasionally suppressed before the heavier terminations of the dual and plural. Here belong, besides, *ἴσμεν* for *οἴδαμεν* (see §. 491.), *ἔοιγμεν*, *ἔικτον*, *ἄνωγμεν*, *δέδιμεν*. But on these forms no special relationship is to be based, but only a coincidence of principle; for in the operation of the law of gravity it is so natural that two languages should, independently of one another, free themselves before heavy terminations of a semi-vowel, not indispensable for the idea to be conveyed,

that it is quite unnecessary to assume here an old transmission.

616. With regard to the termination थ *tha* of the second person singular, we direct attention to §. 453. It may be here additionally remarked, that if the Greek *ἦσ-θα*—which is there referred to आसिथ *ás-i-tha*, for which would stand, without the vowel of conjunction, *ás-tha*—is not a remnant of the perfect, but actually belongs to the imperfect, the Sanscrit middle imperfect आस्थास् *ásthás* would admit of comparison with it. But I prefer referring this *ἦσθα* to the perfect, and placing it on the same footing with *οἶσ-θα*, which, with respect to its termination, corresponds well with वेत्थ *vêt-tha* and the Gothic *vais-t*. The Old High German also, which, in its strong preterites, has preserved only the conjunctive vowel of the Sanscrit *i-tha*, and hence opposes to the Sanscrit *bubauj-i-tha* (*bubôj-i-tha*) and Gothic *baug-t*, "thou didst bow," the form *bug-i*, has in preterites, which, like the Sanscrit *vêda*, Greek *οἶδα*, and Gothic *vait*, have present signification, retained the old *t* in direct combination with the root; as, *weis-t* (euphonic for *weiz-t*) corresponds to the Gothic *vais-t*, Greek *οἶσ-θα*, and Sanscrit *vêt-tha* (*vait-tha*). Here belong also *muos-t*, "thou must," *tôh-t*, "thou art fit,"* *mah-t*, "thou canst," *scal-t*, "thou shouldst," *an-s-t*, "thou art inclined," "dost not grudge" (with euphonic *s*, see §. 95.: the form cannot be cited, but cannot be doubted), *chan-s-t*, "thou canst," "thou knowest," *getars-t*, "thou venturest,"† *darf-t*, "thou didst require."

* Does not occur, but can be safely deduced from the third person *tauk* and the preterite *tôh-ta*.

† The *s* is not, as I formerly assumed, euphonic (§. 94.), but belongs to the root, which, before vowels, assimilates its *s* to the preceding *r* (as Greek *θάρρος*, *θαρρέω*), rejected when in the terminating sound, but preserved before *t*: hence, in the first and third person singular *ge-tar*, third person plural *ge-turrun*, *ge-turren*. In the Sanscrit corresponds *dharsh* (*dhrish*), "to venture," in Lithuanian, *drys-ti;* comp. Pott, I. 270, Graff, V. 441.

617. It deserves further to be remarked with respect to the Gothic, that the roots terminating with a vowel prefix an *s* to the *t* of the second person: at least the second person of *saisô*, "I sowed," is *saisô-st* (Luc. xix. 21.); from which we may also infer *vaivô-st*, from the root *VÔ*, "to blow" (Sanscrit *vâ*), and *lailô-st*, from *LÔ*, "to laugh." As to the relation of the *ai* of the present (*vaia*, *laia*, *saia*) to the *ô* of the preterite and of the root, it resembles that of *binda*, "I bind," to *BAND*; *i. e.* as the *a* of this and similar roots has weakened itself in the present to *i*, the same has been done by the latter half of the *ô* = *â*, or *a* + *a*. In the same way, in Sanscrit, a long *â* is sometimes weakened to *ê* = *ai*; *e.g.* in the vocative of the feminine bases in *â* (see §. 205.). But to return to the Gothic root *SÔ*, I am not inclined to infer from the third person present *saiy-i-th*, which actually occurs (Mark iv. 14), a first person *saiya*, but believe, that only before *i* a *y* is added to the diphthong *ai*, and that the third person singular and second person plural of *vaia* and *laia* also must be *vaiyith*, *laiyith*, and the second person singular *vaiyis*, *laiyis*. But if the root *SÔ* had, in the first person singular, formed *saiya*, then the third person plural would certainly have been *saiyand*, the infinitive *saiyan*, and the present participle *saiyands*; on the other hand, at Matth. iv. 26. occurs *saiand*, "they sow," l. c. 4, 5, *saiands*, "the sower," and *saian*, "to sow."

618. The Sanscrit roots in *â* (the analogy of which is followed by those also with a final diphthong, which are, for the most part, dealt with in the general tenses as if they ended with *â*) employ in the first and third persons *au* for *â* or *a*, for the *â* of the root should be melted down with the *a* of the termination to *â*, or be dropped as before the other terminations beginning with a vowel. Instead of this, however, *au* is used; *e.g.* ददौ *dadâu*, "I gave," "he gave," from *dâ*; तस्थौ *tasthâu*, "I stood," "he stood," from *sthâ*. If *âu* was found only in the first person, I should not hesitate

recognising in the *u* the vocalization of the personal character *m*, as in the Gothic *siyau*, "I may be," answering to the Sanscrit स्याम् *syâm*, and in Lithuanian forms in *au* (§. 438.) This view of the matter, however, appears less satisfactory, if we are compelled to assume that the termination *âu*, after its meaning had been forgotten, and the language had lost sight of its derivation, had found its way unorganically into the third person, though such changes of person are not unheard of in the history of language; as, in the Gothic passive, where the first and third persons have likewise the same termination, but reversed through the transposition of the ending of the third person to the first, and, in the plural, also into the second (§. 466.). But if the termination *âu* of *dadâu*, *dedi*, *dedit*, stands with the same right in the third person that it does in the first, and no personal ending is contained in it, then the *u* of the diphthong *âu* may be regarded as the weakening of the common termination, or conjunctive vowel *a*; so that the *u*, according to the principle of Vriddhi, would have united with the preceding *â* into *âu* (see §. 29.); while in the ordinary contractions an *â* is shortened before its combination with *u* or *i* to *a*, and then, with *u*, becomes *ô*=*au*, and with *i*, *ê*=*ai*.

619. The Sanscrit verbs of the tenth class, and all derivative verbs, periphrastically express the reduplicated preterite by one of the auxiliary verbs—*kri*, "to make," *as* and *bhû*, "to be"—the reduplicated preterites of which are referable to the accusative of an abstract substantive in *â*, which is not used in the other cases, before which the character *ay* of the tenth class and of the causal forms is retained; *e. g.* *chôrayânchakâra* (euphonic for *chôrayâm-ch-*), "he made stealing," or *chôrayâmâsa*, or *chôrayâmbabhûva**

* The root *bhû* irregularly contains in the syllable of repetition an *a* instead of the shortened radical vowel, omits in the first and third

 person

"he was to steal." The opinion expressed in the first edition of my Sanscrit Grammar, that the form in *âm* must be regarded as the accusative of an abstract substantive, I have since found is supported by the Zend, where the corresponding occurs as an infinitive in the accusative relation, as I have already shewn by citing the following lucid passage (Vend. S. p. 198.): [illegible] *yezi vasĕn mazdayaśna zaṁm raôdhayaṅm,*† "If the worshippers of Mazda wish to make the earth grow (cultivate)." The Sanscrit, instead of *kri*, occasionally uses another word of similar import, to paraphrase the reduplicated preterite. Thus we read in the Mahábhárat (I. 1809.): वपुष्टमार्थम् वरयाम् प्रचक्रमुः *vapushṭamârtham varayâm prachakramuh,* "they solicited Vapushtamá;" literally, "they made solicitation on account of Vapushtamá," or "they went to a solicitation;" for *pra-kram* means, properly, "to go;" but verbs of motion frequently take the place of those of making, since the completion of an action is represented as the going to it.

person singular the Guna or Vriddhi augment, and changes irregularly its *ŭ* before vowels into *ûv* instead of *uv*.

† Thus I read for the l. c. occurring *raôdhyaṅm,* for which, p. 299, occurs *raôdhayĕn:* the two forms guided me in restoring the right reading which has since been confirmed by Burnouf, by comparing MSS. Anquetil translates thus, "*lorsque les Mazdéiesnans veulent creuser des ruisseaux dedans et autour d'une terre;*" in accordance with which I before rendered the expression *raôdhayaṅm* by "*perforare.*" It is, however, probably the causal form of *raôdh,* "to grow" (compare Burnouf's Yaçna, Notes, p. xxxv.), which is based on the Sanscrit *ruh* from *rudh* (see §. 23.), and with which the Gothic *LUD,* "to grow," *lauths, laudis,* "man" (our *Leute*), is connected. It is possible that this causal form may have assumed, in Zend, the meaning "to bury," as one of the means of growth. This, however, is of not much importance to us here: it suffices to know, what is very important, that *raôdhayaṅm* supplies the place of an infinitive, has an accusative termination, and confirms my explanation of the Sanscrit form under discussion.

620. It is very important to observe, that it is the verbs of the tenth class, causal forms, and other derivative verbs, which particularly employ this periphrastic formation of the reduplicated preterite, and do not admit the simple formation; for hereby the way is, in a manner, prepared for the German idioms, which, without exception, paraphrase their preterite by an auxiliary verb signifying "to do," precisely in that conjugation in which we have recognised the Sanscrit tenth class in three different forms (see §§. 109[a]. 6. 504.). I have asserted this, as regards the Gothic, already in my System of Conjugation (p. 151. &c.), where I have shewn, in plurals like *sôkidêdum*, "we sought," (made to seek), and in the conjunctive in the singular also (*sôkidêdyau*, "I would make to seek") an auxiliary verb signifying "to do," and a word related to *dêths*, "the act,"* (Theme *dêdi*). Since then, Grimm, with whom I fully coincide, has extended the existence of the auxiliary verb also to the singular *sôkida*, and therefore to the other dialects; for if in *sôkida* the verb "to do" is contained, it is self-evident that it exists also in our *suchte*. I had before derived the singular *sôkida* from the passive participle *sokiths* (theme *sôkida*). But since I now recognise the verb (*thun*) "to do" also in *sôkida*, "I sought," I believe—in which I differ from Grimm—that we must, in respect to their origin, fully separate from one another the passive participle and the indicative preterite,† great as the agreement of the two forms is, which, in Gothic, amounts to complete identity; for the theme of *sôkiths*, "the sought," is *sôkida* (see §. 135.), thus fully the same as *sôkida*, "I sought;" and *salbôda*, the theme of *salbôths*, "the anointed," is in

* It is preserved only in *missa-dêths*, "misdeed," but is etymologically identical with our *that*, Old High German *tât*, Old Saxon *dâd*.

† Compare my Vocalismus, pp. 51, &c.

form identical with *salbôda*, "I anointed." This circumstance, too, was likely to mislead, that participles in *da* (nominative *ths*) occur only in verbs which form their preterites in *da*, while in strong verbs the passive participle terminates in *na* (nominative *ns*), and, e.g. *bug-a-ns*, "bent" (theme *bug-a-na*), corresponds to the Sanscrit *bhug-na-s*. In Sanscrit, however, passive participles in *na* are comparatively rare, and the vast majority of verbs form them by the suffix *ta*,* on which the Latin *tu-s*, Greek τός (πλεκτός, ποιητός,) Litth. *ta-s* (*suk-ta-s*, "turned") are based. This suffix has, however, nothing in common with the verb *thun*, "to do," under discussion; and therefore, also, the Gothic suffix *da* of *SÔK-I-DA*, *sôkiths*, can have nothing to do with the *da* of *sôkida*, "I sought," when elsewhere this *da* signifies "I did," just as *dêdum* in *sôkidêdum* means "we did," and *dê-ths*, "the deed."

621. The just mentioned *dê-ths*,† to which the Old Saxon *dâd* and Old High German *tât* correspond, is, in the theme, *dêdi*, the *i* of which is suppressed in the nominative (see §. 135.): the genitive is *dêdai-s*, the accusative plural *dêdi-ns*. The final syllable of the base *dêdi* corresponds to the Sanscrit suffix *ti*, which forms abstract substantives, and, in the Gothic, occurs under the form of *ti*, *thi*, or *di*, according to the measure of the letter preceding

* Compare *tyak-ta-s*, "forsaken," *kri-ta-s*, "made," *bri-ta-s*, "borne." I remark, *en passant*, that the Latin *la-tus* might become connected with *britas*, from *bhartas*, in the same way as *latus*, "broad," with *prithu-s*, πλατύς: thus, the labial being lost, *r* being exchanged with *l*, and *al* transposed to *la* = *ra*, as, in the Greek, ἔδρακον for ἔδαρκον.

† I write the non-occurring nominative *dêths*, not *dêds*, since *d* after vowels, before a final *s*, and at the end of words, generally becomes *th*; hence, also, *sôkiths*, "sought," from the base *sôkida*, and *mannasêths*, "world," literally "human-seed," from the base *sê-di* and the root *sô*, "to sow" (*saia*, *saisô*, see §. 617). *Sêdi* has the same relation to *sô*, in regard to its radical vowel, that *têka*, "I touch," has to the preterite *taitôk*.

it (see §. 91.). There remains, therefore, *dê*, in Old Saxon *dâ*, in Old High German *tâ*, as the root, and this regularly corresponds to the Sanscrit Zend धा *dhâ* ﺩﺎ *dâ*, "to set," "to make" (see p. 112); from which might be expected an abstract substantive धातिस् *dhâ-ti-s*, ﺩﺎﺗﻴﺲ *dâ-ti-s*, which would answer to the Greek θέσις (from θέτις). It is a question, then whether, in the Gothic *dêdum* of *sokidêdum*, the first syllable is fully identical with that of *DĒ-DI*, "the deed"? I think it is not; and consider *dêdum*, and the conjunctive *dêdyau*, plural *dêdeima*, as reduplicated forms; so that thus the second syllable of *dêdum*, *dêdyau*, would be to be compared with the first of *DĒDI*, "deed." The *dê* of *dêdum*, "we did," *dê-dyau*, "I would do," considered as the syllable of reduplication, is distinguished from the common reduplicated preterites like *vai-vô-um*, "we blew," *sai-sô-um*, "we sowed," *taitôkum*, "we touched," by its *ê* for *ai*. It may be, then, that this *ê*, which has proceeded from *ai*, is the contraction of *a + i* to a mixed sound, according to the Sanscrit principle (see §. 2.); or that, according to an older principle of reduplication, the *ê* of *dê-dum*, just like that of *DĒDI*, represents the original long *â* of the Sanscrit root *dhâ* (see §. 69.), which is retained unchanged in the Old High German *tât*, and Old Saxon *dâd*. In the last syllable of *dê-dum*, *dê-dyau*, we miss the radical vowel: according to the analogy of *vai-vô-um*, *sai-sô-um*, we should expect *dêdô-um*. The abbreviation may be a consequence of the incumbrance owing to composition with the principal verb: however, it occurs in Sanscrit even in the simple word; since, in the reduplicated preterite, *da-dh-i-ma*, "we did set," *da-dh-us*, "they did set," are correctly said for *da-dhâ-i-ma*, *dadhâ-us*. Even in the present, the root *dhâ*, which, as a verb of the third class, has reduplication in the special tenses also, with *dâ*, class 3, "to give," irregularly reject the radical vowel before the heavy terminations of the dual and

plural; thus, *dadh-mas* for *dadhâ-mas;* just so, in the whole potential mood, where *dadh-yâm* (for *dadhâ-yâm*), *ponam*, answers remarkably to the Gothic *dêd-yau* (from *sôkidêd-yau*), "I would do," for *dêdô-yau*.

622. The singular of *sôkidêdum, sôkidêduth, sokidêdun*, is *sôkida, sôkidês, sôkida*, with the loss of the syllable of reduplication. Yet *dês* is perhaps an abbreviation of *dêst*, as, in the preterite, *t*, answering to the Sanscrit थ *tha*, is properly the character of the second person (see §. 453.), before which a radical *T* sound passes, according to §. 102., into *s*; as, *buis-t, bans-t*, for *bait-t, band-t*. So, also, *dês* might have proceeded from *dês-t*, and this from *dêd-t*. In the simple state, the auxiliary verb under discussion is wanting in Gothic; at least, it does not occur in Ulfilas; but in Old Saxon, *dô-m, dô-s, dô-t* (or *dô-d*), correspond admirably to the Sanscrit *dadhâ-mi, dadhâ-si, dadhâ-ti*, with *ô* for *a*, according to the Gothic principle (see §. 69.), and with the suppression of the syllable of reduplication, which, as has been already remarked, the Sanscrit verb, according to the principle of the third class, exhibits, like the Greek τίθημι, in the present also. The preterite in Old Saxon, as in all the other German dialects, has preserved the reduplication, and is, *dëda, dëdô-s, dëda*, plural *dëdun*, also *dâdun*,* properly the third person, which, in the Old Saxon preterite, as in the Gothic passive (§. 466.), represents both the first and second person. In this *dëd-u-n* or *dâd-u-n*, therefore, the radical vowel, as in the Gothic *sôkidêdun* (for *sôkidêdô-u-n*), is dropped before the conjunctive vowel. The *ë* of *dëda*, &c., has arisen from *i*, which has been actually retained in Anglo-Saxon. Here the preterite under discussion has *dide, didest, dide*, plural *didon*, in the three persons. These forms, therefore, in respect to their reduplication syllable, answer to the pre-

* See Schmeller's Glossarium Saxonicum, p. 25.

terites with concealed reduplication, as Old High German *hi-alt* for *hihalt* (see §. 592.). The Old Saxon *dâdun*, which occurs in the plural, together with *dĕdun*, as also in the second person singular *dâdi* is found together with *dĕdô-s* (see Schmeller's Gloss.), is unorganic, and follows the analogy of Grimm's tenth and eleventh conjugations; *i.e.* it is produced in the feeling, as if *dad* was the root and first and third person in the singular preterite, and the present *didu*. Thus, also, in the conjunctive, with *dĕdi* exists the form *dâdi*. In Old High German, also, the forms which have a long *â* in the conjugations named, employ this letter in the auxiliary verb under discussion, and, indeed, without a dissentient authority,* without, however, in a single one, the first and third person singular being *tat*, as might have been expected from the second person *tâti* (like *sâzi* answering to *saz*, see the second table in §. 605.). I annex the preterite in full, according to Grimm; *tĕta, tâti, tĕta; tâtumês, tâtut, tâtun;* conjunctive *tâti, tâtîs, tâti; tâtîmes, tâtît, tâtîn*. The present is *tuo-m, tuo-s, tuo-t, tuo-mês, tuo-t, tuo-nt;* which, in its way, answers to the Sanscrit *da-dhâmi*, just as well as the Old Saxon *dô-m*, &c.; as *uo*, in Old High German, is the most common representative of the Gothic and Old Saxon *ô*, and therefore of the Sanscrit *â*; as, in *fuor*, answering to the Gothic *fôr* and Sanscrit *châr*, from *chachâra*, "I went," "he went." The Middle High German is, in the present, *tuon, tuo-st, tuo-t; tuo-n, tuo-t, tuon-t:* in the preterite, *tĕte, tæte, tĕte:*† plural *tâten, tâtet, tâten:* conjunctive *tæte*, &c. Our German *that, thäte*, follows exactly the analogy of forms like *trat, träte, las, läse* (Grimm's tenth conjugation), and would lead us to expect a present *thĕte* from *thite*; the

* See Graff, V. 287, where, however, remark that very few authorities distinguish graphically the long *a* from the short.

† Also *tet* and *tete*, the latter unorganic, and as if the first *e* had not been produced from *i*, but, through *umlaut*, from *a*. See Grimm, I. p. 965.

recollection of a reduplication which is contained in *that* is completely destoyed, but just as much so the possibility of connection with the weak preterites like *suchte*, to which recourse must be had, if we wish to reject the opinion first given by Grimm (I. p. 1042), but not firmly held by him, that the Old Saxon *dëda*, Anglo-Saxon *dide*, Old High German *tëta*, Middle High German *täte*, rest on reduplication.* The passive participle *gi-tâ-nêr*, *ge-tha-ner*, answers to the Sanscrit like *mlâ-na*, "withered," from *mlâi* (*mlâ*), or *dâ-na*, "gift" (properly "that given"), from *dâ*, of which the common participle is *datta* (from *dadâta*), the reduplication being irregularly retained. The Sanscrit tenth class agrees with the German weak conjugation (the prototype of which it is) in this point, that it never forms its passive participles in *na*, but always in *ta*; on which is based the Gothic *da* of *SÔKIDA*, nominative masculine *sôkiths*, "sought."

623. To return to the Gothic *sôkida*, "I sought," "made to seek," after acknowledging in the *ya* of *sôkya*, "I seek," the character of the Sanscrit tenth class अय *aya*, and in *sôki-da*, "I make to seek," a copy of the Sanscrit *chôrayân-chakâra* (or *chakara*), "I made to steal," we now consider the *i* of *sôkida* as the contraction of the syllable *ya*, in which we agree with Grimm. The *i* of *sôkida*, therefore, represents the Sanscrit *ayâm* of *chôrayâm-chakâra* (न् *n* euphonic for *m*), "I made to steal"; or, in order to select kindred verbs, the *i* of the Gothic *sati* of *sati-da*, "I made to place," corresponds to

* The substantive *dê-ths* (theme *dê-di*), *tâ-t*, cannot stand in our way, since its formation has nought to do with the reduplication, nor with the weak conjugation; but here *dê*, *tâ*, is the root, and *di*, *ti*, the derivation-suffix mentioned in §. 91. Nor can the participle *gi-tâ-ner*, *ki-tâ-ner*, *ge-tha-ner*, induce us to look for passive participles in the weak conjugations like *gi-salbô-tâner* instead of *gi-salbôtêr*, *ge-salbter*, because we make this participle independent of the auxiliary verb *thun* (compare Vocalismus, p. 77).

the Sanscrit *ayâm* (or rather, only its *y*) of *sâdayân-chakâra*, "I made to sit"; the Gothic *thani*, of *thani-da*, "I extended," corresponds to the Sanscrit *tânayâm* of *tânayân-chakâra*, "I made to make extend"; the Gothic *vasi*, of *vasi-da*, "I made to clothe," corresponds to the Sanscrit *vâsayâm* of *vâsayân-chakâra*, "I made to cause to be clothed" (*vâsayâmi*, "I cause to clothe," as causal of *vas*, "to clothe"). It might be conjectured that the first member of the Gothic compounds under discussion originally, in like manner, carried an accusative-termination, just as in idea it is an accusative. As, that is to say, in the present state of the language, Gothic substantives have entirely lost the accusative sign, it would not surprise us to find it wanting in these compositions also. At an earlier period of the language, *satin-da*, *thanin-da*, *vasin-da*, may have corresponded to the Sanscrit *sâdayâm-*, *tânayâm-*, *vâsayâm-*, the *m* of which before the *ch* of the auxiliary verb must become न् *n*. The selection of another auxiliary verb in German, but which has the same meaning, cannot surprise us, as the Sanscrit also, occasionally, as has been already shewn, employs another verb for the idea of "doing" (see p. 842), or sets in its place the verb substantive *as* or *bhû*.

624. Grimm's second conjugation of the weak form, of which *salbô* is given as example, has, as has already been observed, cast out, like the Latin first conjugation, the semi-vowel which holds the middle place in the Sanscrit *aya* of the tenth class, and the two short *a* then coalesce, in Gothic, into *ô* = *a* + *a*, as, in Latin, into *â*. Hence, in the preterite, Gothic forms like *salbô-da*, "I made to anoint," correspond to the Sanscrit like *chôrayân-chakâra*, "I made to steal"; as *laigô*, from *laigô-da*, "I made to lick," answers to the Sanscrit *lêhayâm* (=*laihayâm*) from *lêhayân-chakâra*, "I made to cause to lick." It must not be forgotten that the Sanscrit tenth class is at the same time the form of causal verbs, which admit of being formed from all roots; hence, also, in

Grimm's third class of the weak conjugation (which has preserved the two first syllables of the Gothic *aya* in the form of *ai*, in accordance with the Latin *ê* of the second conjugation, and the analogous Prakrit forms*), the Gothic preterites *munai-da*, "I thought," *banai-da*, "I built," *ga-jukai-da*, "I subjected to the yoke," correspond to the Sanscrit causal preterites *mânayân-chakâra*, "I caused to make to think," *bâvayân-chakâra*, "I caused to make to be," "I produced, created." †

625. In Sanscrit, besides the tenth class and derivative verbs, there are verbs which paraphrase the reduplicate preterite by forming directly from the root an abstract substantive in *â*, and combining with its accusative one of the abovementioned auxiliary verbs. All roots, for instance, do this, which begin with vowels which are long either naturally or by position, with the exception of an *â* long by position and the root *âp*, "to reach"; as *îśân-chakâra*, "I made to rule," from *îś*, "to rule." Compare with this the Gothic *brah-ta*, "I brought," answering to the strong present *brigga* (*bringa*). Moreover, the paraphrased preterites, to which, instead of the present, a simple preterite with present meaning corresponds (see §. 616), and which, in the preterite, just like *brah-ta*, combine the auxiliary verb *thun* direct with the root, in which junction its *T* sound is governed by the final consonants of the principal verb; and in Gothic appears at one time as *t*, at another as *th*, at another as *d* (compare §. 91.), and after the *t* of *VIT*, "to know," as *s* (see §. 102.): hence, *môs-ta*, "I must," preterite (*môt*, "I must," present); *mun-tha*, "I meant" (*man*, "I mean"); *skul-da*, "I should" (*skal*, "I should," present); *vis-sa* for *vis-ta*, "I knew" (*vait*, "I

* See p. 110.

† The Gothic verb, also, is, according to its meaning, a causal from a lost primitive, which, in Old High German, in the first person present, is *bim*, see §. 510.

know," see §. 491). A few weak verbs, also, with the derivation *ya*, suppress its representative *i*, and annex the auxiliary verb direct to the root. They are, in Gothic, but four, viz. *thah-ta*, "I thought" (present, *thagkya*); *bauh-ta*, "I bought" (with *au* for *u*, according to §. 82., present *bugya*); *vaurh-ta*, "I made" (present *vaurkya*); *thuh-ta*, "it appeared" (*thugk*, "it appears"). The Old High German, however, usually suppresses the derivative *i* after a long radical syllable, and with the cause disappears also the effect, viz. the *umlaut* produced by the *i* (see §. 78.), in as far as the original vowel is an *a*: hence, *nan-ta*,* "I named"; *wan-ta*,† "I turned"; *lêr-ta*, "I taught;" answering to the Gothic *nanmi-da, vandi-da, laisi-da*. These, and similar verbs, have also, in the present and the forms depending on it, lost the *y* or *i* of the derivation *ya*,‡ but have preserved the *umlaut*, whence it is clear, that the *y* or *i* must have here adhered much longer than in the preterite (*nennu, wendu, lêru*).

626. The passive participle in Gothic, with respect to the suppression or retention of the derivative *i*, and with regard to the euphonic change of the final consonant of the root, always keeps equal pace with the preterite active: hence may be inferred from the Gothic *ôh-ta*," I feared," a participial base of similar sound, *ôh-ta*, "feared," nominative *ohts*, though this participle cannot be cited as occurring. Toge-

* For *nann-ta*, see §. 102.

† For *wand-ta*, see §. 102. I consider this verb as identical with the Sanscrit *vart* (*vṛit*), "to go," "to be" (with the preposition *ni*, "to return"), and the Latin *verto*, with exchange of the liquids *r* and *n*. This does not prevent our *werden* being referred to the root *vart*, as it often happens that a root separates into different forms with distinct meanings.

‡ As the Old High German does not distinguish the *y* from *i* it cannot be known whether the *neriu, neriamês*, which corresponds to the Gothic *nasyu*, "I save," *nasyam*, "we save," should be pronounced *neryu, neryamês* or *neriu, neriamês*, though at the oldest period *y* would certainly have been used.

ther with *vaurh-ta*, "I made," from *vaurkya*, exists a participle *vaurhts*, "the made" (theme *vaurhta*), Mark xiv. 58.; and with *fra-bauh-ta*, "I sold," from *frabugya*, is found *fra-bauhts*, "the sold," John xii. 5. From such euphonic coincidences, however, we cannot deduce an historical descent of the passive participle from the preterite active, or *vice versâ*; just as little as it could be said, that, in Latin, the participles in *tus* and *turus*, and the nouns of agency in *tor*, really proceed from the supine, because from *doctum*, *movitum*, may be inferred *doctus*, *monitus*, *docturus*, *moniturus*, *doctor*, *monitor*. It is natural that suffixes which begin with one and the same syllable, even if they have nothing in common in their origin, should still, in external analogy, approach one another, and combine similarly with the root. In German, indeed, the auxiliary verb *thun* and the suffix of the passive participle, if we recur to their origin, have different initial sounds, as the former rests on the Sanscrit धा *dhâ*, the latter on the suffix त *ta*: but inasmuch as the latter, in Gothic, instead of becoming *tha*, according to the law for the changing of sounds, has, with the preceding derivative vowel, assumed the form *da*, it is placed on the same footing with the auxiliary verb, which* regularly commences with *d*, and is consequently subject to the same fate. The same is the case with the suffix of abstract substantives, which is, in Sanscrit, *ti*, but in Gothic, after vowels, *di*, and after consonants, according to their nature, either *ti*, *thi*, or *di*; and thus may also, from the preterite *mah-ta*, "I could," be deduced a substantive *mah-ts* (theme *mah-ti*), "might," without the latter proceeding from the former.

627. We must therefore reject the opinion, that, in Gothic, *sôkida*, "I sought," and *sôkiths* (theme *sôkida*), "the sought," *sôkida* (theme *sôkidô*), "the sought" (fem.) stand

* The Sanscrit *dh* leads us to expect the Greek θ and Gothic *d*.

to one another in the relation of descent; and I still persist in my assertion, already made in my System of Conjugation, and in my Review of Grimm's German Grammar (Vocalismus, p. 72), that in Persian, preterites like *bur-dem*, "I bore," *bes-tem*, "I bound," *purs-î-dem*, "I asked," are derived from their corresponding participles, which have both an active and a passive signification. While, in Sanscrit, *bri-ta* (nominative masculine *britas*) has merely a passive meaning, and only verbs neuter use the forms in *ta* with an active signification,* in Persian, *bur-deh* means both borne and, actively, having borne; and the perfect is expressed in Persian by using the verb substantive with the participle just mentioned; thus *burdeh em*, "I have borne," or, literally, "I am having borne." I consider, however, the aorist *burdem* as a contraction of *burdeh em*, which need not surprise us, as the Persian very generally combines its verb substantive with both substantives and adjectives; *e.g. merdem*, "I am a man," *buzurgem*, "I am great." In the third person singular *berd*, or *berdeh* stands without the addition of the auxiliary verb, as, in Sanscrit, *bartâ* "*laturus*" is used in the sense of *laturus, a, um, est*; while the first and second persons of the three numbers combine the singular nominative masculine with the verb substantive, *bhartâsmi*, "I shall carry," &c. If we choose to recognise the verb substantive in the Persian aorist *burdem*, because in the present, with the exception of the third person *est*, it is so much compressed that it is nowise distinguished from the terminations of other verbs,† we must conclude that the simple annexation of the personal terminations to the participle, which is robbed of its end-

* Comp. *gata-s*, "*qui ivit*"; so *bhûta-s*, "the having been" (masculine).

† Compare *em*, "I am," *î*, "thou art," *îm*, "we are," *îd*, "ye are," *end*, "they are," with *berem* ("I bear"), *berî*, *berîm*, *berîd*, *berend*. To *end* corresponds the Doric ἐντί for σεντί; to *em* the English *am* (=*em*).

ing *eh* forms the tense under discussion. This, however, is not my opinion; and it seems to me far more natural to explain *burd'-em* as literally meaning "having borne am I," than to raise *burd* to the rank of a secondary verbal root, and, as such, to invest it with the personal terminations, as they appear in the present.

628. The Sclavonic languages, with the exception of the Old Sclavonic and Servian (see §§. 561. &c.), present, in the formation or paraphrasing of the preterite, a remarkable coincidence with the Persian. The participle, which, in Persian, terminates in *deh* or *teh*, and in Sanscrit, in the masculine and neuter theme, in *ta*, in the feminine in *tâ*, ends, in Old Sclavonic, in the masculine-neuter base in *lo*, in the feminine in *la*; and I consider the *l* of this participial suffix as a weakening of *d*; as, in Latin, *lacryma, levir*, from *dacryma, devir* (see §. 17.), and, in Lithuanian, *lika*, "ten," at the end of compounds, for *dika* (see §. 310. Rem.). And I am hence of opinion, that, both with reference to their root and their formation, *byl, byla, bylo*, "the having been" (masculine, feminine, and neuter), may be compared with the Sanscrit words of the same import, *bûta-s, bûtâ, bûta-m*, and Persian *bûdeh*. In Polish, *był* means "he was," *była* "she was," *było*, "it was," *byli, były*, "they were,"* without the addition of an auxiliary verb, or a personal termination: and as in general the forms in *l, la, lo, li, ly*, do not occur at all as proper participles, but only represent the preterite indicative, they have assumed the complete character of personal terminations.† They resemble, therefore, only with the advantage of the distinction of gender like nouns, the Latin *amamini, amabimini*, in which words the

* The masculine form *byli* belongs only to the masculine persons: to all the other substantives of the three genders belongs the feminine from *były*.

† And no notice is taken in Grammars, that, according to the gender alluded to, they are the nominatives of a former participle.

language is no longer conscious that they are masculine plural nominatives, see §. 478. Still more do the above Polish forms resemble the persons of the Sanscrit participial future, which uses for all genders the masculine nominatives of the three numbers of a participle corresponding to the Latin in *turus*; so that *bhavitá*, "*futurus*," stands instead of *futurus, a, um, est*, and *bhavitáras*, "*futuri*," instead of *futuri, æ, a, sunt*. But *byl*, "he was," corresponds most exactly to the Persian word of the same meaning, *búd* or *búdeh*, "the having been," in the sense of "he was." In the first person singular masculine, *bytem* (*by-tem*) answers admirably to the Persian *búdem*, which I render in Sanscrit by *bhútó 'smi* (euphonic for *bhútas asmi*) *i.e.* "the man having been am I." In the feminine and neuter, the Polish *bytam* (*byta-m*) corresponds to the Sanscrit *bhútá 'smi*, "the woman having been am I," and in the neuter, *bytom* (*byto-m*) to the Sanscrit *bhútam asmi*, "the thing having been am I." In the second person, in the three genders, the Polish *byteś* (*byteś*) corresponds to the Sanscrit masculine *bhútó- 'si* (for *bhútas asi*); *bytaś* (*byta-ś*) to the Sanscrit feminine *bhútá 'si*; *bytoś* (*byto-ś*) to the Sanscrit neuter *bhútam asi*. In the plural, the masculine *byti-smy*, and feminine *byty-śmy*,* correspond to the Sanscrit feminine and masculine *bhútás smas*; and so, in the second person, *bytyście, bytyście*,† to the Sanscrit *bhútás stha*.

"Remark 1.—I have no doubt that the syllable *em* of the Polish *byt-em*, and the simple *m* of the feminine *byta-m* and neuter *byto-m* belong to the verb substantive, which, therefore, in *byta-m, byto-m*, and so in the feminine and neuter second person *byta-sh, byto-sh*, has left merely its

* See p. 854, Remark *.

† The Polish *c* is like our *z*, and has the same etymological value as *t*; for instance, in the second person plural the termination *cie* corresponds to the Old Sclavonic ТЕ *te*; and, in the infinitive, the termination *c* to the Old Sclavonic ТИ *ti*.

personal termination, just as in our contractions, *im*, *zum*, *am*, *beim*, from *in*, *dem*, &c., the article is represented only by its case termination. In the first and second person plural, however, the radical consonant has remained; so that *śmy*, *ście*, are but little different from the Sanscrit *smas*, *stha*, and Latin *sumus* (for *smus*). But if *śmy*, *ście*, be compared with the form exhibited by the Polish verb substantive in its isolated state, some scruple might, perhaps, arise in assenting to the opinion, that *byl-em*, 'I (a man) was,' *bylismy*, 'we (men) were,' or the present of the verb substantive is contained in *czytal-em*, 'I read,' *czytali-smy*, 'we read'; for 'I am' is *yestem*, and 'we are,' *yestesmy*. It would, in fact, be a violent mutilation, if we assumed that *byl-em*, *byli-śmy*, have proceeded from *byl-yestem*, *byli-yestesmy*. I do not, however, believe this to be the case, but maintain that *yestem*, 'I am,' *yestesmy*, 'we are,' *yesteś*, 'thou art,' and *yesteście*, 'ye are,' have been developed from the third person singular *yest*. For this *yest** answers to the language nearest akin to our own, the Old Sclavonic *yesty*, Russian *esty*, Bohemian *gest* (*g*=*y*), Karniolan *ye* (where the *st* has been lost), as, to the old sister languages, the Sanscrit *asti*, Greek ἐστί, Lithuanian *esti*, and Latin *est*. But *yestem*, *yestesmy*, &c., do not admit of an organic comparison with the corresponding forms of the languages more or less nearly connected. On the other hand, the last portion of *yesteśmy*, 'we are,' answers exactly to the Russian *esmy*; and it must be assumed, that the concluding part of *yest-em*, 'I am,' has lost an *s* before the *m*, just as the *m* of *byl-em*, 'the having been am I.' It cannot be surprising that the superfluous *yest* is not conjointly introduced in the compound with the participle. At the period of the origin of this periphrastic preterite it did not, perhaps, exist in the

* Regarding the initial *y*, see §. 255. *n*.

isolated present, or the language may still have been conscious of the meaning of the *yest* of *yest-em*, and that the whole properly expressed, 'it is I,' '*c'est moi*.' Thus, in Irish-Gælic, *is me* properly means 'I am'—according to O'Reilly, 'it is I'—and *ba me* or *budh me* is literally 'it was I' (*budh*, 'he was,' = Sanscrit *abhût*, see §. 573., *ba*, 'he was' = *abhavat*, §. 522); and in the future, in my opinion, the character of the third person regularly enters into the first person, and, in the verb substantive, may also grow up with the theme in such a manner that the terminations of the other persons may attach themselves to it.* Moreover, the Irish *fuilim*, 'I am,' *fuilir*, 'thou art, *fuil*, 'he is,' *fuilmid* 'we are,' &c., deserve especial remark. Here, in my opinion, the third person has again become a theme for the others; but the *l* of *fuil*, 'he is,' appears to me to be a weakening of an original *d*, like the Polish *był*, 'he was': the difference of the two forms is, however, that the *l* of the Irish form is a personal termination, and that of the Polish a participial suffix; and therefore *był-em* signifies, not 'it was I,' as *fuilim*, 'it is I,' but clearly 'the person having been am I.' But from the procedure of the Irish language this objection arises, that the Persian *bûd*, 'he was,' just like the previously mentioned Irish *budh*, might be identified with the Sanscrit aorist *abhût*; and it might be assumed that this third person has been raised into a theme for the rest, and has thus produced *bûdem*, 'I was,' *bûdî*, 'thou wast,' &c., like the Irish *fuilim*, 'I am,' *fuilir*, 'thou art.' But this view of the matter is opposed by the circumstance, that together with *bûd* exists also the full participial form, *bûdeh*, which serves, in some degree, as a guide to the understanding of the former form. If

* *Biad* or *beid*, "I shall be," *biadhair* or *béadhir*, "thou wilt be," *beidh*, "he will be"; *béim* or *beidh-mar* or *béidh-mid* or *biodh-maoid*, "we shall be." See my Treatise "On the Celtic Languages," pp. 44, 46.

it were wished to regard the *d* of *burd*, 'he bore,' as the sign of the person, the whole would be to be referred to the Sanscrit imperfect *abharat*. But in very many cases objections arise to the referring of the Persian aorist to the Sanscrit imperfect, or first augmented preterite, since the latter has always a common theme with the present, while the Persian *kuned*, 'he makes,' which is based on the Vêda *krinôti* (from *karnôti*, with loss of the *r*), does not answer to the theme of *kerd*, 'he made.' On the other hand, this *kerd*, like the participle *kerdah*, admits very easily of being compared with *krita-s* (from *karta-s*), 'made.' Just so *bast*, *bastah*, 'he bound,' *bastah*, 'bound,' and 'having bound,' does not answer to the present *bandad*, 'he binds,' but to the Zend passive participle *baśta*, 'bound'; for which, in Sanscrit, stands *baddha*, euphonic for *badh-ta*, the *dh* of which, in Zend and Persian, has become *s* (see §. 102.)."

"Rem. 2.—In Persian exists, together with *em*, 'I am,' a verb *hastem* of the same signification, which exhibits a surprising resemblance to the Polish *yestem*, as the third person هست *hast* does to the Polish *yest*. If it were wished to assume that the third person هست *hast* is akin to است *ast*, and has arisen from it by prefixing an *h*, as the *y* of the Polish *yest* and Old Sclavonic *yesty*, is only an unorganic addition (see §. 255. *n.*), I should then derive the Persian *hastem*, *hastî*, &c., also, just as the Polish *yestem*, *yesteś*, from the third person. With regard to the prefixed *h*, we may consider as another instance the term used for the number 'Eight,' *hasht*, contrasted with the forms beginning with a vowel in the kindred languages. It appears to me, however, better to compare *hastam* with the Zend *histâmi*, 'I stand' (from *sistâmi*); as, so early as the Sanscrit, the root of 'to stand' frequently supplies the place of the verb substantive, as also in the Romian dialect it aids in completing the conjugation of the old verb. Compare, therefore,

GREEK.	ZEND.	PERSIAN.
ἵστᾱμι,*	histâmi,	hastam.
ἵστᾱς,	histahi,	hastî,
ἵστᾱτι,	histaiti,	hast.
ἵσταμεν,	histâmahi,	hastîm.
ἵστατε,	histatha,	hastîd.
ἱστάντι,	histĕnti,	hastand.

Observe, that the third person singular *hast* is devoid of the personal sign; otherwise we should have in its place *hastad*, according to the analogy of *barad*, 'he bears,' *pursad*, 'he asks,' *dihad*, 'he gives,'† and others.' With respect to the suppression of the personal terminations, the form *hast* resembles our *wird*, *hält*, for *wirded*, *hältet*. Pott's opinion—who, in the derivation of the forms under discussion, has likewise referred to the root of "to stand' (Etym. Forsch. I. 274.), but prefers recognising in the *t* of the Polish *yestem*, as of the Persian *hastam*, the *t* of the passive participle—is opposed by the consideration, that neither in Sanscrit has the root *as*, nor in any other cognate language has the kindred root, produced or contained the participle mentioned. There is, in Sanscrit, no participle *asta-s*, but for it *bhûta-s*; in Persian no *astah*, but *bâdeh*; in Sclavonic no *yesl*, but *byl*; in Lithuanian no *esta-s*, in Latin no *estus*, in Gothic no *ists*. Hence there is every reason for assuming, that if there ever existed a participle of the

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* Sanscrit *tishthâmi*, see §. 508.

† The *h* of *diham*, "I give," appears to me a remnant of the Zend aspirated *dh* of *dadhâmi* (§. 39.); and as I have already traced back elsewhere the *h* of *nihâden*, "to place" (present *niham*), to the Sanscrit *dh* of *dhâ*, and recognised in the syllable *ni*, an obscured preposition (the Sanscrit *ni*, "down," Wiener Jahrb. 1828, B. 42. p. 258). The form *diham* resembles the Old Sclavonic *damy* for *da-dmy* (§. 436.) and our preterites like *hiess*, *hielt* (§. 592.) herein, that the reduplicate syllable has gained the semblance of the principal syllable.

other roots of 'to be,' analogous to भूत. *bhûta*, 'been,' it must have been lost at so early a period, that it could not have rendered any service to the Polish and Persian in the formation of a preterite and present of the indicative."*

629. The Bohemian, in its preterites, places the present of the auxiliary verb after the past participle, and separated from it; the Carniolan prefixes it; and the Russian leaves it entirely out, and distinguishes the persons by the pronouns, which are placed before the participle. "I was," in Bohemian, is, according to the difference of genders, *byl sem, byla sem, bylo sem;* in Carniolan, *sim bil, sim bila, sim bilo;* in Russian, *ya byl, ya byla, ya bylo.* But the present of the Carniolan verb substantive is very remarkable, on account of the almost perfect identity of the three persons of the dual, and of the two first of the plural, with the Sanscrit; where, according to a general law of sound, the forms *svas*, "we two are," *stas*, "ye two are," reject their final *s* before vowels (short *a* excepted), and hereby coincide entirely with the Carniolan, in which *sva* signifies "we two are," *sta*, "they two are." In Sanscrit, *sva iha* means "we two are here," *sta iha*, "they two are here." In the plural, the Carniolan *smo* answers to the Sanscrit स्मस् *smas* (before vowels *sma*), *ste* to स्थ *stha*, *so* to सन्ति *santi*. It is, however, to be observed, that the two languages have, independently of each other, lost the initial vowel, which belongs to the root, which has remained in the Old Sclavonic with the prefix of a *y*, excepting in the third person plural (see §. 480.).

630. If our auxiliary verb *thun* is contrasted, as above (§. 621.), with the Sanscrit root *dhâ*, "to place," "make," then preterites like the Gothic *sôkida* and our *suchte* appear, in respect to their composition, like cognate forms to the Greek passive and aorists and futures; as, ἐτύφ-θην, τυφ-θήσομαι, in which I recognise the aorist and the future

middle of τίθημι = Sanscrit *dadhâmi*.* The concluding portion of τυφ-θῶ, τυφ-θείην, τυφ-θήσομαι, is completely identical with the simple θῶ, θείην, θήσομαι, in conjugation; and ἐτύφθην is distinguished from ἔθην by this only, and, in fact, advantageously, that it gives the heavier personal terminations of the dual and plural no power of shortening the vowel of the root, which the Sanscrit अधाम् *adhâm* = ἔθην, in its simple state, does not; since, in this language, *adhâ-ma* answers to the Greek ἔθεμεν for ἔθημεν, as the Greek ἔστην, also, does not admit of the length of its root being shortened in the dual or plural. Thus the imperative τύφ-θητι, also, is distinguished from θές by preserving the length of the root, as also by its more full personal termination. From the future τυφ-θήσομαι should an aorist ἐτυφθήμην be looked for? or, *vice versâ*, should we suppose that the future would be contented with active terminations, as well as the aorist? Perhaps originally ἐτύφθην and τύφ-θήσω simultaneously existed, and thus also ἐτυφ-θή-μην (or ἐτυφθέμην) and τυφ-θήσομαι, as periphrastic active and passive tenses. In the present state of the language, however, the aorist has lost the passive form, and the future the active; and when the syllable θη was no longer recognised as an auxiliary verb, it received the meaning of a passive character; just as our language no longer perceives an auxiliary verb in the *te* of *suchte*, but only an expression for the past; or as we have ceased to recognise in the *te* of *heute* the word *tag*, and in *heu* (Old High German *hiu*) a demonstrative, but regard the whole as a simple adverb formed to express the present day.

631. As to the form of the Greek second aorist and future passive, I consider ἐτύπην and τυπήσομαι as abbreviations of ἐτύφθην, τυφθήσομαι. The loss of the θ resembles, therefore, that of the σ in the active aorists of verbs with liquids

* Compare Jahrb. for Lit. Crit. 1827, Feb., pp. 285, &c.; Vocalismus, pp. 53, &c.; and Pott's Etym. Forsch. I. 187.

(§. 547.): it need not, however, surprise us, that, as the φ of ἐτύφθην, from regard to the θ following, assumes the place of the radical π, after this θ is dropped the original sound again makes its appearance, and therefore ἐτύφθην, τυφήσομαι, are not used. The case is similar to that of our vowel *Rück-umlaut*, (restored derivative sound), since we use the form *kraft* as corresponding to the Middle High German genitive and dative *krefte*, because, after the dissolution of the vowel which had generated the *umlaut*, the original vowel also recurs, while we, in the plural, say *kräfte*, like the Middle High German *krefte*. Various objections oppose the opinion that the verb substantive is contained in ἐτύπην, much as the appended auxiliary verb agrees in its conjugation with that of ἦν. But the double expression of past time in ἐτύπην, once in the principal verb and once in the auxiliary, if the verb substantive be contained in it, cannot fail of surprising us; while the Sanscrit, in combining its *âsam*, "I was," with attributive verbs, withdraws the augment, and, with it, also the radical vowel *a* of the auxiliary verb (§. 542.). Still more objectionable must appear the augment in the future τυπήσομαι, and in the imperative τύπηθι. Why not τυπέσομαι, τύπισθι, or, perhaps, the σ being dislodged; τύπιθι, and, in the third person, τυπέστω or τυπέτω? The termination εις in the participle τυπείς has no hold whatever in the conjugation of the verb substantive.

632. The Latin *vendo*, if we do not refer the auxiliary verb contained in it to *do* = δίδωμι, ददामि *dadâmi*, but to τίθημι, दधामि *dadhâmi*, must be regarded as a cognate form to the German formations like *sôkida, sôkidêdum*, "I sought," "we sought," and the Greek like ἐτύφθην, τυφθήσομαι. The Sanscrit *dâ*, "to give," and *dhâ*, "to place," are distinguished only by the aspiration of the latter; and in Zend these verbs are scarce to be distinguished at all from one another, because *d*, according to §. 39., in the inner sound frequently becomes *dh*, but *dh* even lays aside the aspiration in the initial sound. In Latin, also, दा *dâ* and धा *dhâ* might easily be combined in

one form, since that language generally presents its *d* as answering to the Sanscrit *dh* and Greek *θ*, especially in the inner sound, as *b* to the Sanscrit *bh*.* But the circumstance that the root धा *dhâ*, ΘΗ, in Latin, has not remained in its simple form, does not prevent us from recognising it in the compounds *credo*, *perdo*, *abdo*, *condo*, and *vendo*, just as in *pessundo*, *pessumdo*.† The form *venundo* answers, in respect to the accusative form of the primary word, to Sanscrit compounds like *îśan-chakâra* (§§. 619. 625.).

633. In order to trace out in its full extent the influence that the Sanscrit root *dhâ* has obtained in the European cognate languages in the formation of grammatical forms, I must further remark, that I believe I may here refer also the last portion of the future and imperative of the Sclavonic verb substantive. In Old Sclavonic *bûdû* means "I will be," literally, as it appears to me, "I make to be." The first portion of this compound answers very well to the Sanscrit root *bhû*, and is identical with the Zend بو *bû*. As, however, the Sclavonic *û* usually answers to the Sanscrit diphthong ओ *ô* (= *a* + *u*, see §. 255. *f.*); so must we in the Sclavonic *bû* recognise the Sanscrit Guna form *bhô*. And भू *bhû* itself receives Guna in the future, and exhibits here, in combination with the other root of "to be," the form *bhav-i-shyâmi*, of

* §. 18., and compare *medium* with the Sanscrit *madhya-m*, *meditari* with *mêdhas*, "understanding," *fido* with πείθω.

† A. W. von Schlegel has been the first to recognise in Latin the Sanscrit *śrat*, "belief," and has found in *credo* a similar compound to that of the Sanscrit *śrad-dadhâmi*, which signifies the same (literally "I place faith"), without, however, identifying the Latin expression also, in regard to its concluding portion, with the Sanscrit comp. (Bhagavad-Gîta, p. 108). *Credo* might certainly also mean "I give faith," but it is more natural to place this verb both in its second and in its first portion on the same footing with its Indian prototype, as I have already done in the Vienna Jahrbuch (1828, B. 42, p. 250), where I have also compared the *do* of *abdo* and *condo* with the Sanscrit root *dhâ*.

which we shall treat hereafter. The second portion of the Old Sclavonic бȣдȣ *bû-dû* (from *bû-do-m*, see §. 255. *g.*) corresponds in its conjugation exactly to the present *veζû;** thus second person *bû-deshi*, third, *bûdety;* only the *e* and *o* of везеши *veζ-e-shi*, везеть *veζ-e-ty*, везом *veζ-o-m*, &c., is the class vowel, or vowel of conjunction, while that of *de-shi*, *de-ty*, *do-m*, is the abbreviation of the *â* of the Sanscrit root *dhâ;* for *e* and *o* are the usual representatives, in Old Sclavonic, of the Sanscrit short *a* (see §. 255. *a.*). We must here direct attention to the Sanscrit root *sthâ*, the *â* of which is irregularly shortened as though it were the conjunctive vowel of the first class (§. 508.). Hence, also, in the imperative the Old Sclavonic ѣ *ye* of бȣдѣм *bu-dye-m*, "we should be" ("should make to be"), бȣдѣте *bu-dye-te*, "be ye," to the Sanscrit *ê* of *tishthê-ma*, "we may stand," *tishthê-ta*, "ye may stand" (§. 255. *e.*).

634. There is, in Old Sclavonic and Russian, also a verb which occurs in an isolated state, which signifies "to do," "to make," and which is distinguished from that which is contained in *bû-dû* only by the circumstance that it exhibits дѣ *dye* instead of де *de* as root, which does not prevent me from declaring it to be originally identical with it. Its present is дѣю *dyeyû*,† and it is rightly compared by Kopitar with our *thun* and the English *do*. From it comes the neuter substantive *dyelo*, "deed," as thing done, which, in its formation, answers to the participles mentioned above (§. 628.), and has, in advantageous contrast with them, preserved the original passive meaning, while they have erroneously been assigned to the active voice.

* See §. 507. where, however, in the first person plural, we should read *veζ-o-m* instead of *veζ-o-me*.

† Analogous with *sye-yû*, "I sow"; as, in Gothic, *dê-ths*, "deed," and *sê-ths*, "seed," rest on a like formation, and roots which terminate similarly.

635. Analogous with *bûdû*, "I shall be," is the Old Sclavonic *idû*, "I go," which is placed by Dobrowsky also (p. 350) in the same class with *bûdû*. *Idû*, therefore means literally "I make to go," and springs from the widely-diffused root *i* (infinitive *i-ti*), whence, in Gothic, the anomalous *i-ddja*, "I went," plural *i-ddjêdum*, "we went." I believe that these forms have proceeded from *i-da*, *i-dêdum*, simply by doubling the *d* and annexing an *i*; and I regard them, therefore, in the sense of "I made to go," "we made to go"; and I compare with them the Sclavonic *i-dû* as present. The *d* of *shedû*, however, which is used in completing the conjugation of *idû*, I consider as belonging to the root, and look upon the whole as akin to the Sanscrit सद् *sad*, "to go," to which belong also *choditi*, and the Greek ὁδός. The forms ѡдѣждѫ *o-dyeshdû*, "I put on," "dress," *na-dyesh-dâsya*, "I hope," *ʒa-dyeshdû*, "*angario, onus impono*," which Dobrowsky, l. c., likewise compares with *bûdû*, remarking that they stand for *odyeyû*, &c., I consider as reduplicate forms of the root *dye*, "to make," mentioned above; for *d* gladly assumes, and under certain circumstances regularly, the prefix of ж *sh*, for which reason *dashdy*, "give," and *yasahdy*, "eat" (for *dady*, *yady*), correspond to the Sanscrit *dadyâs*, "thou mayest give," *adyâs*, "thou mayest eat" (see Kopitar's Glagolita, pp. 53 and 63). The conjecture, however, that *o-dyeshdû*, *na-dyeshdû*, *ʒa-dyeshdû*, are reduplicate forms, is strongly supported by the circumstance that the corresponding Sanscrit and Greek verbs also (*dadhâmi*, τίθημι) are reduplicated in the special tenses, as *dadâmi*, δίδωμι; and to the two last forms a reduplicate verb corresponds in Sclavonic likewise (see §. 436).

636. The Lettish possesses some verbs which are combined, throughout their whole conjugation, with the auxiliary verb under discussion. Of this class is *dim-deh-t*, "to ring" (*deht* = *dê-t*), together with *dim-t*, id. *nau-deh-t*, "to mew,"

with *nan-t*, id. In *bai-deh-t*, "to make afraid," with *bî-t*, "to fear" (Sanscrit भी *bhî*), *fskum-deh-t*, "to disturb," *i.e.* "to make mournful," with *fskum-t*, "to be mournful," the meaning of the auxiliary verb makes itself clearly perceptible, and replaces the causal formation. In other cases the appended *'dêh-t* may be rendered by *thun* (compare Pott I. 187). Regarding the Lithuanian imperfect of custom, in which we have recognised the same auxiliary verb, see §. 525.

637. It deserves to be noticed, that, in Zend also, the verb under discussion of "placing," "making," "doing," occurs as an appended auxiliary verb. Thus, *yaôsh-dâ*, "to purify," literally "to make purify," from which the present middle *yaôsh-dathĕntê*, "they make to purify" (regarding the extended form *dath*, see p. 112), the precative middle *pairi-yaôsh-daithita*, "they may purify" (Vend. S. p. 266), the imperative *yaôsh-dathâni*, "let me make to purify" (l. c. p. 500). The form *dâiti* of *yaôsh-dâiti*, "the purification" (l. c. pp. 300, 301), corresponds, in radical and derivative suffix, to the abovementioned Gothic *dêths* (theme *dêdi*). For the frequent expression *yaôsh-dayaṅn aṅhĕn*, "they are purified," we ought perhaps to read *yaôshdayaṅm aṅhĕn*, in which case the former might be regarded as the locative of *yaôshdâ*, so that the whole would signify "they are in purification."* But if

* I formerly thought, that in this and similar expressions the root *dâ*, "to give," was contained (Gramm. Crit. p. 322), which might very well be the case, and is also Burnouf's opinion, who, however, assents, at Yaçna, p. 356, Rem. 217, to Fr. Windischmann's explanation, who was the first to recognise in this and similar compounds the Sanscrit root *dhâ* instead of *dâ*. To the remark made by Burnouf (l. c. Note E. p. xi.), that the initial sound *dh* in Zend is not permissible, it may be added, that in the middle also, after a consonant, *d* is necessarily used for the original *dh*: hence, the Sanscrit imperative termination *dhi*, which in Zend, after vowels, appears as *dhi*, is, after a consonant, *di*: thus *daz-di*, "give," opposed to *srûi-dhi*, "hear," *kĕrĕnûi-dhi*, "make."

the reading *yaôshdayann* is correct, then it may be taken as the accusative plural in the sense of *purificatos;* so that the verb substantive would be construed as in Arabic with the accusative.

638. We return to the reduplicated preterite, in order to consider its formation in Zend. Examples have been given in §. 520., which, in their principle of formation, correspond, for the most part, with the Sanscrit. Thus, [Zend] *didvaêsa* answers to the Sanscrit *didvêsha,* "he hated," with the prefix of an *a* before the Guna vowel *ê*, according to §. 20. The forms [Zend] *vîvîsê* and [Zend] *tûtava* shew that the Zend, in departure from the Sanscrit, admits long vowels in the syllable of repetition. *Vîvîs-ê,* from the root *vîs,* "to obey," is the second person singular middle, and wants the personal sign; thus, *ê* for the Sanscrit *sê,* and Greek σαι. Here, from want of adequate examples, we must leave it undecided whether this suppression, which makes the second person the same as the first and third, takes place merely after sibilants, or principally after consonants. The form [Zend] *tûtava,* "he could," from the root *tav,** should be, according to the Sanscrit principle, *tatâva,* as a radical *a,* in the third person singular, is necessarily lengthened; but the Zend form above has transferred the long quantity to the syllable of reduplication, and, as it appears, through the influence of the *v* of the root, has replaced the *a* sound by *û*. On the other hand, the root *vach,* "to speak," which, in Sanscrit, in the syllable of repetition suppresses the *a*, and vocalizes the *v* to *u* (*uvacha* or *uvâchâ*), in Zend regularly forms *vavacha,* which, Vend. S. p. 83., occurs as the first person, and is rendered by Anquetil, "*j'ai prononcé.*" That the Zend does not par-

* Compare [Zend] *yêzi tavann,* "if they can," Vend. S. pp. 209 and 332, as third person plural of the imperfect subjunctive in the sense of the present.

ticipate in lengthening the *a*, which, in Sanscrit, before simple consonants enters at will into the first person singular, and of necessity into the third person, is proved also by the form *tatasa*, "he formed" (see Burnouf, Yaçna, p. 104), the root of which is referred by Burnouf, and with justice, to the Sanscrit तक्ष् *taksh*, and, as it appears to me, fitly compared with the Greek τάσσω.

639. The passage of the Vend. S. (p. 3), which has furnished us with the form *tatasa* (in the lithographed Codex erroneously *tatas*), supplies us also with two other reduplicate preterites, which have, too, (and this deserves notice,) a perfect meaning, while the corresponding Sanscrit tense refuses the function of a perfect (§. 513.). We read l. c. *yô nô dadha yô tatasa yô tuthruyê*, "who has made (us), who has formed (us), who has sustained (us)." The form *dadha*, which Neriosengh renders by ददौ *dadâu*, "*dedit*," instead of *dadhâu*,* is, in my opinion, of special importance, on account of the remarkable manner in which it coincides in root and formation with the abovementioned (§. 622.) Old Saxon *dêda*, "I did," "he did." The Zend *dadha* stands for *dadhâ* from *dadhâ-a* (§. 618.), the long *â* having been shortened, as commonly happens at the end of polysyllabic words (§. 137.). It does not admit of doubt that the first person is likewise *dadha*; as we have seen from the abovementioned *vavacha*, "I spoke," that in Zend, as in Sanscrit and German, it is the same as the third person, *i.e.* it has a personal termination as little as the latter. In the second person I conjecture the form *dadhâtha* (§. 453.).

* The root *dâ*, "to give," might likewise form *dadha* (§. 39.); but in the passage above, as everywhere where mention is made of creating, making, it is clear we must understand the verb corresponding to the Sanscrit धा *dhâ*, "to place" (with *ri*, "to make").

640. I am unable to quote the Zend perfect active in the dual and plural, unless the form [illegible] *âoṇhĕnti*, which has been already mentioned elsewhere,* is the plural of *âoṇha*, "*fuit*," which latter regularly corresponds to the Sanscrit *âsa* (§. 56[a]. and 56[b].), and occurs in the following passage of the Vend. S. (p. 401): [illegible] *nôiṭ aôtĕm âoṇha nôiṭ gharĕmĕm*, "there was neither cold nor heat." We find the form *âoṇhĕnti* l. c. p. 45, where are the words [illegible] *haômô taêchit yôi̯ kataya nask̄ô frasâoṇhô âoṇhĕnti s̆pânô mas̆tîmcha baesaiti*, "Hôm assigns to those, whoever recite the Nasks, excellence and grandeur."† Perhaps, too, *âoṇhĕnti*, if it really is a perfect, is more correctly translated by "have been"; but we cannot be surprised at its having a present meaning also, as a real present is not intended, according to what has been remarked in §. 520. We must not attach too great weight to the circumstance that in Neriosengh's Sanscrit translation the form *âoṇhĕnti* is rendered by निषीदन्ति *nishîdanti*, "*sedent*";‡ for Neriosengh interchanges with one another the roots *dâ*, "to give," and *dâ*, "to set," "place," "make," which belongs to the Sanscrit *dhâ*; and why should he not have fallen

* Jahrb. für Wiss. Crit. Decr. 1831. p. 816.

† Anquetil, who seldom renders all the forms in a sentence according to their real grammatical value, here makes the third person plural the second of the imperative, and changes the assertion into a request, by translating thus: "*O Hôm, accordez l'excellence et la grandeur à celui qui lit dans la maison les Naks!*"

‡ See Burnouf's valuable Review of the First Part of this Book, Journal des Savans, 1833, in the separate impression, p. 47. There is an error in it, however, in the remark, that I have represented the form *âoṇhĕnti* as the imperative of the verb substantive. I meant the reduplicate preterite or perfect.

into a similar error with the roots अस् *as*, "to be," and आस् *âs*, "to sit," which both exist in Zend, particularly as the form *âonhĕnti*, taken as the perfect, stands, perhaps, quite isolated in the remains of Zend literature which have been preserved to us, but, as the present, has numerous analogous forms? But if *âonhĕnti* really belongs to the root आस् *âs*, "to sit," then we cannot, in my opinion, take it, with Neriosengh, in this sense, but as representing the verb substantive, which, as has been shewn (§. 509.), occasionally, in Sanscrit also, supplies the place of the verb substantive. Two of the Paris MSS. give, as has been remarked by Burnouf, for *âonhĕnti* the middle form ⸺ *âonhĕntê*; and if this is the correct reading, it speaks in favour of the root of "to sit"; for this, like the kindred Greek verb (ἧ(σ)-μαι, ἧσ-ται), is used only in the middle. But if *âonhĕnti* is the right reading, and belongs, as perfect, to the verb substantive, it is, in respect to its termination, more ancient than the Sanscrit *âsus* (§. 462.).

641. In the middle we find as the third person plural of the verb substantive the form ⸺ *âonharĕ* (Vend. S. p. 222), with which, in regard to termination, the form ⸺ *irîritharĕ*, "they are dead," agrees (Vend. S. p. 179). If the reading of the two mutually corroborative forms is correct, we then have the termination *arĕ* for the Sanscrit *irê*; and it would be a circumstance of much importance that the Zend should have left the old conjunctive vowel *a* in its original form, in a position where, in Sanscrit, it has been weakened to *i*. The final *ê* of the Sanscrit termination is suppressed in Zend; but as *r* cannot stand (§. 44.) at the end of a word, the addition of an *ĕ* became necessary, as in vocatives like ⸺ *dâtarĕ*, "creator," answering to the Sanscrit धातर् *dhâtar*. If the *ĕ* of the forms ⸺ *âonharĕ*, ⸺ *irîritharĕ*, was an error in writing, for which *ê* ought to stand, then an *i*

would necessarily stand beside the *a* of the preceding syllable. But as this is not the case we find some evidence of the correctness of the final *ĕ*, at least for the fact, that this form among others is admissible; for beside the ꜣ *âonharĕ* which has been mentioned, we find, in another passage of the Vend. S. (p. 45), the form *âonhairi*, in which the final *i*, according to §. 41., has introduced an *i* also in, the syllable preceding. The form *âonhairi*, for which, perhaps, one or two MSS. may read *âonhairê*, assures us, however, in like manner, of the proposition, which is of most importance, viz. that the conjunctive vowel is properly an *a*, and not, as in Sanscrit, an *i*.

642. The form *irîritharĕ* is remarkable, also, with regard to its syllable of reduplication: it springs from the root *irith*,* from which a verb of the fourth class frequently occurs; in "*irîrith*," therefore, *ir* is the syllable of reduplication, after which the short initial *i* has been lengthened, in order, as it were, to gain strength for bearing the reduplication (compare the Gothic in §. 589.). In *irîrithare*, however, the countertype of the Greek forms with Attic reduplication is easily recognised. We must not, however, seek for the reason of this lengthening of the vowel of the second syllable of forms like ἐλήλυθα, ἐμήμεκα, ὀρώρυχα, in the temporal augment, which I also avoid doing. For, though, by concretion with the augment, an ε might become η, an ο become ω, this gives no reason for supposing the augment to exist everywhere where an initial vowel of a

* Probably a secondary root, with the addition of a *th*, as in *dath* for *dâ* (see p. 112). *Irith*, therefore, might stand for *mirith*, the initial *m* having been lost, and might be connected with the Sanscrit root मृ (*mar*), whence, as Burnouf has shewn in his frequently-mentioned Review (p. 37), has arisen the form *mĕrĕnch*, "kill," with another affix, from which occurs the noun agent, in the plural *mĕrĕçtârô*, "the murders."

verb is lengthened. I content myself, in forms like ἐλήλυθα, with the reduplication; and in the vowel following I find only a phonetic lengthening for the sake of the rhythm, or to support the weight of the syllable of reduplication; as in the Zend *irîrith*, or as (to keep to Greek) in ἀγωγός, ἀγωγεύς, ἀγωγή, in which the ω, as is commonly the case, is only the representative of the long *a* (§. 4.), and where there is no ground for searching for the augment. In general it would be unnatural that the augment, being an element foreign to the root, should interpose itself in the middle of the word between the syllable of reduplication and the proper root; and unless a necessity exists, one must not suppose the existence of such a phenomenon in a language.

643. In a passage of the Izeshne (Vend. S. p. 65.), which I understand too little to ground on it, with confidence, any inference, while I am without the light which might perhaps be thrown on it by Neriosengh's Sanscrit translation, I find the expressions [Zend script] [Zend script] *mainyû mamanitê*. It does not, however, admit of any doubt that *mainyû* is the nominative dual of the base *mainyu*, "spirit" (see §. 210.); and hence, even without understanding the whole meaning of the passage alluded to, it appears to me in the highest degree probable, that *mamanitê* is the third person dual of the perfect. Perhaps we ought to read *mamanâitê*, so that, through the influence of the final *ê*, the Sanscrit termination *âtê* would have become *âitê*. But if the reading *mamanitê* is correct, and the form is really a perfect, an original *â* would have been weakened to *i*. The whole form would, however, in my opinion, be of great importance, because it might furnish ground for the inference, that the contraction of the reduplication, in Sanscrit forms like *mênâtê* (from *maminâtê* for *mamanâtê*), did not exist before the Zend became separate from the Sanscrit (compare §. 605.).

PLUPERFECT.

644. It has been already remarked (§. 514.), that the Sanscrit possesses no pluperfect, and the substitute it uses for it has been noticed. The Zend, also, is undoubtedly deficient in this tense. In the Zend Avesta, however, no occasion occurs for making use of it, or supplying its place in another way. The Latin pluperfect is easily perceived to be a form compounded of the perfect base with the imperfect of the verb substantive. The only point which can admit of doubt is, whether the whole *eram* is to be considered as existing in *fueram, amaveram*, as I have done in my System of Conjugation (p. 93.), so that the perfect base, to which the *i* of *fui, fui-sti*, &c., belongs, would have lost its vowel; or whether we should assume the loss of the *e* of *eram*, and therefore divide thus, *fue-ram amave-ram*. Now, contrary to my former opinion, I believe the latter to be the case, and I deduce *fueram* from *fui-ram*, through the frequently-mentioned tendency of the *i* to be corrupted before *r* to *ĕ*, whence the conjunctive vowel *i* of the third conjugation appears in the second person of the passive, as also in the imperfect subjunctive and in the infinitive, as *ĕ* (*leg-e-ris* opposed to *leg-i-tur, leg-i-mur*). For this reason *fue-ram* also is opposed to the subjunctive *fui-ssem*, in which, as *r* does not follow the *i*, that letter remains in its original form. It would seem much more difficult to discover a reason why *fu-essem* should have become *fu-issem*, than why *fui-ram* should become *fue-ram*. In general, in Latin, there exists, without reference to a following *r*, many an *ĕ* which has arisen from an older *i*: I am not acquainted, however, with any *i* used for an older *ĕ*, as in general the *ĕ* is an unorganic and comparatively more recent vowel, but the *i* is as old as the language itself: for though *i* as well as *u* has very frequently arisen from the weakening of the

most weighty vowel *a*, still no epoch of the language can be imagined when there existed no vowel but *a*. If, however, the auxiliary verb in *fue-ram fui-ssem*, has lost its vowel, it shares in this respect the same fate as the Sanscrit *saṃ* and Greek σα contained in the aorist. Where the verb substantive enters into composition with attributive verbs, sufficient reason exists for its mutilation.

645. As the Greek pluperfect is formed from the base of the perfect. as the imperfect is from that of the present, by prefixing the augment, by which the completion of the action is in this sense transferred to past time, we should expect in it the terminations ον, ες, ε, &c.; thus, ἐτέτυφον, which would come very near the Sanscrit imperfect of the intensive—*atôtôpam*. But whence is the termination ειν of ἐτετύφειν? Landvoigt and Pott recognise in it the imperfect of the verb substantive, so that ἐτετύφειν would stand for ἐτετύφην. There would, therefore, be a pleonasm in this form, as ἐτετυφ already of itself combines the idea of the imperfect with that of the perfect. If, then, the verb substantive be added, it must serve merely as the copula, and not itself express a relation of time, and therefore lays aside the augment, as the Sanscrit *âsam* in aorists like *akshâip-saṃ*. But it being premised that the verb substantive is contained in ἐτετύφειν, it is not requisite to derive its ει from the η of ἦν. Advert to the analogy of ειν with εἰμί, which latter would become εἰν, if its primary personal termination were replaced by the more obtuse secondary one. It may be said that the radical σ is contained in the ι of εἰ-μί, which sibilant, having first become, by assimilation, μ (Doric ἐμμί), has then, as often happens to ν (as τιθείς for τίθενς), been vocalized to ι. The analogy of εἰμί is followed in the compound form (if ἐτετύφειν is really compounded as has been stated) by the dual and plural; thus, ἐτετύφειμεν for the more cumbrous ἐτετύφεσμεν. Here let the Ionic form εἱμέν for ἐσμέν be noticed. In the third person plural ἐτετύφεσαν (unorganic

ἐτετύφεισαν) the composition with the auxiliary verb is evident; but this person cannot be adduced as evidence for the composition of the other persons, since in general a kind of privilege is accorded to the third person plural active in respect to the appending of the verb substantive, which also extends to the imperfect and aorist of the conjugation in μι (ἐδίδο-σα-ν, ἔδο-σα-ν, opposed to ἐδίδο-μεν, ἔδο-μεν); and in like manner in the Latin perfects (*fuerant* from *fuesunt*). But if the syllable ει of ἐτετύφ-ει-ν is identical with the ει of εἰ-μί, still I am not shaken by this in my opinion that the κ of λέλυκα and the aspiration of τέτυφα belong to the consonant of the auxiliary root, and that the κ is an intension of the σ, the aspiration a weakening of the κ (§. 569.); that, therefore, in ἐλελύκειν, ἐτετύφειν, the verb substantive is twice contained, as is the case in Sanscrit forms like *ayâsisham* (§. 570.). I believe, however, that at the time when the forms ἐλελύκ-ει-ν, ἐτετύφ-ει-ν, developed themselves from the to-be-presupposed forms ἐτέτυφον, ἐλέλυκον, the remembrance of the origin of the κ and of the aspiration had been long lost, and that these forms were generated by the necessity for restoring the missing verb substantive; just as in Old Saxon the form *sind-un*, "they are,"* may first have arisen, when, in the more simple and likewise employable *sind*, the expression of the relation of time and person was no longer perceivable; and hence another personal termination, and, in fact, that of the preterite, was annexed.† The Greek medio-passive has admitted neither the first nor the second annexation of the verb substantive: from ἐλελύ-κει-ν we might expect ἐλελυ-κείμην, but ἐλε-λύ-μην has arisen

* At the same time with unorganic transfer to the first and second person, *wir sind*, *ihr seid*.

† With the preterite coincide also the forms of recent origin, *siy-u-m*, "we are," *siy-u-th*, "ye are": and *s-ind*, "they are" (from *s-ant*), is alone a transmission from the period of the unity of language.

directly from the reduplicate root, by prefixing the augment, and descends from a period when the active was not as yet ἐλελύκειν, but probably ἐλελυν.

THE FUTURE.

646. The Sanscrit has two tenses to express the future, of which one, which is more rarely employed, consists of the combination of a future participle with the present of the verb substantive, the root *ás*; in such a manner, however, that (and this has been already noticed as remarkable) the masculine nominative of the three numbers of the participle has assumed the complete nature of a third person of a verb, and this *per se* without annexation of the verb substantive, and without regard to the gender of the subject; *e.g.* दाता *dâtâ*, "*daturus*," is used in the sense of "he, she, or it will give," and thus दातारस् *dâtâras*, "*daturi*," in the sense of "they will give." Observe here what has been said above of the Latin *amamini* instead of *amamini, -æ, -a, estis* (§. 478.); and remark also the third person of the Polish and Persian preterite (§. 628.). In the other persons the Sanscrit combines the masculine nominative singular of the participle mentioned with the said person of the present of the auxiliary verb; thus, *dâtâsi* (from *dâtâ-asi*) = *daturus, datura, daturum est.* I annex the full conjugation of the two active forms of the adduced example, with the remark, that in the third person no difference can exist between the active and middle, since the participle which is employed makes no distinction between the two forms.

SINGULAR.		DUAL.	
ACTIVE.	MEDIAL.	ACTIVE.	MEDIAL.
dâtâsmi,	*dâtâhê.*	*dâtâsvas,*	*dâtâsvahê.*
dâtâsi,	*dâtâsê.*	*dâtâsthas,*	*dâtâsâthê.*
dâtâ.	*dâtâ.*	*dâtârâu,*	*dâtârâu.*

PLURAL.

ACTIVE.	MEDIAL.
dâtâsmas,	*dâtâsmahê.*
dâtâstha,	*dâtâdhvê.*
dâtâras,	*dâtâras.*

"Remark.—It is very surprising, that, although the compound nature of this tense is so distinctly evident, none of the grammarians, my predecessors, have remarked it; and the first mention of it that has been made was in my System of Conjugation, where it was noticed, without meeting with any opposition from the strongest opponents of my System of Agglutination. As regards the first person singular middle, it must be remarked, that the root, as in this person, changes its *s* into *h*, although in Sanscrit this exchange is to be met with nowhere else, but it occurs frequently in Prakrit, and before *m* and *ṇ* regularly takes place in the middle of a word, where *mh*, *ṇh*, are commonly used by transposition for *hm*, *hṇ*; hence, *amhi* or *mhi* (resting on a preceding vowel) "I am" (see Lassen, p. 267, &c., Höfer, p. 77.). As the Sanscrit *h* (=*gh* not *ch*) is usually represented in Greek by χ, sometimes also by γ, and even by κ,* in *dâtâhê*, therefore, may be found a confirmation of the opinion expressed in §. 569., that the κ of forms like ἔδωκα, δέδωκα, belongs to the verb substantive as a thickening of the σ."

647. In the third person singular, also, the verb substantive sometimes occurs combined with the participle, as *vaktâsti*, "he will speak," for *vaktâ*;† on the other hand, we occasionally find, in the other persons also, the verb substantive omitted, and the person expressed by a separate

* Compare ἐγώ, μέγας, κῆρ, καρδία, with *aham*, *mahat*, *hrid*, *hridaya*.

† See my collection of the Episodes of the Mahâbhârata (Draupadî, III. 2), published under the title of "Diluvium."

pronoun*, as is done in Russian in the preterite (see §. 629.). Sometimes the participle is separated from the auxiliary verb belonging to it by one or more words; as, *kartâ tad asmi tê*, "*facturus hoc sum tibi*" (Mahâbh.). I do not, however, think that such departures from the usual practice of the language could occur where the subject was not a masculine singular; at least it is probable, if *kartâ* referred to a feminine, that *kartrî* would be used instead of it. Except in these constructions, however, formations in *târ* (in the weak cases *tri*, §. 144.) very seldom occur as future participles;† but their usual function is that of a noun agent, like the corresponding forms in Greek and Latin in *τηρ, τωρ, tôr*; as, *δοτηρ, dator, datôr-is*, answer to the Sanscrit *dâtâr* (दातृ *dâtri*, nominative *dâtâ*, §. 144.). The Latin, however, as has been already observed (§. 570.), formed from the shorter form in *tôr* a longer one in *tûru*, and has allotted to this exclusively the functions of the future participle. In Zend, the formations in *târ*, in my opinion, occur only as nouns of agency; as, *dâtâr*, "creator" (=Sanscrit *dhâtar*) nominative 𐬛𐬁𐬙𐬀 *dâta* (see §. 144.), accusative 𐬛𐬁𐬙𐬁𐬭𐬆𐬨 *dâtârĕm*, vocative 𐬛𐬁𐬙𐬁𐬭𐬆 *dâtârĕ* (§. 44.). To this class belong in Sclavonic the formations in *tely* (theme *telyo*, §. 259.), the *r* being exchanged for *l*, and the syllable *yo* added; as, *dyetely*, "*factor*," corresponds to the just-mentioned Zend *dâtâr* and Sanscrit *dhâtâr* (compare §. 634.). This *dyetely*, however, does not occur in its simple form, but only in combination with the preposition *s*, and with *dobro*, "good," *s-dyetly*, "*conditor*," *dobro-dyetely*, "benefactor." For other

* Compare l. c., p. 114, Sl. 31, *bhavitâ 'ntas tvam* for *bhavitâsy antas*, "thou willst be the end."

† An example occurs in the Raghu-Vansa, VI. 52, by Stenzler, *nripañ tam . . . . vyatyayâd anyûvadhûr bhavitrî*, "*regem illum præteriit alius uxor futura*."

examples in *tely*, see §. 259.* From the Gothic we may here adduce the word *blôs-treis* (theme *blôs-trya*), which is quite isolated in its formation, and is connected with *blôtan*, "to honor," the *t* of which, according to §. 102., has passed into *s* before the *t* of the suffix. With respect to the Sanscrit suffix *târ* (*tri*), it remains to be remarked, that in vowels capable of Guna it requires Guna, and that it is not always united with the root direct, but frequently by a conjunctive vowel *i*; in the latter respect, *jan-i-tâ*, *jan-i-târam*, correspond to the Latin *gen-i-tor*, *gen-i-tôrem*, while *paktâ*, *paktâram*, answer to *coctor*, *coctôrem*.

648. In my Sanscrit Grammar I term the future tense just considered, and which is peculiar to the Sanscrit, the participial future, in accordance with its formation, to distinguish it from that which belongs to the Sanscrit, in common with the Zend, Greek, Lithuanian, and Latin, and which I call the auxiliary future, because, in its character स्य *sya*, I recognise the obsolete future of the root *as*, "to be." I imagine, therefore, that in *dâ-syati*, "he will give," only the syllable *ya* expresses the future, but that the *s* is the root of the verb "to be," with loss of its vowel, which is not surprising, as, even when uncompounded, the *a* of the root *as* is frequently lost (§. 480.). The final part of *dâ-syâmi* resembles very closely the potential *syâm*, "I may be," which actually exists in isolated use. Compare—

* With regard to the formations in *ary*, mentioned at §. 259., it is requisite to observe, that the preceding *t* does not belong to the suffix under discussion, but to the primary word: *zlatary*, "goldsmith" (in Russian, also, *zolotary*), comes from *zoloto*, "gold," and *bratary*, "porter," from *brata*, "door." *Mytary*, "toll-gatherer," is related in its primary word, which does not appear to occur, with our *mauth*: compare the Gothic *môtareis* (theme *môtarya*), "toll-gatherer," *môta*, "mauth," "toll."

SINGULAR.		DUAL.		PLURAL.	
FUTURE.	POTEN.	FUTURE.	POTEN.	FUTURE.	POTEN.
syâmi,	*syâm.*	*syâvas,*	*syâva.*	*syâmas,*	*syâma.*
syasi,	*syâs.*	*syathas,*	*syâtam.*	*syatha,*	*syâta.*
syati,	*syât.*	*syatas,*	*syâtâm,*	*syanti,*	*syus.*

649. We see that the principal difference of the forms here compared is, that the potential has a long â pervading it, but the future a short *a*, which, according to the principle of the class syllables of the first conjugation (§. 434.), is lengthened before *m* and *v* of the first person. And besides this, the future has the full primary terminations, but the potential has the more obtuse secondary endings, with that of *us* in the third person plural, which occurs occasionally also in the imperfect.

650. The Latin has this great superiority over the Sanscrit, that its *ero, eris,* &c., has been preserved in isolated use, and in fact retaining the initial vowel of the root, in which respect *eris, erit,* &c. (from *esis, esit,* §. 22.), is as advantageously distinguished from *syasi, syati,* as *es-tis* from *stha,* or as, in Greek, ἐσμές from *smas,* ἐστόν from *sthas, stas* (§. 480.).

651. The *i* of *eris, erit,* &c., I have already, in my System of Conjugation, represented (p. 91) as a contraction of the true future character *ya;* and I have since been supported in this opinion by the Prakrit, where, for the Sanscrit *sya* or *syâ,* we occasionally find *hi;* for instance, in the first person, *himi* for *syâmi,* and in the second person *hisi* for *syasi* (Latin *eris*). Some examples have been already given above (p. 401 Rem.).* It may be further remarked, that the Sanscrit, also, sometimes abbreviates the syllable *ya,* as also *va* and *ra,* by suppressing the vowel and changing the semi-vowel into its corre-

* Compare Höfer "De Prakr. Dial." p. 199.

sponding vowel (see p. 759); and moreover (which, in the case before us, is still more important to observe with regard to the formal connection of the future and potential), the syllable *yâ* of the mood just mentioned is contracted in the middle to *î*, by which *syât*, "he may be," becomes, in the middle, *sîta*.

652. The Lithuanian has likewise contracted the future character *ya* to *i* in the persons most correctly preserved; thus the *sime*, *site*, of *dů-si-me*, *dů-si-te* (*dabimus*, *dabitis*), *eri-mus*, *eri-tis*, and the whole word, to the Sanscrit *dâ-syâ-mas*, *dâ-sya-tha*; and in the dual *dů-si-wa*, *dů-si-ta*, correspond to the Sanscrit *dâ-syâ-vas*, *dâ-sya-thas*. But in its simple state *si* has been no more retained in Lithuanian than *sya* has in Sanscrit, but the verb substantive, in the future, in the two cognate idioms, combines the two roots of "to be" with one another: hence, in Lithuanian, *bú-si-wa*, *bú-si-ta*, *bú-si-me*, *bú-si-te*, answering to the Sanscrit *bhav-i-shyâ-vas*, *bhav-i-shya-thas*, *bhav-i-shyâ-mas*, *bhav-i-shya-tha*, which are furnished with Guna and a conjunctive vowel *i*. Compare, in regard to the combination of the two roots of "to be," the Latin *fue-runt*, for which a simple *fui-nt* might be expected; or (which is here more in point) the future perfect, *fuero*, which I distribute, not into *fu-ero*, but into *fue-ro* for *fui-ro* (compare §. 644.).

653. In the singular, the Lithuanian has almost entirely lost the future character *i*, and only the *s* of the auxiliary verb has remained; at least, I believe that in the second person *dů-si*, "thou willst give," the personal termination, which, in the second person singular, terminates in all tenses in *i*, has more claim to the *i* than the expression of the future has. In the third person, *dů-s* stands for all numbers (§. 457.); and to the form *bú-s* of the verb substantive corresponds remarkably a word *bhus*, in Irish, of the same signification, but which is quite isolated (see O'Reilly's Lex., s. v. *bhus*). The Sanscrit *bhav-i-shyati* and

Zend *bû-syêiti,* however, form the medium between the Lithuanian *bûs* and Irish *bhus.*

654. In the first person singular I regard the *u* of forms like *dû-su,* "I will give," as in all the first persons singular, as the vocalization of the personal character *m* (see §§. 436. 438.): in the Latin *ero,* however, for which *eris* ought to stand, the second element of the Sanscrit *yâ* of *syâmi* has been preserved in preference to the first; and in this *ero* has the same relation to *syâmi* that *veho,* above-mentioned, has to *vahâmi* (§. 733.). The same is the case with the third person plural, in which *erunt* for *eriunt* corresponds to the Sanscrit *syanti* from *asyanti,* and in respect to its *u* for *a* answers to *vehunt*=*vahanti.*

655. To the Latin *ero, erunt,* from *eso, esunt,* correspond, exclusive of their middle terminations, the Greek ἔσομαι, ἔσονται, the active of which is lost, as far as its simple use. Ἔσονται from ἐσίονται answers to the Sanscrit *-syantê* for *asyantê;* and in the singular ἔσεται to the Sanscrit *-syatê* (=*syatai*) from *asyatê.* The form ἔσται is originally nothing else than the middle of ἐστί; and ἔσε-ται also appears, from the point of view of the Greek, like a present, with the conjunctive vowel of the conjugation in ω (λέγ-ε-ται). The epic forms with double σ (ἔσσομαι, ὀλέσσω) can scarcely have been formed from a consideration of metre, but have been used in the construction of verse only because they were already in existence, and had a grammatical claim to that existence. I derive ἔσσομαι, ὀλέσσω, by assimilation, from ἔσyομαι, ὀλέσyω,* as μέσσος from μέσyος for μέδyος (Sanscrit *madhya,* Latin *medium*), and as ἄλλος from ἄλyος=*alius,* Prakrit *anna,* Sanscrit *anya.* The Prakrit regularly assi-

* The Doric form ἐσσοῦμαι from ἐσσέομαι for ἐσσίομαι consequently contains the character of the future doubled (§. 656.); which cannot be surprising, as, when these words were produced, the reason of the duplication of the σ was no longer perceived by the language.

mil ites, as has been already remarked (§. 300.), the weaker consonant to the stronger, whether this precedes or follows it; and according to this principle it produces also futures in *ssai*,* *ssasi*, *sadi*, &c.; *e.g.* *karissadi*, answering to the Sanscrit *karishyati*, "he will make." Forms of this kind, which are the countertypes of the Greek ἔσσομαι, are in far more frequent use than those abovementioned in *himi*.

656. In composition the Greek loses the vowel of the root of the auxiliary verb; hence, δώ-σω, δώ-σομεν, δείκ-σω, δείκ-σομεν, as in Sanscrit *dâ-syâmi*, *dâ-syâmas*, *dêk-syâmi* (§. 21.), *dêk-shyâmas*, only with the loss of the *y*, for which *i* might be expected, and which, too, it is very remarkable, has remained in some Doric forms, which Koen compares at Greg. Cor. p. 230. They are the following: πραξίομεν, χαριξιόμεθα, συνδιαφυλαξίομεθα, βοαθησίω, προλειψίω.† To this class belong the common Doric futures in σῶ, σοῦμεν, from σέω, σέομεν, for σίω, σίομεν, since the ι has been first corrupted to ε, and then contracted with the following vowel, as in the declension of bases in ι, as πόλεις proceeded from πόλεες, πόλεας, and this from πόλιες, πόλιας; as to the Old High German genitives like *balge-s* (*palkes*) correspond the Gothic like *balgi-s*, or as, in the feminine *i* bases, the Old High German form *krefti* precedes the Middle High German like *krefte*. In the genitive plural we have, in Old High German even, in different authorities, together with *kreftio*, which must originally have been *kreftyo*, the form *krefteo*, and, suppressing the *e* or *i*, *krefto* (*chrefto*). These genitives, therefore, in their gradual process of corruption, coincide exactly with that of the Greek future; for from *yo* we arrive first at

* The first person, in this formation, loses the *i* of the termination, which the forms in *himi* have retained.

† I agree with Pott (I. p. 115) in thinking βοαθησίω and προλειψίω should be written for βοηθησιῶ, προλειψιῶ: as the form in ῶ has arisen first by contraction from εω for ιω, the ι would be twice represented in ιῶ.

io, thence at *eo*, and in the farthest corruption at *o*; just as from the Sanscrit future in *syâmi syâmas*, in Greek at first we come to *σίω, σίομεν*; thence to *σέω, σέομεν*, which we must suppose to have existed before *σῶ, σοῦμεν*; finally to the common future forms like *δώ-σω, δείκ-σω*, in which the semi-vowel of the Sanscrit *dâ-syâmi, dêk-shyâmi*, has entirely disappeared. In the Greek second future, however, the second element of the Sanscrit *shya* has been retained in preference to the sibilant; and as the liquids have expelled the σ of the first aorist, and ἔστειλα is said for ἔστελσα, so also comes στελῶ from στελέω for στελίω, and this from στελσίω, according to the analogy of the abovementioned *βοαθη-σίω, προλειπ-σίω*.

657. It is not probable that the Sanscrit future-character *ya* should have originally occurred only in the root *as* of the verb substantive; but I have scarce any doubt that, at a very early epoch, extending back beyond the period of the separation of languages, the attributive verbs likewise might form their future by annexing directly the syllable *ya*; that therefore forms like *dâ-yati* have existed before or contemporaneously with such as *dâ-syati* = *δώ-σει*, "he will give." In the present state of the language, however, the attributive verbs always require the verb substantive in order to denote the future, as the Sclavonic languages also apply the newly constructed future of the verb substantive (§. 633.) to paraphrase the future, without, however (the Servian language excepted), forming with it a compound. The Carniolan and Polish employ with the future of the auxiliary verb that participle in *l, la, lo*, which we have seen above used to express the past (§. 628. &c.): the Russian, however, and Bohemian, and sometimes, also, the Old Sclavonic, use the infinitive. Thus, in Carniolan we find, in the various genders, *bóm*,*

* The more complete form of *bóm* is *bódem*, "I make to be," after the

igràl, bom igrála, bóm igrálo, "I will play," literally, "I will be he that plays," "she that plays," "it that plays." In Polish, *będę,*† *czytał, czytała, czytało,* means "I will be reading"), "I will read"; in Russian, будy двигать *bûdû dvigaty,* "I will move," literally, "I will be moving"; so, in Bohemian, *budu krasti* (from *kradti*), "I will steal." The Servian, however, has this advantage over the other Sclavonic dialects, that it does not require a periphrasis of the future by the verb substantive, but combines the auxiliary verb signifying "to do" with the themes of the attributive verbs, just as with that of the verb substantive: thus, *igradyu* means "I will play," as *bìdyu* does "I will be."

658. Several Sclavonic languages may or must, under certain circumstances, express the future by a preposition prefixed to the present, which signifies "after," and is pronounced *po.* We refer the reader to Dobrowsky's Bohemian Instructions, pp. 160, &c., respecting the difference in signification of the Bohemian futures which are expressed with *po,* from those which are conveyed by a periphrasis, where both are used simultaneously, as *po-kradu* and *budu krasti.* In Carniolan there are not more than ten verbs which express the future by prefixing *po;* as *po-rèzhem,* "I will say." *

the analogy of the Old Sclavonic *bû-dû* (§. 633.). The contraction of *bódem* to *bom* is like that of *glèday,* "behold" (*glédam,* "I behold"), to *gléy* (see Kopitar's Cr. Gr. p. 334). The contracted form *bóm* resembles fortuitously, but in a surprising degree, the Prakrit present *hômi,* "I am," an abbreviation of *bhômi,* and contraction of the Sanscrit *bhavâmi.* In the kindred languages, however, a historical fact lies for the most part at the bottom of fortuitous coincidences, which, in the case before us, consists in this, that *bóm* and *hômi,* like our *bin,* Old High German *bim,* have the same root and the same personal termination.

* *Będę* = *bendeh,* from *bendem,* §. 255. *g.*

† Compare the Old Sclavonic *rekû, recheshi,* and Sanscrit *vach* (see p. 627, Rem. 6.).

The rest all express an emotion, as *pobeshím*, "I will fly," *pojésdim*, "I will ride" (Kopitar, p. 332). The Old Sclavonic employs other prepositions besides *po*, in order to give a future meaning to the present. After *po* the most in use are оу (*û*), "by," and въз (*vζ*), "outwards"; as *û-vidit*, "*videbit*," *û-boyû-sya*, "*timebo*" (Sanscrit *bhî*, "to fear," *bhaya*, "fear"), *voζ-rastû*, "*crescam*" (Dobr. p. 377).

659. The periphrasis by *bûdû*, "I will be," is rare in Old Sclavonic: on the other hand, *imam*, "I have," frequently occurs in the translation of the Evangelists as a future auxiliary verb in combination with the infinitive; as *imyeti imashi*, "*habebis*" ("thou hast to have"); *priiti imaty syn*, "*veniet filius*"; *ne imaty byti*, "*non erit*"; *ne imaty piti*, "*non bibet*" (Dobrowsky, p. 379). Observe the coincidence of idea with the Roman languages, the future of which, though it has completely the character of a simple inflexion form, is nothing else than the combination of the infinitive with the present of the auxiliary verb. This would perhaps have been with difficulty discovered, or not at all, on account of the contraction which the auxiliary verb experiences in the plural; but for the clear indication of it we receive from the language of Provence, which at times separates the auxiliary verb from the infinitive by a pronoun; as, *dar vos n'ei*, "*je vous en donnerai*"; *dir vos ai*, "*je vous dirai*"; *dir vos em*, "*nous vous dirons*"; *gitar m'etz*, "*vous me jeterez*." It is remarkable that the Old Sclavonic occasionally paraphrases the future of the verb "to have" itself by "to have," which the Roman languages are always compelled to do, because they possess no other means of expressing the future: thus the French *tu auras* (from *avoiras*) corresponds to the above-mentioned Sclavonic *imyati imashi*.

660. The Gothic, also, sometimes paraphrases the future by the auxiliary verb "to have"; thus, 2 Cor. xi. 12, *tauyan haba* for ποιήσω; John xii. 26, *visan habaith* for ἔσται (see Grimm IV. 93). The German languages have, that is to

say, like their Sclavonic cognate idioms, from the earliest antiquity lost their primitive future inflexion, which the Lithuanian and Lettish share to this day with the Sanscrit and Greek. As, however, the Sanscrit future *syámi* is almost identical with the potential *syám*, "I may be," and the future character य *ya* springs from the same source with the potential या *yá*, it deserves notice that Ulfilas frequently expresses the Greek future by the Gothic conjunctive present, which is in form identical with the Sanscrit potential and Greek optative. Examples are, Mark ix. 19, *siyau* and *thulau* for ἔσομαι and ἀνέξομαι; Mark ix. 35, *siyai* for ἔσται; x. 7, *bileithai* for καταλείψει; x. 8, *siyaina* for ἔσονται. In the reverse case the Persian uses the only ancient future that it has preserved, viz. باشم *báshem* (= Sanscrit *bhavishyámi*) also in the sense of the present subjunctive. The attributive verbs in Persian, to denote the future, prefix to the present a particle beginning with *b*, which, with regard to its vowel, is guided by that of the initial syllable of the verb; so that for *u* (*dhamma*) the prefix also contains an *u*, but for other vowels an *e*;* as *be-berem*, "I will carry," *be-bázem*, "I will play," but *bu-pursem*, "I will ask." These futures stand in an external analogy with those of the Sclavonic languages, which are formed from the present by prefixing the preposition *po* (§§. 658. &c.). We must, however, leave it undecided whether the Persian prefix of the future, which may also precede the imperative, is identical with the inseparable preposition *be*, or whether, as appears to me far more probable, it is connected with باید *báyed*, "*oportet*," and has, therefore, our ideal relationship with the periphrasis of the future, which is formed by the auxiliary verb *sollen*, and which still remains in several more ancient and more recent German

* *Kesra*, properly *i*, which, however, is usually pronounced like *fatha*, *i.e.* originally *a*, commonly *e*.

dialects (Grimm IV. 179, &c.). If this is the case, it may be here further remarked, that, in Zend, the imperative is occasionally used in the sense of the future. Thus we read in V. S. p. 82, [illegible] *hê urvânĕm vahistĕm ahûm frahârayênê*, "whose soul I will make to go to the best world." Anquetil translates, "*je ferai aller librement son ame aux demeures célestes.*"*

661. We return to the Gothic, in order to remark that it employs most commonly the present indicative instead of the future, in which it is deficient, as is the case also in Old High German very frequently. The periphrasis, however, begins gradually by *sollen* and *wollen*, the latter only in the first person: that by means of *werden* is peculiar to the New German; in a certain degree, however, the Gothic paves the way for it, as in this language *wairtha* sometimes occurs in the sense of the future of the verb substantive. Grimm (IV. 177. 178.) quotes the following passages: Matt. viii. 12. Luke i. 14. 2 Cor. xi. 15., where ἔσται is rendered by *vairthith*; moreover, 2 Cor. vi. 16, where *vairtha vairthand* answer to the Greek ἔσομαι, ἔσονται. In fact, *werden*, "to become," is the most natural and surest expression of future being, and far better adapted to represent it than the auxiliary verbs "to will" and "to owe;" for he who is becoming will certainly arrive at being, and is one who will be hereafter; the willing and the owing, however, may be incapable or be prevented from doing what he would or should. The

* *Librement* is clearly the translation of the preposition contained in *frâpârayênê*, as Anquetil also, in the page preceding, renders *fravaôcĕm* (thus I read it for *fravaôcim*) by "*je parle clairement;*" while in both expressions, and especially very often in Zend, as in Sanscrit, the prepositions have no perceptible meaning, which admits of translation, though the Indian Scholiasts also, in the derivation of verbs compounded with prepositions, lay too much stress on the prepositions. We will treat hereafter of the middle imperative termination in *nê*. As the causal form the verb under discussion corresponds to the Sanscrit *pra sârayâmi*.

willing person may also alter his will, and hence not do what he intended. The Old Northern language, in paraphrasing the future, uses the anomalous *mun*, "I think," which employs the preterite form as the present; *e.g. munt vera*, "*eris*," *mun slitna*, "*rumpetur*," *koma munu*, "*venient*." To this head belongs the circumstance, that occasionally the Gothic weak verb *munan* represents, not, indeed, the proper future; but the Greek construction with μέλλω, for which, however, *haban* is also applied (Grimm, IV. 93, 178); thus John xiv. 22, *munais gabairhtyan* μέλλεις ἐμφανίζειν. Ulfilas, however, could scarcely have imagined that his *munan* and the Greek μέλλω are radically akin, which is the case if I mistake not. I believe that μέλλω stands in the same relation to the Sanscrit *manyê* (only that the latter is a middle verb), "I think," "I mean," as ἄλλος does to *anya-s*, "the other" (§. 655.). The circumstance that we have the Sanscrit root in Greek also, in a truer form, and one which retains the original *n* (*e.g.* μένος = *manas*), does not prevent the assumption that besides this the favourite exchange of liquids takes place, and consequently μέλλω might become estranged from the forms with ν.

662. Latin futures like *amabo, docebo*, have already, in my System of Conjugation, as compounds with the root *fu* (the *f* of which in the interior of a word becomes *b*, see §. 18.), and *bo, bis, bit*, &c., been compared with the Anglo-Saxon *beo*, "I will be," *bys*, "thou willst be," *bydh*, "he will be." *Bo*, a sister form of the *bam* of *amabam, docebam*, mentioned before (§§. 526, &c.), answers in conjugation exactly to *ero*; *bo*, therefore, stands for *bio*, *bunt* for *biunt*, and the *i* of *bis, bit, bimus, bitis*, is a contraction of the Sanscrit future character *ya* (§. 651.). From the root *bhû* would come the forms *bhûyâmi, bhûyasi, bhûyati*, &c., or with Guna, *bhôyâmi, bhôyasi*, &c., if the said root were not combined in the future with the root *as*, but annexed the syllable *ya* direct (before *m* and *v*, *yâ*). To this would correspond in Latin, in its isolated state, *fuyô, fuis, fuit*, in which, however,

fuit would be distinguished from the perfect (aorist) *fuit* in this, that the *i* in the latter form is nothing but a conjunctive vowel and the weakening of an original *a*, but in the future the contraction of *ya* and expression of the relation of time. In *bo, bis, bit,* the *u* of the root *fu* is passed over, as in *fio, fis, fit,* which is properly the passive of *fu*, and corresponds to the Sanscrit passive *bhû-yê, bhû-ya-sê, bhu-ya-tê,* only with active terminations like the Prakrit, which preserves the characteristic syllable *ya* of the Sanscrit passive (of which we will speak hereafter), but has replaced the middle terminations by active ones.

663. The question may be raised, whether the Latin *bo* is really based on a presupposed Sanscrit *bhûyâmi* or *bhôyâmi*; and thus, whether this form existed at the time of the division of languages, and if alone, or, together with that, compounded with the other root of "to be," on which the Zend *bûsyêmi*, the Greek *φύ-σω*, the Lithuanian *bú-su*, and the Irish *bhus*, "*erit*," mentioned above, are founded; or whether the Latin *bo* likewise, at an earlier period, was combined with the other auxiliary verb; whether, therefore, in an isolated state, a *furo* from an earlier *fuso*, for *fusio*, existed, like the Greek *φύ-σω* from *φυ-σίω*? This question cannot be decided with certainty; but the latter, according to which *amabo, amabis,* &c., would appear as contractions of *amaburo, amaburis,* appears to me the more probable particularly as the forms, which are incumbered by the composition, have most cause to be weakened. It may be observed, that, even without any external occasion for being weakened, the Old High German, in the very same root, contrasts with its plural *birumês*, "we are" (=Sanscrit *bhavâmas*, §. 20.), a singular *bim* for *birum*. The Carniolan exhibits, as we have seen (§. 657.), together with *bódem*, "I will be" ("make to be"), corresponding to the Sclavonic cognate idioms, a contracted form *bóm*, to which the Latin *bo* approaches very closely, though with a different kind of

contraction. The Anglo-Saxon *beo*, mentioned above (also *beom*), "I will be," is properly not a formal future, but a present, answering to our *bin*, Old High German *bim*, and to the Sanscrit *bhavâmi*, which is principally used with a future meaning, while *eom* = *asmi*, Gothic *im*, remains devoted to the present. It might, also, be disputed whether the Latin *bo* of *amabo* is actually a future, for then it would be necessary to identify the *i* of *bis*, *bit*, &c., with the conjunctive vowel *a* of the Sanscrit *bhav-a-si*, *bhav-a-ti*, and to place it on the same footing with the *i* of *veh-i-s*, *veh-i-t* = *vah-a-si*, *vah-a-ti* (see §. 507.). Remark the obsolete subjunctive *fuam*, which presupposes a present indicative *fuo*, *fuis* (§. 510.). However, that opinion appears to be most probably the true one, that *bo*, *bis*, rest on the same principle of formation with *ero*, *eris*, and that, therefore, there is a reason why *amabo*, *monebo*, have a future, and not a present signification. It appears certain, that the third and fourth conjugations, did all form their futures in *bo* (compare §. 529.); futures in *am*, however, are, according to their origin, of the subjunctive mood,* and we shall return to them hereafter. We have already (§. 526.) noticed the remarkable coincidence which exists between the Latin and the Irish, in the circumstance that the latter combines all attributive verbs in the future with the labial root of the verb substantive. The Irish, however, is superior to the Latin in this, that, in the simple state of the verb substantive, it forms the future not from the root, which is, in Sanscrit, *as*, but from that which has the labial initial sound (see §. 526.).

664. It remains to be remarked with regard to the Sanscrit future, that the syllable *sya*, which proceeds from the verb substantive, is combined with the root either directly or by means of a conjunctive vowel *i*,

* Compare System of Conjugation, p. 98.

after the manner of the third aorist formation (§. 560.), so that the *s*, through the influence of this *i*, again becomes *sh*; as in *tan-i-shyâmi*, "*extendam*." Radical vowels, capable of Guna, receive it;* hence, *dêk-shyâmi* = δείκ-σω from *diś*, "to shew"; *lêk-shyâmi* = λείκ-σω from *lih*, "to lick"; *yôk-shyâmi* = ζεύκ-σω from *yuj*, "to combine" (§. 19.); *bhav-i-shyâmi* from *bhû*, "to be." The Greek has Guna only where the present, also, has a Guna vowel, as in the examples adduced; it contrasts, however, λύ-σω, φύ-σω, ῥίπ-σω, with the Sanscrit *lav-i-shyâmi* from *lû*, "to cut off," *bhav-i-shyâmi* from *bhû*, "to be," *kshêp-syâmi* from *kship*, "to cast." The Zend, also, in respect to the Guna, does not agree exactly with the Sanscrit; hence, *bûsyêmi*, "*ero*" (§. 665.), both in not employing the Guna, and also in the direct annexation of the auxiliary verb, corresponds more to the Greek φύ-σω and Lithuanian *bú-su* than to the Sanscrit *bhav-i-shyâmi*. We subjoin the full conjugation of this future, and append to it the Latin *fac-so*, which is very isolated, and which agrees with φύ-σω, *bú-su*, not only in the formation, but is also radically akin to it (§. 19.).

SINGULAR.

SANSCRIT.	ZEND.	LITH.	LATIN.	GREEK.
bhav-i-shyâmi,	*bû-syêmi*,[1]	*bú-su*,	*fac-so*,	φύ-σω.[2]
bhav-i-shyasi,	*bû-syêhi*,[1]	*bú-si*,[3]	*fac-sis*,	φύ-σεις.
bhav-i-shyati,	*bû-syêiti*,[1]	*bu-s*,	*fac-sit*,	φύ-σει.

DUAL.

bhav-i-shyâvas,	. . . . .	*bú-siwa*,		
bhav-i-shyathas,	*bû-syathô*?	*bú-sita*,		φύ-σετον.
bhav-i-shyatas,	*bû-syatô*,	like Sing.		φύ-σετον.

* Where Guna is prescribed in Sanscrit Grammar we are to understand that in the middle of roots only short vowels receive Guna before simple consonants, but at the end of roots long vowels also.

PLURAL.

SANSCRIT.	ZEND.	LITH.	LATIN.	GREEK.
bhav-i-shyâmas,	*bû-syâmahi,*	*bú-sime,*	*fac-simus,*	φύ-σομεν.
bhav-i-shyatha,	*bû-syatha,*	*bú-site,*	*fac-sitis,*	φύ-σετε.
bhav-i-shyanti.	*bû-syanti,*	like Sing.	*fac-sunt.*	φύ-σοντι.

[1] §. 42. [2] From φυσίω, §. 656. [3] The *i* is the personal termination: see §. 418.

On account of the perfect agreement between दास्यामि *dâ-syâmi,* δώσω, and the Lithuanian *důsu* (*duo-su*), this future, also, may be here fully conjugated, and the Latin *dabo* subjoined, as it agrees with the Lithuanian *i* and Sanscrit *ya,* though not in the auxiliary verb, still in respect to the future characteristic *i* of *dabis,* &c.

ACTIVE.

SINGULAR.

Sanscrit.	*Greek.*	*Lithuanian.*	*Latin.*
dâ-syâmi,	δώ-σω,	*důsu,*	*da-bo.*
dâ-syasi,	δώ-σεις,	*dů-si,*	*da-bis.*
dâ-syati,	δώ-σει,	*dů-s,*	*da-bit.*

DUAL.

dâ-syâvas,		*dů-siwa,*	....
dâ-syathas,	δώ-σετον,	*dů-sita,*	....
dâ-syatas,	δώ-σετον,	like Sing.	....

PLURAL.

dâ-syâmas,	δώ-σομεν,	*dů-sime,*	*da-bimus.*
dâ-syatha,	δώ-σετε,	*dů-site,*	*da-bitis.*
dâ-syanti,	δώ-σοντι,	like Sing.	*da-bunt.*

MIDDLE.

SINGULAR.		DUAL.	
Sanscrit.	*Greek.*	*Sanscrit.*	*Greek.*
dâ-syê,	δώ-σομαι.	*dâ-syâvahê,*	δώ-σομεθον.
dâ-syasê,	(δώ-σεσαι).	*dâ-syêthê,*	δώ-σεσθον.
dâ-syatê,	δώ-σεται.	*dâ-syêtê,*	δώ-σεσθον.

MIDDLE.

PLURAL.

Sanscrit.	Greek.
dâ-syâmahê,	δώ-σομεθα.
dâ-syadhvê,	δώ-σεσθε.
dâ-syantê,	δώ-σονται.

665. The Zend future agrees, in essentials, with the Sanscrit, as we have already seen from the relation of *bûsyêmi* to *bhavishyâmi*. Still this example shews that the Zend, in respect to the Guṅa and introduction of a conjunctive vowel *i*, does not everywhere keep pace with the Sanscrit, and in the case before us resembles more closely the Greek φύσω and Lithuanian *búsu* than भविष्यामि *bhavishyâmi*. I cannot, however, adduce the form *bûsyêmi* even from the Zend-Avesta, but from the frequently occurring participle *bûsyantĕm*, "the about to be" (Vend. S. p. 89); we may, with the more certainty, infer *bûsyêmi*, *bûsyêhi*, &c., than we can, in Greek, ἔσομαι from ἐσόμενος, and, in Sanscrit, *bhavishyâmi* from *bhavishyan*. The form in *êmi*, *êhi*, *êiti*, is apparent from §. 42.; for the *y* invariably exerts an assimilating influence upon the *â* or *a*, which precedes the terminations *mi*, *hi*, *ti*, through which those vowels become *ê*. That, however, the *y* of the future makes no exception to this rule, is proved, if proof be required, among other proofs, by that of [Zend] *vacsyêiti* (Vend. S. p. 83), "he will say,"* answering to the Sanscrit *vakshyati* from *vach*. In the dual and plural, the *y* abstains from its assimilating influence, and, in the third person plural, as generally before *n*, it protects the *a* following from being weakened to [Zend] *ĕ*, as occurs elsewhere.

656. The third person dual would give the [Zend]

* Anquetil (p. 139), "*voici ce que dit maintenant.*"

vacsayatô, mentioned at §. 464, Rem. *, if it corresponded to the Sanscrit वक्ष्यतस् *vakshyatas* from *vah*, "to carry," "to bear." I now, however, prefer regarding it as the causal of the Sanscrit root *vaksh*, "*accumulare*," which may perhaps also signify "to grow," and with which the Gothic root *VAHS* regularly agrees; whence, *vahsya*, "I grow," *vôhs*, "I grew," with *h* for *k*, according to a general law for the change of sounds. The Zend *ucsyêmi*, "I grow," appears to be a contraction of *vacsyêmi* (compare §. 536. Rem.), as, in Sanscrit, such contractions occur only in forms devoid of Guna; and from *vach*, "to speak," the gerund, indeed, is *uktvâ*, but the infinitive, which requires Guna, is not *uktum*, but *vaktum*. As, then, in the causal verb the vowels capable of Guna receive it, it need not surprise us if, in Zend, the root *vacs*, as a verb of the fourth class, to which Guna does not belong, were contracted to *uss*, but, in the causal, retained the full form *vacs*, as, in Sanscrit, the root *vyadh* of the fourth class forms, in the present, *vidhyâmi* for *vyadhyâmi*, but, in the causal, *vyâdhayâmi*.

667. That the Zend, also, occasionally uses the conjunctive vowel *i* in its future is proved by the form [illegible] *daibisyanti*, "they will disturb," from the root *dab*, which corresponds to the Sanscrit *dambh*, "to deceive," and in the preceding and several other forms, which occur in the Vend. S., has, through the influence of the *i* of the following syllable, received an *i* in the root (§. 41.). It is translated by Anquetil in various passages by *affliger* and *blesser*. The future form mentioned occurs Vendidad Sade, p. 215, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] *yôi vâo daibisyanti*,* "which will disturb you both." Anquetil renders this strangely enough "*vous deux, affligez ceux qui me tiennent dans l'oppression.*" In another passage (p. 223) we find the third person plural of the future

* I believe it is to be written thus, instead of —*ti*.

middle of the same verb, viz. *daibisyantê*, which Anquetil likewise regards as the second person imperative, and renders by *blessez*.

668. In the Zend future forms hitherto considered, the sibilant of the verb substantive appears in the form of a 𐬱 *s*, because it follows letters which, in Sanscrit, according to §. 21., require the change of the *s* into *sh*, for which, in Zend, 𐬱 *s* or 𐬴 *sh* is regularly written. After such letters, however, as, in Sanscrit, leave the *s* unaltered, an *h* must be expected in the Zend future, according to §. 53., instead of the sibilant; and this we find, also, in the passive participle *zaṇhyamana*, "the man about to be born" (Vend. S., p. 28), from which we may safely infer an indicative *zaṇhyê*, "I am about to be born." Anquetil, indeed, renders the words [Zend script] *naraṅmcha zâtananmcha zaṇkyamananaṅmcha*, "and to the person born and about to be born,"* by "*les hommes qui naissent et engendrent*," according to which [Zend script] *zaṇhyamana* must be considered as a middle present participle; but it is impossible that the root *zan*, = Sanscrit जन् *jan*, can arrive at an *h* without thereby expressing the future. At most we might be in doubt, whether *zaṇhyamana* should be regarded as of the middle or of the passive voice, as these voices in the general tenses, as also in the special tenses of the fourth class, are not distinguished from each other. The Indian grammarians take *jâyê*, "I am born," as a middle, so that *ya* passes as the characteristic of the fourth class (see §. 109ª. 2.); but as the passive, also, in the special tenses, annexes the syllable *ya* and may reject the *n* in the root *jan*, by which the *a* is lengthened, so there is nothing to prevent us from regarding the verb *jâyê*, also, as a formal passive on account of its passive meaning. Thus I consider the Zend participle *zaṇhyamana* as passive. As regards the

* Compare Burnouf's Yaçna, Note O., p. 71.

ꞇ *n*, however, I do not believe it to be the transferred radical ꞇ *n* of the root *zan*, but I assume that the radical *n* is dropped, and I explain the *n* as euphonic, as in *usazayanha*, "thou wast born" (§. 56[a].), where the *n* of the root *zan* has likewise been lost. But if we are to suppose that this root retained its nasal in the future, then we should expect either the form *zanisyê*, with a conjunctive vowel, or *zañsyê*, without the vowel, as the Sanscrit sound अंस् *ans* regularly makes its appearance in Zend in the form *añs*.

669. From the roots *dâ*, "to give," and *dâ*, "to place," might, according to §. 56[b]., be expected the future form *dâonhyêmi*: as, however, in Zend, sometimes also *khy* occurs as the representative of the Sanscrit *sy* (see p. 280), we must be prepared for a form *dâkhyêmi*; and the passive participle of this we find in Vend. S., p. 89, where, in like manner, the passive participle, *uz-dâtanaṅm*, "of these held up," precedes the genitive plural of the future participle *uzdâkhyamnanaṅm* (= Sanscrit *uddhâsyamânânâm*), "of those about to be held up,"* as above we have seen *zâtanaṅm-cha* and *zanhyamananaṅm-cha*, "close together." As we have, therefore, the sibilant of the verb substantive here before us in the shape of a guttural, we will again draw attention to what has been said above of the probable origin of the κ of ἔδωκα, δέδωκα, from σ (§§. 568. &c.). As the Zend root *dâ*, "to place," "lay," "make,"† corresponds to the Greek τίθημι, consequently the *dâkh* of the *dâkhyamnanaṅm*, which has been mentioned, would be identical with the Greek θηκ of ἔθηκα, τέθηκα.

670. As respects, however, the origin of the exponent of

* With a perhaps erroneous rejection of the *a* of the participial suffix. Anquetil's translation, also, "*qu'il faut toujours tenir élevés*," is evidence that this may be regarded as expressing the future.

† The corresponding Sanscrit *dhâ* means also "to hold."

the future, *yâ*, with which that of the potential and precative *yâ* is to be ranked, I am still of the opinion already expressed in my System of Conjugation, that these syllables proceed from the root ई *î*, "to wish." Consequently the Greek optative, which is founded on the Sanscrit potential and precative, would, according to its signification, have its name from the same verb to which it owes its formal origin. If the conjunctive vowel of the first and sixth class be added to the root ई *î*, it would make *ya*, according to the same phonetic principle by which the root *i*, "to go," forms, in the third person plural, *yanti*. From this *yanti*, therefore, the termination of *dâ-s-yanti*, "they will give," cannot be distinguished. It cannot be denied, too, that the root *i*, "to go," to which Wüllner (Origin of Lingual-Forms, §§. 46, 47.) has betaken himself in explaining the future, is, in respect of form, just as suitable as *î*. But the meaning "to wish," "to will," is certainly more adapted to express the future and the optative than that of "to go." This is also confirmed by the use of language, as several idioms, quite independent of one another, have simply, through internal impulse, come to the decision of expressing the future by "to will." It is certain that the New Grecian and Old High German (§. 661.), nay, even the various German dialects, have, in this respect, borrowed nothing from one another nor imitated each other. The Old Sclavonic, also, sometimes employs an auxiliary verb, signifying "to will," to express the future. It is not, however, to be overlooked, that the examples which Dobrowsky (p. 380.) adduces from the translation of the Bible are all preceded by μέλλω in the Greek text; for which reason, unless other instances occur where this is not the case, we must conjecture that the wish of keeping as close as possible to the Greek text must have suggested to the Sclavonic translator his хощу *choshtchû*; thus Luke xxi. 7, *yegda chotyat siya byti*, ὅταν μέλλῃ ταῦτα γένεσθαι; Matt. xi. 14, *chotyaĭ priiti*, ὁ μέλλων ἔρχεσθαι. Respecting the conjectural

relationship of the Greek μέλλω with the Indian *manyê*, "I think," see p. 889.

671. The Sanscrit sometimes uses its desiderative form to denote the future, as in the episode of the Draupadî *mumûrshu*, "wishing to die," occurs in the sense of "about to die;" and, conversely, in different languages, the expression of the future is occasionally used to denote that of "to will:" and the Latin forms its desideratives from the future participle in *tûrus*, abbreviating the *u*, and adding the characteristic of the fourth conjugation, the *i* of which, however, has nothing to do with the Sanscrit future suffix *ya*, but, as has been shewn, is founded on the characteristic of the tenth class *aya*, which is frequently used in Sanscrit to form denominatives. The Greek forms desideratives from the future in σω, or perhaps from the older form in σίω; so that in forms like παραδωσείω, γελασείω, the ι would be strengthened only by an ε, which would give the Guna augment. These desideratives, however, and the future, may be regarded as cognate forms, so that both, independently of each other, but by a similar formation, would have proceeded from the verbal theme, as there are in Sanscrit also desideratives, which have the form of the future but have not proceeded from it, but, following its analogy, have sprung from a nominal base; *e. g. vrisha-syâmi*, "to desire the bull," *madhv-asyâmi*, "to ask for honey." In the latter example the *a* of the root of the verb substantive is perhaps contained. But usually in denominative desideratives the verb substantive is quite omitted, or has become obsolete, and they only contain the syllable *ya*, *i.e.* the auxiliary verb "to wish," which is characteristic of the future; *e.g. patî-yâmi*, "I wish for a spouse," from *pati*, "spouse." It is not improbable that the desideratives which have been formed from primitive roots by the addition of a sibilant, and which are furnished with a syllable of reduplication, had originally a *y* after the sibilant, and therefore, likewise, the root of "to wish" alluded to;

thus, *e.g.* *pipâ-sâmi*, "I wish to drink," from *pipâ-syâmi*, agreeing with *pâ-syâmi*, "I will drink." If this is the case, then *pipâsâmi* has the same relation to the pre-supposed *pipâsyâmi* that the Greek δώ-σω, from δωσίω, has to the Sanscrit *dâsyâmi*. The root being burthened with the reduplication might, perhaps, produce a weakening in the final portion of the word, similar to that through which the reduplicated verbs in the third person plural have lost the nasal belonging to this person; and *bibhrati* "they carry," is said for *bibhranti* (§. 459.). We shall recur hereafter to the desideratives.

FORMATION OF THE MOODS.

POTENTIAL, OPTATIVE, AND SUBJUNCTIVE.

672. The Sanscrit potential, which, with several peculiarities of use, combines in itself the Greek subjunctive and optative, but in form adheres to the latter, is, in that conjugation which corresponds to the Greek in μι, formed by the syllable *yâ*, which is prefixed to the personal terminations. The class peculiarities are retained; *e.g.* *vidyâm* "*sciam*," from *vid*, class 2; *bibhriyâm* "*feram*," from *bhri*, class 3; *strinuyâm*, "*sternam*," from *stri*, class 5; *syâm* for *asyâm* "*sim*," from *as*, class 2. We easily recognise the modal exponent *yâ* in the Greek ιη, in which the semi-vowel has become a vowel, according to the Greek system of sounds; the ι, however, always forms a diphthong with the preceding radical vowel, as there are no present forms like ἔδμι (Sanscrit *admi*, Lithuanian *edmi*), and therefore no optatives also like ἐδίην, which would resemble the Sanscrit *adyâm*. But διδοίην corresponds tolerably well to the Sanscrit *dadyâm*, especially if its radical vowel is restored, which, through a particular irregularity, it has lost. According to rule, *dadâyâm* would correspond to the Greek διδοίην; but the root *dâ*, under the retro-active influence of the heavy personal terminations and of the modal characteristic under discussion, suppresses its radical

vowel according to the same principle by which the Greek verb shortens its ω; thus *dadyâm* = διδοίην, as *dadmas* = δίδομεν (see §. 481. Table). The Sanscrit root *as*, "to be," loses, by a special anomaly (which is, nevertheless, founded on the law of gravity, which acts with such astonishing consequences), its initial *a* in those places where *dâ* drops its final vowel; hence *syâm*, "I may be," answering to the Greek εἴην, because σ between two vowels very easily admits of being dislodged, but the root ΕΣ firmly protects its vowel; hence, also, in the present indicative, ἐσμέν, ἐστέ, are more full than the Sanscrit cognate forms *smas*, "we are," *stha*, "ye are."

673. The agreement of the Greek and Sanscrit is very remarkable in this point, that both languages have, in the middle, entirely lost the long vowel of the modal exponent *yâ*, ιη; hence, διδοῖτο, διδοίμεθα, for διδοίητο, διδοιήμεθα, as in Sanscrit *dadîta*, *dadîmahi*, for *dadyâta*, *dadyâmahi*. The cause clearly lies in the weightier personal terminations of the middle; but I would not maintain, that the wound inflicted by them, in both languages, in one and the same place, on the preceding modal exponent took place so early as the period when Greek and Sanscrit were still one. The principle of the form-weakening retro-active influence of the weight of the personal terminations must, however, have existed at that time; and several circumstances in our European circle of languages point to this, that at the time of the identity of the languages, which are now separated, several convulsions took place in the organization of each family of languages. In the preceding case, however, the Greek διδοῖτο by its accent shews itself to be a comparatively recent contraction; for if the rejection of the η was primitive, and had taken place before the separation of languages, δίδοιτι would be accented like λέγοιτο. The Greek shews itself, too, in the suppression of the η, independent of the Sanscrit, in this, that it admits this vowel in the two plural numbers of the active, and for διδοίημεν also διδοῖμεν, while the San-

scrit together with *dadyâma* has not a form *dadîma*, but both in this and in all verbs of the second conjugation the modal syllable *yâ* is left unweakened in both the plural numbers of the active voice, although in other respects these two numbers follow the analogy of the middle, as their terminations are heavier than those of the singular.

674. The Latin subjunctive coincides in form with the Greek optative and Sanscrit potential. Its agreement with the former might have been perceived, without the intervention of the Sanscrit, from *sim*, *velim*, *edim*, and *duim*, the modal *i* of which coincides with the Greek *ι* of *διδοίην*. But these Latin forms resemble the Sanscrit still more closely than the Greek; for instance, *edim* answers admirably to the Sanscrit *adyâm*, the *yâ* of which, in the middle, if *ad* were used in that voice, must be contracted to *î*, so that *adî-mahi* would correspond to the Latin *edîmus*. Thus *sim*, for *sîm*, answers to *syâm*, and *sîmus* still more exactly to the middle *sîmahi*. The obsolete form *siem*, *sies*, *siet*, corresponding to the Sanscrit *syâm*, *syâs*, *syât*, is so far a grammatical jewel, that the full modal characteristic या *yâ*, Greek *ιη*, is contained in it, and it may thence be inferred, that *edim*, also, &c., was preceded by an older *ediem*, *edies*, *ediet* = *adyâm*, *adyâs*, *adyât*, and *velim*, *duim*, &c., by a more full *veliem*, *duyem* (from *dayem*). The more weighty terminations of the plural have, by their retro-active shortening influence, effected the suppression of the *e* before them earlier than before the more light terminations of the singular. It may, however, be reasonably assumed, that the forms *siêmus*, *siêtis*, *sient* = *syâma*, *syâta*, *syus* (from *syânt*), have existed in some other more early epoch of the language; and to them, *sîmus*, &c., has the same relation that, in Greek, the abbreviated *διδοῖμεν* has to *διδοίημεν*.

675. The German, in which the subjunctive is likewise based on the Sanscrit potential and Greek optative, forms

the preterite of this mood according to the principle of the Sanscrit second conjugation of the second, third, and seventh class, and of the Greek conjugation in μι, *i.e.* by attaching the modal element to the root direct; and, in fact, in Gothic, the first person in *yau* resembles very strikingly the Sanscrit *yâm*, only that the *â* has been shortened, and the *m* vocalized to *u* (§. 432.). Compare, after removing what belongs to the relation of time, *êtyau*, "I ate,"* with the Sanscrit *adyâm*, "I may eat." In the other persons, the Gothic follows the analogy of the Sanscrit and Greek middle; *i.e.* in suppressing the *a* of *ya*, while the *y*, as in Sanscrit, becomes long *î*, for which, in Gothic, *ei* is written; hence, *êt-ei-ma*, Old High German *âzîmês*, resembles the Sanscrit *ad-î-mahi* and Latin *ed-î-mus*; *êt-ei-th*, Old High German *âzît*, the Sanscrit *ad-î-dhvam*, and Latin *ed-î-tis*; in the second person singular, *êt-ei-s* (*êt-î-s*) is almost identical with the Latin *ed-î-s*. In the third person, however, the personal sign has been lost (§. 432.), and in consequence of this loss the long *i* sound, which comes to stand at the end, is shortened; thus *êti* answering to the Sanscrit *adîta* and Latin *edit*.

676. It scarcely requires to be remarked, that I do not understand the resemblance between the Gothic *êt-ei-ma* and Sanscrit *ad-î-mahi*, as though the Gothic subjunctive preterite, with exception of the first person singular, was really referable to the Sanscrit middle; the contraction of *ya* to *ei*=*î* is rather a pure Gothicism, which was probably preceded by a weakening of *ya* to *yi*, according to the principle

* *Ita*, "I eat," from the root *at*, is so far the most remarkable verb of its class, because *êtum*, "we ate" (for *âtum* from *a-atum*, Old High German *âzumês*), contains a reduplication without having experienced abbreviation like *sêtum* and similar forms (§. 605.). The Old High German *âzumês* corresponds almost exactly to the Sanscrit reduplicated *âd-i-ma* from *a-adima*.

by which nominal bases in *ya* exhibit in the nominative singular *yi-s* for *ya-s*, in case this syllable is preceded by only one syllable, and, in fact, a short one. But if a vowel long by nature or by position, or more than one syllable precedes, the syllable *ya* is not only weakened to *yi*, but is contracted to long *í* (*ei*), and at the end of a word to short *i*; hence, *andeis* "end," for *andyis* from *andyas*, accusative *andi* for *andya*. Before a final nasal or *vs* the syllable *ya* remains in its original state, hence; in the dative plural, *andya-m*, accusative *andya-ns*. On the same phonetic law is based the phenomenon that the *u* of the first person singular of our modal-form, which has arisen from *m*, has preserved the syllable *ya* in its complete form; and hence, *étyau* from *étyam*, "I ate," may be compared with the dative plural *andyam*; *éteis*, "thou atest," with the nominative and genitive singular *andeis*, and the third person singular *éti*, which terminates with short *i*, with the accusative *andi*.

677. In Old Sclavonic there are some remains of the Greek conjugation in μι, or the Sanscrit second conjugation. These have preserved the personal termination in the first person singular of the present, and in the imperative (which I believe I must in its formation identify with the Sanscrit-Zend potential, the Latin-German subjunctive, and Greek optative) annex the exponent of the modal relation direct to the root. The modal characteristic, however, has preserved only the semi-vowel of the Sanscrit *yá*, and as in the second person singular the *s* of *yás*, since from the oldest period it has stood at the end, must, according to a universal law of sound, disappear, so ꙗждь *yashdy* (euphonic for *yady*), "eat," corresponds to the Sanscrit *adyás*, "thou mayest eat," and Latin *edís*; вѣждь *vyeshdy* (for *vyedy*) "know," to the Sanscrit *vidyás*; and даждь *dashdy* (for *dady*), "give," to the Greek διδοίης, and still more to the Sanscrit *dadyás*, since, like it, it has lost the radical vowel. The Sclavonic forms which have been cited pass also as third persons; for यास् *yás* and

यात् *yât* cannot be distinguished in Sclavonic, because the rule for the extirpation of final consonants has spared the *t* as little as the *s*, while the Greek admits the Σ at the end, there also, where, in the lingual epoch preceding that of the Greek, it stood as the last pillar of the word; and thus διδοίης can be distinguished from διδοίη, which is deprived of the personal sign.

678. In the first person plural, ꙗждьмы *yashdymy*, вѣждьмы *vyeshdymy*, даждьмы *dashdymy*, answer to अद्यामस् *adyâmas*, *edimus*, विद्यामस् *vidyâmas*, दद्यामस् *dadyâmas*, διδοῖμεν, *duimus*; and in the second, ꙗждьте *yashdyte*, вѣждьте *vyeshdyte*, даждьте *dashdyte*, to अद्यात *adyâta*, *editis*, विद्यात *vidyâta*, दद्यात *dadyâta*, διδοῖτε, *duitis*. The second person plural represents, in the Old Sclavonic imperative, also the third person; a misuse which may have been favoured by the fact, that in the singular the third person is not distinguished from the second, from reasons connected with the law of sounds; and in the dual, also, the terminations तम् *tam*, ताम् *tâm*, for which the Greek uses τον, την have both become *ta*; for though the Sclavonic *a* generally represents the long Sanscrit *â*, still it sometimes stands for the short *a* also; and therefore *ta* has as good a foundation in the second person dual as in the third; but through the elsewhere very common corruption of *a* to *e* the dual second person has become like that of the plural. For the rest, the second person is most used in the imperative, and this may have been an additional cause why, in the plural, the third person has been entirely removed from lingual existence, which is therefore less surprising than that, in Old and Anglo-Saxon, the second person plural should represent the other two in the present indicative also. But if, in the Old Sclavonic imperative, the genuine third person plural had remained in use, it would, in my opinion, be the same as the second and third of the singular; for the final consonant sounds of the Greek-Zend *εν*, *ăn*, or *ĕn*, and Latin *nt*, would

have given way, and as the vowel of the modal expression *yâ* has, in general, disappeared, only *dashdy* could have corresponded to the Zend *daidhyañn*, Greek διδοῖεν, and Old Latin *duint*. This apparent identity with two persons of the singular might have accorded less with the language than the actual exchange for one of the same number.

679. I refer, also, the Lithuanian imperative, in its origin, to the department of the mood here discussed; for in all verbs, without exception, the vowel *i* is its characteristic, which admits of no other comparison than with the Sclavonic *y*, just mentioned, the Greek ι of of all optatives, the Latin *i* of *sim*, *edim*, *velim*, *duim*, and the Sanscrit-Zend *yâ*, or *î*. The Lithuanian imperative, however, gains a peculiar appearance, and one estranged from the corresponding sound of the cognate languages, in that it conceals the true exponent of the modal relation behind a *k*, which is always prefixed to the *i*; only that, if the root itself ends with *k*, for two *k*'s only one is used. As in the second person singular, in which the *i* ought to conclude the form, this final vowel is generally suppressed, but the *k* is extended to all persons of the imperative, with the exception of the third, of which hereafter, we may be easily tempted to regard this *k* as the true imperative suffix, and thus quite disengage the Lithuanian in this mood from its otherwise close union with the other cognate languages. From the root *bu*, "to be," proceed the forms *búki*, or *búk*, "be," *búkite*, "be ye," *búkime*, "let us be," *búkiwa*, "let us two be," *búkita*, "let them two be." So *dûki*, or *dûk*, "give thou," *dûkite*, "give ye," &c. In most cases it happens, that the *k* appears between two vowels: for, in the preceding examples, the root, and in Mielke's three last conjugations, the class syllable, corresponding to the Sanscrit *aya* (§. 506.), end with a vowel: and as the verb *sukù*, "I turn," given as example of the first conjugation, on account of the *k*, which terminates

the root, abstains from the affix under discussion, Mielke's Grammar, therefore, is utterly deficient in an instance exhibiting the combination of the *k* of the imperative with a consonant. But Ruhig gives, from *laupsinù*, "I praise," the imperative *laupsink'* (*laupsinki*), and, according to Mielke's rule, given at p. 78, we must expect from infinitives like *ras-ti*, "to find" (euphonic for *rad-ti*), imperatives like *ras-k'*, or *ras-ki*, since a *k* should take the place of the infinitive suffix.

680. As respects the origin of the *k*, which is peculiar to the Lithuanian imperative, it is probably, as has been already observed, a corruption of the *s* of the verb substantive, and consequently *dûki*, "give thou," is doubly related to the Old Sclavonic *dach*, "I gave," and to the Greek ἔδωκα, δέδωκα (see §§. 568. 569.), as also to the Zend [Zend script] *dâkhyêmi*, "I will give" (= Sanscrit *dâsyâmi*), which I am unable to quote, but I believe I may safely deduce it from the above mentioned participle of the root *dâ*, "to lay," which has the same sound with *dâ* "to give" (see §. 669.). The same relation that the Zend future *dâkhyêmi* has to the Sanscrit *dâsyâmi* is held, as respects the employing a guttural instead of an original sibilant, by the Lithuanian *dûki* to the Sanscrit precative middle *dâsîya*. In the dual, the Lithuanian *dûkiwa* answers to the Sanscrit *dâsîvahi*, and, in the plural, *dûkime* to *dâsîmahi*. The Sanscrit precative is, however, in fact, nothing else than a modification of the potential, and has, in essentials, the same relation to it that the Greek aorist optative has to the present optative; *i.e.* the class differences are removed. Compare *dêyâs*, *dêyât* for *dâyâs*, *dâyât*;* Zend *dâyâo*, *dâyât*, with δοίης, δοίη. In all the other persons, the Sanscrit adds

* A radical *â* passes into *ê*, in most roots, through the assimilating influence of the *y* following, but not in Zend.

an *s*, *i.e.* the verb substantive, to the modal exponent *yâ*, and thus *dêyâsam* resembles the Greek third person plural δοίησαν. This dissimilar introduction of the verb substantive may be regarded as a phenomenon, which first made its appearance after the separation of the languages; for which reason the Zend, though it continued with the Sanscrit much longer than the European cognate idioms, does not share in it, and in the plural contrasts *dâyâma*, *dâyata*, *dâyanm*,* with the Greek δοίημεν, δοίητε, δοῖεν, and Sanscrit *dêyâsma*, *dêyâsta*, *dêyâsus*. In the first person singular I find *dyanm* (probably, erroneously for *dâyanm*) in a passage already cited with a different object (see p. 277), a form in good analogy with the Greek δοίην, for which in Sanscrit *dêyâsam*.

681. In the middle, the Sanscrit, in the precative, commits to the verb substantive the function of denoting the modal relation, exactly as, in the future of the two active forms, the relation of time. As, therefore, in *dâ-syâmi* *dabo*, the last portion is the future of the verb substantive, so in *dâ-sî-ya*,† "I may give," its precative or potential aorist is contained, and the Lithuanian *dû-ki*, "give" (without any personal termination), is rightly analogous to *dâsî*, the sibilant being hardened to *k*, which alone distinguishes the imperative from the future. Compare *dû-kite*, "give ye," with *dû-site*, "ye will give." In spite, however, of the great agreement between *dû-ki* and *dâ-sî*, it is still requisite to assume that the Lithuanian has brought with it from its Asiatic place of origin the preceding form of its imperative, and that *dû-ki-te*, "give ye," is the transmission of the Sanscrit *dâ-sî-dhvam*, *detis*, with the substitution only of an active personal termination for a middle one; but the very natural accession of the verb

* Compare Burnouf's Yaçna, Note, pp. cl. clii.

† The *y* is a euphonic insertion, and *a*, for *ma*, the termination.

substantive may be admitted in both languages independently of one another. The firm adherence to the ancient modal character, the original *yâ* of which has been contracted in the Sanscrit middle, precative, and potential, to *î*, in the Lithuanian imperfect to *i*, has, in the preceding case, effected a surprising similarity in the languages, which have been from time immemorial distinct, and subject to their own separate destiny. The conjecture, however, that the *k* of the Lithuanian imperfect has arisen from *s*, is supported by the Old Prussian, which is most intimately connected with the Lithuanian, and which furnishes us with an optative or subjunctive, in which *s* is contrasted with the Lithuanian *k*; at least, I have no doubt that forms like *da-se*, "he may give,"* *galb-se*, "he may help," *bou-se*, "he may be," *bou-sei*, "they may be," *tussi-se*, "he may be silent" (Sanscrit *tûshnîm*, "still," "silent"), are to be looked upon as cognate forms of the Lithuanian imperative and Sanscrit precative; and thus *da-se* (without a personal termination, like the Greek δοίη) may be contrasted with the Sanscrit *dâ-sî-shta*, "he may give."

682. In support of my assertion that the Lithuanian imperative is based on the Sanscrit precative, not on the potential, may be specially adduced the circumstance that, in the latter case, in those verbs which correspond to the Sanscrit first class, it would necessarily retain the vowel inserted between the root and the personal termination; *e.g.* the inserted *a* of *weż-a-mé*, "we carry," *weż-a-té*, "ye carry," would not be lost, but most probably we should have in their place *weż-ai-mé*, *weż-ai-té*, which would be analogous to the Gothic *vig-ai-ma*, *vig-ai-th*, to the Greek ἔχ-οι-μεν, ἔχ-οι-τε, and Sanscrit *vah-ê-ma*, *vah-ê-ta* (from

* See Vater's Language of the Old Prussians, pp. 104 and 107.

vahaïma, vâhaita). But according to the view just developed, *wefz-ki-mé, wefz-ki-té*, is founded, not on *vah-ê-ma, vah-ê-ta*, but on *vak-shî-mahi, vak-shî-dhvam*, apart from the middle terminations. The Lettish, however, in its imperatives, has retained, of the two modifications of the Sanscrit mood under discussion, the first, *i.e.* the form called potential, corresponding to the Greek optative present; and, in the second person plural, always uses *ai* or *ee* in the place of the indicative *á*; and thus *darrait* "do ye" (*faciatis*), corresponds, in its relation to *darrat*, "ye do,"* admirably to the Gothic subjunctives like *lis-ai-ts*, "ye two may read," as contrasted with the indicative *lis-a-ts*. I give the dual, as this has the advantage of having, in the indicative, retained the old *a* in its original form; while in the plural *lisith*, as in general before a final *th*, that letter has become *i*. The two twin sisters, therefore, the Lithuanian and Lettish, complete one another's deficiencies in the imperative admirably, since the one supplies us with the Sanscrit potential, and the other with its aorist form, or the precative, and, in fact, furnishes us with the same method of formation (which is the more important) that is to be assigned peculiarly to the middle, and does not occur elsewhere in any other European cognate idiom; while, as has been said, the

* Though the form in *ait* or *eet* occurs in the indicative also, still here, that in *at* is the prevailing and general one: in the imperative, however, that in *eet* or *ait* is the only one, and therefore characteristic of the mood. The true pronunciation of the Lettish diphthong *ee* is hard to be perceived from the description given by Rosenberger, p. 6: it is sufficient, however, for our purpose here, that this diphthong is etymologically only a corruption of *ai*, and, like this, corresponds to the Sanscrit *ê* (=*a*+*i*); as, in *deews*, "God," = देवस् *dêva-s*, from दिव् *div*, "to shine"; *eet*, "he goes," = एति *êti*, from इ *i*; *smee-t*, "to laugh," in the root answers to the Sanscrit *smi*, whence by Guna, through insertion of an *a*, *smê*.

active process of formation in the Greek second aorist optative is reflected, where, in the third person plural, δοίησαν is contrasted with the Sanscrit *déyâsus* for *dâyâsant*, and δοῖεν with the Zend [Zend script] *dâyaiin*.

683. The second person singular of the Lettish imperative is always identical with the corresponding person of the indicative, and here requires no further discussion; and thus, that which in Lithuanian, was adduced as the third person imperative, is nothing else than the third person of the indicative present, which receives its modal function, corresponding more with the subjunctive than the imperative, by the prefix of the conjunction *te*. There are, however, some anomalous verbs, which have a form differing from the indicative, and this is in reality an unmistakeable brother of the Sanscrit potential of the second conjugation, or of the Greek optative present of the conjugation in μι. The personal character has (as usually happens in all tenses of the indicative) been dropped; and thus *ie* corresponds to the Greek ιη, Latin *iet* from *siet*, and the Sanscrit-Zend *yât*, *yât*. For example, *essie* corresponds to the Greek εἴη (from ἐσίη), to the Latin *siet*, and Sanscrit *syât*, but exceeds the Latin and Sanscrit in preserving the radical vowel (as in *esmé*, contrasted with *s-mas*, *sumus*), and the Greek εἴη, in retaining the consonant of the root, which is, however, doubled, as occurs in Lettish, also, in several persons of the indicative; *e.g.* in *essam*, "we are," *essat*, "ye are."

684. The Lithuanian *dûdye*, "he may give," answers to the Greek διδοίη, Sanscrit *dadyât*, and Zend *daidhyât*. The agreement with the two last forms, however, is the greater, as the radical vowel is lost in the base itself; thus *dû-die* for *dûdûye*, as in Sanscrit *da-dyât* for *dadâyât*, and in Zend *daidhyât* for *dadhâyât*. The relation of *dûdie* to the other unreduplicated persons of the imperative, as *dûki*, *dûkime*, &c., is exactly that of the potential in

Sanscrit and Zend to the precative, and in Greek that of the present optative to the aorist of that mood; thus, as दद्यात् *dadyát* is related to देयात् *dê-yát* (for *dáyát*, middle *dá-sîshṭa*), or as in Zend ﻣﻮﺳﺪﺳﺪﯾﻮﻡ *daidhyát* to ﻣﻮﺳﺪﺳﺪﯾﻮﻡ *dáyát*, and in Greek διδοίη to δοίη, so is *dûdie*, "he may give," to *dûki*, "give." In this lies a new, and, in fact, very strong proof, that the Lithuanian imperative in the third person of anomalous verbs belongs to the potential or optative present, but in the other persons to the precative or optative aorist; and that the *k* of *dûki* is identical with the κ of ἔδωκα and the *s* of *dásíya*. It is proper here to recall attention to the division of the Sanscrit tenses and moods into special and general. The latter, to which belongs the precative, as, in Greek, the aorist, have the class-sign removed, which, in *dadámi*, δίδωμι, and the Lithuanian *dûdu*, consists in the reduplication: this, therefore, is wanting in *dêyásam*, *dá-síya*, δοίην, *dûki*, according to the same principle by which the verb under discussion forms, in the three languages, the future *dá-syámi*, δώ-σω, *dû-su*. The Lithuanian root *bu*, "to be" (=Sanscrit *bhû*), in consonance with this principle, forms, in the plural of the future, *bú-si-me*, and in that of the imperative, *bú-ki-me*; with which latter we would compare the corresponding Sanscrit precative form *bhav-i-shî-mahi*: on the other hand, *buwa-ú*, "I was," belongs to the special theme *abhavam* (§. 522). With regard, however, to Mielke's second, third, and fourth conjugations preserving the class' character in the imperative, this proceeds from their belonging to the Sanscrit tenth class, which extends its *ay* also to the general tenses; and from चुर् *chur*, "to steal," the precative middle is चोरयिषीय *chôr-ayi-shîya*, plural *chôr-ayi-shîmahi*. The *i* of *ayi* is a conjunctive vowel, which in other classes also frequently enters between the attributive root and the verb substantive. After rejecting this conjunctive vowel, *ay* would be of necessity

contracted to *ê*, and then *chor-ê-shivahi, chor-ê-shimahi* would be identical with Lithuanian forms like *pen-ẽ-kiwa*, "let us two nourish," *pen-ẽ-kime*, "let us nourish," as regards the class-syllable.

685. The Lithuanian offers, beside the imperative, another mood, which we must bring into comparison with the Sanscrit precative;—I mean the subjunctive, which has only an imperfect to exhibit, which we append in full from the root *dů*, "to give," with the addition of the corresponding form of the Lettish, which is requisite in this place, in order to understand the Lithuanian.

SINGULAR.		PLURAL.		DUAL.
LITHUAN.	LETTISH.	LITHUAN.	LETTISH.	LITHUAN.
důchiau,	*es dohtu*	*důtumbime,*	*mehs dohtum.*	*důtumbiwa.*
důtumbei,	*tu dohtu.*	*důtumbite,*	*yuhs dohtut.*	*důtumbita.*
důtu,	*winsch*[1] *dohtu.*	*důtu,*	*winynyi*[2] *dohtu.*	*důtu:*

[1] Feminine *winynya.*

[2] Feminine *winynyas.*

The third person singular, which, as is universally the case in Lithuanian and Lettish, represents, at the same time, the plural, and, in Lithuanian, also the dual, would, considered of itself, lead us to the Sanscrit imperative, in which *dadâtu*, "let him give," is identical in termination with *důtu, dohtu;* and the phenomenon, that the Lettish *dohtu* also passes as second and first person, might be regarded as the consequence of an erroneous use of language; like that, by which, in Old and Anglo-Saxon, the second person plural of the present, and the third of the preterite, have made their way into the other persons also. Still I hold the *tu* under discussion, not as a personal termination, but as identical with the *tum* of the other persons, and I regard *důtu* as an abbreviation of *důtumbi,* particularly as, in the first person plural, *důtum* may be used for *důtumbime* (Mielke, p. 113, *b*), in which case the *m*

is to be regarded as the character of the first person, and is not to be confounded with that which precedes the *b* in the full form *dûtumbime*. I deduce this from the Lettish, which has everywhere dislodged the syllable *bi*, together with the *m* preceding, but which combines the *tu*, which remains in the plural with the personal sign, but in the singular, as this number has in general lost the consonants of the terminations, leaves it without any addition; thus, *es, tu, wi(sch) dohtu*. A clear intimation is thus given us, that also in the Lithuanian first person singular the form *dûchiau*, and such as resemble it, must be regarded as strongly mutilated; and I have no doubt that *dûchiau* has arisen from *dûtumbiau*, by suppressing the *umb*. Thus the *t* came into direct contact with several combined vowels, and therefore was necessarily changed into *ch*, according to a universal law of sound. The abbreviation of *dûtumbiau* to *dûchiau* (for *dûtiau*) is not greater than that before mentioned of *dûtu(mbi)me* to *dûtum*, for *dûtume*. In both cases three letters have been omitted; in the first, *mb*, with the preceding vowel; in the second, with the vowel following.

686. The Lithuanian subjunctive is very important to me, as I recognise in the syllable *bi* the true exponent of the modal relation, and in this a more than casual coincidence with the expression of the Latin future of the first and second conjugation, which is in form completely the same. Compare *da-bimus* with *dûtum-bime*, *da-bitis* with *dûtum-bite*, *da-bis* with *dûtum-bei*, from *dûtum-bi-i*, *da-bo* for *dabio*, with the *dûtum-biau* presupposed above, and *dabit* with the *dûtum-bi* abbreviated to *dûtu*, likewise only supposed. The identification, however, of a Latin future form with the subjunctive of a cognate language will surprise us the less, as the Latin itself, within its own lingual province, places the future and subjunctive on the same footing in this point, that futures like *leges*, *leget*,

legêmus, legêtis, coincide in form with the subjunctives of the first conjugation.

687. The *i* of the Lithuanian *bi* corresponds, there is scarce any doubt, to the Sanscrit-Zend modal character *yâ*, which, in combination with *bhû*, "to be," forms, in the third person of the precative, भूयात् *bhûyât*, ﻭﺪﺎﻳﻮﺑ *buyât*. The Lithuanian has dropped the *u* of its root *bu*, whether on account of its appearing in a contraction, or because the *u* stood before a vowel, while everywhere else it appeared before consonants: the syllable *yâ*, however, is retained pretty perfectly in the first person singular in *iau*, and in the other persons, on the contrary, it is contracted to *i*. Compare *biau* (from *bium*, see §. 438.) with the Zend ﻢﺎﻳﻮﺑ *buyanm* (from *buyâm*), and *bime, bite*, from *buyame, buyate*, with ﻪﻣﺎﻳﻮﺑ *buyâma*, ﻪﺗﺎﻳﻮﺑ *buyata*. As regards the first part of the Lithuanian compound *dûtûm-bei*, &c., we easily recognise in it the Sanscrit infinitive and the accusative of the Latin supine—दातुम् *dâtum, datum*. In its isolated state the Lithuanian supine ends in *tu*, but the lost sign of the accusative has in the contraction been preserved in its original form under the protection of the auxiliary verb following, and principally of the labial initial sound answering to *m*, while everywhere else, in Lithuanian, the accusative *m* has become *ṅ* (§. 149.).

688. The Sanscrit first conjugation suppresses the *â* of the potential character *yâ* both in the active and in the middle.*

* This suppression would be favoured by the facility with which the *y* vocalized to *i*, becomes a diphthong with *a* preceding it. The prime inducement for it, however, was the effort to lighten the modal element in combination with a verbal theme, which, without that, was of two, or, in the tenth class, of three syllables; thus, *bôdhes*, "thou mayest know," for *bôdh-a-yâs*; *kâmayês*, "thou mayest love," for *kâm-aya-yâs*. In the second conjugation the combination of the modal syllable *yâ* with radical *â* (there are no roots in short *a*) occurs only in monosyllabic verbal themes; *e.g. bhâ-yâm*. Roots of the third class, however, as they become polysyllabic

and the *y* vocalized to *i* is contracted, with the preceding *a* of the class syllable, to *ê*; *e.g.* भरेस् *bharês*, "thou mayest bear," for *bhar-a-yâs*, as, in Greek, φέροις for φερoίης (φερ-ο-ίης). I am not, however, of opinion, that the diphthong, which is expressed, in Sanscrit by ए, and now spoken as *ê*, had in the earliest time, before the separation of languages, a pronunciation in which neither *a* nor *i* was perceptible; but it is most probable that the two elements were heard in combination, and spoken as *ai*, which *ai* may have been distinguished from the Vriddhi diphthong ऐ *âi* by this, that the same breadth was not given to the pronunciation of the *a* sound that it has in *âi*. The same must have been the case with the *ô*: it was pronounced like *au*, and its Vriddhi (§. 29.), like *âu*. For to keep to the ए *ê*, if this diphthong was from the early period of the language taken as *ê*, then the *i* sound, which had become utterly extinct as a whole, would scarcely, after the separation of languages, have again been restored to life in single members, and thus the whole make its appearance in Greek, at one time as αι, at another as ει or οι (see Vocalismus, pp. 193, &c.); in Zend at one time as *ê* (or

polysyllabic by reduplication, lighten the roots by suppressing the *â*, as *dad-yâm* for *dadâ-yâm*, *jah-yâm* for *jahâ-yâm* (compare §. 482.). The ninth class weakens its class syllable *nâ* to *nî*, as before heavy personal terminations (§. 485.); thus, *yu-nî-yâm* for *yu-nâ-yâm*; and therefore the combination of the full modal exponent *yâ* with the heaviest kind of vowel is, in polysyllabic themes, entirely avoided. The roots which annex *nu* or *u* do not suffer any weakening either in the base or in the modal character, for the *â* of *yâ* cannot here be lost, since the *i* cannot become a diphthong with the *u* preceding: the *u* of the class syllable, however, is not necessarily weakened, since *u* is itself one of the lighter vowels; hence, *âp-nu-yâm*, "I may reach." To this would correspond, in Greek, forms like δεικνυίην, which, however, as it appears, are avoided on account of the difficulty of pronouncing them, and carried into the ω conjugation; while the remains of forms which have remained true to their own conjugation, have suppressed the ι, and, in compensation, lengthened the υ; thus ἐπιδεικνύμην for ἐπιδεικνυίμην.

aê, §. 28.), at another as *ôi*; in Lithuanian in one place as *ai*, in another as *ê*; in Lettish now as *ai*, now as *ê* or *eè* (see §. 682., Rem.); in Latin sometimes as *ae*, as the next descent from *ai*, sometimes as *ê*. But if before the separation of languages the diphthong still had its right pronunciation, then each particular individual of the family of languages which arose after the separation may have either always or occasionally preserved in its full value the *ai* which had been brought with it from the land of its origin, or invariably or occasionally contracted it to *ê*; and as it is natural to derive *ê* from *ai* many of the cognate languages coincide in this process of melting down. While, however, the Sanscrit, according to the pronunciation which has been received by us, causes the diphthong *ai*, when in a position before consonants, to be invariably taken as *ê*, the Greek exhibits the opposite extreme, and displays to us the Sanscrit diphthong as *αι*, *ει*, or *οι*, and, in fact, as *οι* in the preceding case, since the class vowel, which, in the indicative, appears as *o* only before nasals, in combination with the modal exponent *ι* invariably assumes the *o* quality. The *η*, however, of the full modal exponent *ιη*, as in Sanscrit the *â*, is suppressd; thus *τέρπ-οι-ς*, *τέρπ-οι-(τ)*, answering to *tarp-ê-s*, *tarp-ê-t*; *τέρπ-οι-τον*, *τερπ-οί-την*, to *tarp-ê-tam*, *tarp-ê-tâm*; *τέρπ-οι-μεν*, *τέρπ-οι-τε*, to *tarp-ê-ma*, *tarp-ê-ta*.

689. It has been already remarked (§. 430.) that the first person singular in *οιμι* is an unorganic form, and that *τυπτοίμην* points to an active form *τύπτοιν*. When I first advanced this conjecture I was not aware that the form arrived at by theory has been actually transmitted to us, though but in the single case of *τρέφοιν*. Besides this, Matthiæ (§. 198. 2.) proposes to read *ἁμάρτοιν* instead of *ἁμαρτεῖν* in Suidas. We will leave it undecided here, whether the forms *οίην*, *οίης*, &c., which occur in contracted verbs, have preserved the original form, and are thus more genuine than those in Sanscrit like *tarp-ê-s* for *tarp-a-yâs*, or whether, as is more pro-

bable, they are carried back by the analogy of the μι conjugation. The Sanscrit interposes a euphonic *y* between the diphthong *ê*, and, in the second conjugation, between the *î* shortened from *yâ*, and the personal terminations commencing with a vowel (§. 43.); hence, *tarpê-y-am*, answering to the Greek τέρποιμι for τέρποιν. Regarding the termination *am* for simple *m*, which would make the euphonic *y* superfluous, and attest a form *tarpêm* for *tarpêyam*, see §. 437

690. The Latin, in its subjunctives of the first conjugation, exhibits, like the Sanscrit in the form of *ê*, the diphthong which has arisen from the class syllable and the modal vowel *i*; but in the first and third person singular, through the influence of the final *m* and *t*, this is shortened; thus, *amem*, *amet*, in opposition to *amês*, *amêmus*, *amêtis*. The kindred formation of these words with the Greek, like τέρποιμι, τέρποις, τέρποιμεν, τέρποιτε, would perhaps never be discovered without the medium of the Sanscrit. But if *amês*, *amet*, *amêmus*, *amêtis*, be compared with the Sanscrit forms of the same meaning, *kâmayês*, *kâmayêt*, *kâmayêma*, *kâmayêta*, it must be assumed that the last *a* of the class character अय *aya* (whence we have deduced the Latin *â* (=*a*+*a*) of *amâ-re* (§. 109ª. 6.), by the dislodgement of the *y*), has combined with the modal *i*, while in the *â* of *amâs*, *amâmus*, *amâtis*, the two *a* of *kâm-a(y)a-si*, *kâm-a(y)â-mus*, *kâm-a(y)a-tha*, are united. The *ê*, therefore, of *amês*, &c., corresponds to the Greek οι in forms like τιμάοις, φιλέοις, δηλόοις (§. 109ª. 6.), and the preceding short vowel is passed over In the obsolete forms *verberit*, *temperint* (Struve, p. 146), also, the first part of the diphthong *ê* (=*a*+*i*) has been lost, and only the pure modal element has been left. They may have arisen from the consciousness that an *i* was bound up in the *e* of *verberet*, *temperent*, or they may have followed the principle of *sit*, *velit*, *edit* (§. 674.). On the other hand, *do* really belongs to the Sanscrit second conjugation and to the Greek in μι, and therefore *duim*, *perduim*, are regular forms,

the *i* of which corresponds to the Sanscrit *y* of *dad-yâm* and to the Greek *ι* of *διδοίην*. The weakening of the *a* to *u* in *duim* rests, perhaps, on the circumstance, that *ui* is a more favourite combination than *aï*.

691. In *monêds, monêmus*, &c., is contained the whole of the Sanscrit causal theme *mân-aya*, "to make to think" (see p. 110), only that the properly long *ê* (from *a* + *i* = Sanscrit *ay*) is, on account of its position, shortened before a vowel, the *i* of the modal expression has disappeared, and, in compensation, the preceding vowel is lengthened, according to the principle of Greek optatives with *ῡ* for *υι*. As, therefore, ἐπιδεικνῦμην for ἐπιδεικνυίμην, δαίνῦτο, πηγνῦτο for δαινυῖτο, πηγνυῖτο, so *monêâs* for *monenais*. On the other hand, the case is the same with *carint* (Struve, p. 146), for *careânt* from *careaïnt*, as with the beforementioned *verberit, temperint*.

692. The same relation that *monêds* has to *monês* is held by *audiâs*, from *audiais*, to *audiês* (§§. 190[a]. 6., 505.). The future, however, which in the third and fourth conjugation is, in fact, nothing else than a subjunctive, as was first remarked in my System of Conjugation (p. 98), with which Struve agrees (pp. 145, 146), has preserved the modal element, and has been contracted with the *a* of the class character to *ê*, with the exception of the first person singular, in which *legem, audiem*, should stand for *legam, audiam*. In the older language *dicem, faciem*, are actually transmitted to us by Quintilian, as forms used by Cato Censor (compare Struve, p. 147); and thus, in the fourth conjugation, forms like *audiers* may well have existed. As, however, in the proper subjunctive the last element of the diphthong *ai* has cast itself upon the *a*, and lengthened that letter, but in the future has been contracted with the *a* to *ê*, two forms have arisen from that which was originally one, of which each has received a portion of that meaning, to represent which properly belongs to the two together; as, in the history of language similar cases have often arisen, and *datûri* and *datôres* (I use

the plural intentionally) both conduct us to the Sanscrit *dâtâras*, which unites the meaning of the two Latin forms in itself. The use of the subjunctive in the sense of a future reminds us of the periphrasis for the future by means of auxiliary verbs which signify "to be requisite," or "to will," as also of the occasional use of the Zend imperative in the sense of the future (see §. 660.). It is clear, however, that the expression of the future, from the most ancient period, has bordered with surprising closeness on the relation denoted by the Latin subjunctive, since the two are distinguished, in Sanscrit, only by the quantity of the vowel—*ya* in the future, and *yâ* in the potential.

693. The future and subjunctive of the Latin third conjugation may perhaps require a little further consideration, though what is most important to be observed respecting them is already deducible from what has been remarked regarding the second and fourth conjugations. Future forms like *vehês*, *vehêmus*, have already appeared in my System of Conjugation as akin to the Sanscrit potentials like *vahês*, *vahêma*, and Latin subjunctives as *amês*, *amêmus*. But in the first conjugation the *ê* was firmly planted; for even if in its *â* a contraction of the Sanscrit *aya* of the tenth class were not recognised, still the *â* is clear to every one's eyes, and also the possibility of melting it down with the *i* of the subjunctive expression which follows to *ê*. But the *ê* of *vehês*, *vehêmus*, appeared incomprehensible, or as a transmission from the third conjugation to the first, as long as the *i* of *veh-i-s*, *veh-i-mus*, passed as the original form of the class vowel of the third conjugation. Through the observation, however, made above (p. 104), according to which the intermediate vowel of the third conjugation is only a secondary *i* weakened from *u*, forms like *vehês*, *vehêmus*, must now appear in a totally different light. Their *ê* contains the primitive *a*, which has become weakened in the indicative, as it occurs elsewhere also, that a word in composition has maintained

itself in a form more close to its original state than when isolated and unprotected.* Before the forms *veh-ă-s, veh-ă-mus,* had become corrupted to *veh-i-s, veh-i-mus,* in the indicative, *veh-ê-s, veh-ê-mus,* had arisen from them, and, in the subjunctive, *vehâs, vehâmus;* and the corruption of the class vowel of the indicative could have had no influence over that which was melted down with the modal character.†

694. The Latin third conjugation leads us to the Gothic, in which all the twelve classes of Grimm's strong conjugation coincide with the Latin third (§. 109[a]. 1.). The Gothic has, however, this advantage over the Latin, that it has not admitted the corruption of the old *a* of the indicative, throughout, but only before a final *s* and *th;* otherwise it has retained the *a*. We must, therefore, carefully avoid deriving the forms *bairais* "*feras,*" *bairai,* "*ferat,*" *bairaith,* "*feratis,*" from the indicative *bairis, bairith, bairith,* by the insertion of an *a*, which would imply a principle of formation quite unknown in the Indo-European family of languages; but the said subjunctive forms must be regarded as the creations of a period in which their indicative prototypes were still *bairas, bairath,* to which also the passive forms *bair-a-za, bair-a-da,* as regards the intermediate vowel, refer us (§. 466.). In the second person of the dual and the first of the plural *bair-ai-ts, bair-ai-ma* have the same relation to the indicative *bair-a-ts, bair-a-m,* that in Sanscrit *bhar-ê-tam, bhar-ê-ma* (from *bhar-ai-tam, bhar-ai-ma*), have to *bhar-a-thas, bhar-â-mas;* in the third person

* Thus the guttural of the Latin *facio* has been retained in the French *magnifique*, while in *fais, faisons*, it has been corrupted to *s*, or, according to the pronunciation, has been lost entirely in *fait*.

† I have brought forward this theory for the first time in the Berl. Jahrb., Jan. 1834, pp. 97, 98 (see Vocalismus, p 200), to which A. Benary assents (Doctrine of Roman Sounds, pp. 27, 28), who, however, derives the modal vowel *i* from *i*, "to go." (Compare §. 670.)

plural *bair-ai-na* (transposed from *bair-ai-an*), "*ferant*," has the same relation to *bair-a-nd*, "*ferunt*," that the Zend ɟɛʋʋʌ *bar-ay-ĕn* has to *bar-a-nti*, and the Greek *φέρ-οι-εν* to *φέρ-ο-ντι*. In the first person dual the relation of *bair-ai-va* to *bair-ôs*, from *bair-a-vas* (§. 441.), rests on the same principle on which, in Sanscrit, that of *bhar-ê-va* to *bhar-â-vas* is founded. In the first person singular *bairau*, "I may bear," the modal vowel *i* is wanting, but the *u* is the vocalization of the personal character *m*; *bairau*, therefore (from *bairaim*),† has the same relation to *bairais*, *bairai*, &c., that, in Latin, the future *feram* (for *ferem*) has to *ferês*, *feret*, from *ferais*, *ferait*.* The Old High German exhibits the Gothic diphthong *ai* (=*ê*, see §. 78.) graphically in the form *ê*, but shortens it at the end of a word; hence, *bere* (for *berê*), "*feram*," "*ferat*," has the same relation to *berês* (=Sanscrit *bharês*, "*feras*," *berêmês*, "*feramus*") that, in Latin, *amem*, *amet*, bear to *amês*, *amêmus*.

695. The Old Prussian, a dialect which resembles the Lithuanian very closely, employs imperatives like *immais*, "take thou," *immaiti*, "take ye," which stand in a clearer relation to their indicative forms *imm-a-se*, *imm-a-ti*, than, in Gothic, *nim-ai-s*, "*sumas*," *nim-ai-th*, "*sumatis*," to *nim-i-s*, *nim-i-th*. Compare, on the other hand, the Lettish imperatives like *darrait*, "do ye," contrasted with *darrat*, "ye do," (§. 862.). *Dais*, "give," *daiti*, "give ye" (in Old Prussian), contrasted with *dase*, "thou givest," *dati*,

* Respecting the length of the *â*, see §. 434.

† With regard to the suppression of the *i* of *bairau*, compare, in Gothic, Grimm's third class of the weak conjugation, in which the *i* of the conjugational character *ai* (=Sanscrit अय *aya*, Latin *ê*) is everywhere lost, where a final nasal, or one standing before a consonant, follows, or ought to follow; thus, first person singular, *haba* for *habai*, Old High German *habêm*; plural, *habâm* for *habaim*, Old High German *habêmês*; third person plural, *haband* for *habaind*, Old High German *habênt*; in opposition to *habais*, *habaith*, &c.

"ye give," which furnish a commentary on the relation of the Latin *dês, dêtis,* to *das, datis,* as the contraction of *a* + *i* to the *ê*, which is not perceived in Latin, is evident in Old Prussian. More usually, however, the Old Prussian exhibits, in the indicative, an *e* or *i* as the conjunctive vowel, and in the imperative the diphthong *ei;* e.g. *dereis* "see" = δέρκοις, *ideiti*, "esset"* = ἔδοιτε, *editis*, अद्यात *adyâta.* The two moods, however, do not everywhere agree, since *tickinnaiti*, "make ye" (Katech. p. 54), does not answer to *tickinnimai*, "we make" (l. c. p. 5), but leads us to expect instead of it *tickinnamai.* The simple *i*, also, or, in its place, *y*, is found in Old Prussian imperatives, as, *mylis*, "love thou," *endiris*, "regard thou."

696. The Old Sclavonic has retained only the last element of the original diphthong *ai* in the second and third person singular in its imperative in the regular conjugation, which, as has been before shewn, corresponds partly to the Sanscrit first class with *a* annexed (§. 499.), partly to the fourth in य *ya* (§. 500), partly to the tenth in अय *aya* (§. 505.); as, ВЕЗИ *veẓi*, "carry," and "let him carry," corresponds to the Sanscrit *vahês*, *vahêt* (§. 433.), Latin *vehês*, *vehet*, and *vehâs*, *vehat*, Gothic *vigais*, *vigai*, Greek ἔχοις, ἔχοι. In the dual and plural, however, where the diphthong is protected by the following personal termination, Ѣ *ye* (from *ê* with *y* prefixed, §. 255. *n.*) corresponds to the Indo-Roman *ê*, Gothic *ai*, and Greek οι; thus, ВЕЗѢМЫ *veẓyemy* = वहेम *vahêma*, *vehêmus*, *vehâmus*, *vigaima*, ἔχοιμεν; ВЕЗѢТЕ *veẓyete*† = वहेत *vahêta*, *vehêtis*, *vehâtis*, *vigaith*, ἔχοιτε; dual ВЕЗѢТА *veẓyeta* = वहेतम् *vahêtam*, वहेताम् *vahêtâm*, ἔχοιτον, ἐχοίτην, *vigaits.*

697. Among the other Sclavonic languages, the Carniolan especially deserves, with respect to the mood under

* *Ist*, "he eats," euphonic for *idt*, corresponds to the Latin *ēst*.

† This represents the third person also, see §. 470.

discussion, a closer consideration, as its imperative in those verbs which have *a* as the class syllable is distinguished from the present indicative by the placing a *y* (= *i*) beside the *a*; so that thus *ay* is opposed to the Sanscrit *ê* = *a* + *i* of the potential, to the Gothic *ai* of the subjunctive, and to the Latin *ê* of the subjunctive and future. The singular, which, in Carniolan also, in advantageous contrast with the other Sclavonic dialects, has a first person, ends in the three persons in *ai*, since the pronominal consonants which, from the most ancient period, have stood at the end of words, must give place according to the rule for the extirpation of final consonants, which extends to all the Sclavonic idioms (§. 255. *l.*); hence, *dél-ay*, "I may," "thou mayest," "he may work," for *dél-ay-m*, *dél-ay-s*, *dél-ay-t*, opposed to the indicative *dél-a-m* (from *dél-a-mi*), *dél-a-sh* (from *dél-a-shi*), *déla* (from *dél-a-ti*), and, in accordance with Gothic forms like *bair-ai-s*, *bair-ai*, Sanscrit like *bharês*, *bharêt*, Latin like *amem*, *amês*, *amet*, *vehês*, *vehet*, Greek like φέροιμι, φέροις, φέροι. In the dual, *dél-ay-wa* answers to the indicative *dél-a-wa* in the most perfect accordance with the Gothic *bairaiva* and Sanscrit *bharêva*; in the second person dual, *dél-ay-ta* has the same relation to the indicative *dél-a-ta*, that, in Gothic, *bair-ai-ts*, "*feratis*," has to *bair-a-ts* "*fertis*;" and, in the plural, *dél-ay-mo* is to *dél-a-mo* as, in Gothic, *bair-ai-ma* to *bair-a-m*, or, in Greek, φέρ-οι-μεν to φέρ-ο-μεν; in the second person, *dél-ay-te* bears the same relation to *dél-a-te* that, in Gothic, *bair-ai-th* to that which we must presuppose as the original form of the indicative *bair-a-th*, whence the corruption *bair-i-th*: hence the Old High German *ber-ê-t* (from *ber-ai-t*), contrasted with its indicative *ber-a-t*, is better compared. The third person dual and plural is wanting in the Carniolan imperative, and is expressed by a periphrasis of the indicative with the conjunction *nay*; thus, *nay délata*, *nay délayo*.

698. The analogy, however, of the Carniolan forms like *dél-ay-mo*, "we may work," with the Gothic like *bair-ai-ma* and Sanscrit like *bhar-ê-ma*, must not be so far extended as to identify the vowel of derivation of verbs like *dél-a-m* with the conjunctive vowel of the Sanscrit first and sixth class, and with that of the Gothic strong verbs. I rather see in *dél-a-m*, as in the Polish first conjugation *czyt-a-m*, "I read," *czyt-ay*, "read thou," *czyt-ay-my*, "we may read," the Sanscrit tenth class,* the character of which, *aya*, has separated into various forms in the Sclavonic idioms as in Latin and the German weak conjugation. The Carniolan *dél-a-m* and Polish *czyt-a-m* are brought much nearer to the Sanscrit like *chint-ayâ-mi*, "I think," through the Russian sister forms: дѣлаю *dyélayû*, читаю *chitáyû* (from *dyél-ayo-m*, *chit-ayo-m*; see §. 255. g.). In the third person plural the Carniolan *délayo* and Polish *czy'aya* approaches nearer to the Sanscrit *chint-aya-nti*; on the other hand the Carniolan *yedo*, "they eat," corresponds to the Sanscrit *adanti*, from the

* I now, also, refer Dobrowsky's first Conjugation in Old Sclavonic, (contrary to §. 500.), at least principally, to the Sanscrit tenth class; so that I assume the suppression of the first *a* of the character *aya* अय, as in Grimm's first conjugation of the weak form, which, by this loss, has become similar to the Sanscrit fourth class (see §. 109a. 5.). The Old Sclavonic, however, has also not unfrequently retained the first *a* of the character *aya*; as in *padayû*, "I fall," *chitayû*, "I read" (Dobr. 522). In some roots ending with a vowel the *y* may be a euphonic addition, and *ζnayû*, "I know" (Sanscrit *jnâ*, "to know"), *piyû*, "I drink" (Sanscrit *pâ*, "to drink"), may belong neither to the Sanscrit fourth nor to the tenth class, but to the first, with the insertion of a *y* between the root and the conjunctive vowel (compare §. 43.). I take this opportunity to remark further, that in §. 506. Mielke's fourth conjugation in Lithuanian has remained by mistake unnoticed. It includes but very few words, but belongs, in like manner, to the Sanscrit tenth class, and exhibits the character of that class, *aya*, clearly in its preterites, as *yëskóyau* (*yësk-óya-a*). In the present, together with *yëszkau* is found, also, the form *yëszkóyu*.

root *ad*, the *d* of which in Carniolan is retained unchanged only in the third person plural, but before *t* has been changed to *s*, and elsewhere is dropped: thus *yís-te*, "ye eat," as in Latin *es-tis*, for the Sanscrit *at-tha*; *yés-ta*, "ye two eat," "they two eat," for अत्थस् *at-thas*, अत्तस् *at-tas*. In the imperative, *yéy* for *yédy* answers to the Sanscrit *adyâm*, *adyâs*, *adyât*; dual *yéyva*, *yéyta* = *adyâva*, *adyâtam*; plural *yéymo*, *yéyte* for *adyâma*, *adyâta*.

699. The Zend appears to us, in its potential and in the first conjugation, to use the expression, in a half Greek half Indo-Roman dress, since it exhibits the primitive diphthong *ai* at one time in the shape of *ôi*, at another in that of *aê* (§. 33.), to which latter, however, according to §. 28., another *a* is prefixed. Thus [Zend] *barôis* agrees admirably with φέροις, and [Zend] *barôit* with φέροι(τ). On the other hand, in the middle voice the third person [Zend] *baraêta* agrees better with the Sanscrit *bharêta*, and, after withdrawing the middle *a*, with the Latin *feret*, than with φέροιτο. The first and second persons plural active in the first conjugation I am unable to quote, but I have no doubt that here again [Zend] *baraêma*, [Zend] *baraêta*, run parallel to the Sanscrit *bharêma*, *bharêta*, and Latin *ferêmus*, *ferêtis*, and that we should not look for the more Greek form *barôima*, *barôita*. For I imagine I have found that in selecting between *ôi* and *aê* the Zend is guided by what follows the diphthong, according as it is a final consonant, or one accompanied by a vowel. How much the selection falls upon *ôi*, in the former position, to the rejection of *aê*, is seen from this, that bases in *i* in the genitive and ablative regularly exhibit the forms *ôis* and *ôit*, answering to the Sanscrit *ês*.* Through this, therefore, we may explain

* Remark, also, the frequently-occurring [Zend] *noit*, "not," = Sanscrit *nêt*.

the misrelation in form between the middle *baraêta* and the active *barôit* in the third person singular of the potential. But when we find in the first person plural middle the form *bûidhyôimaidhê* "*videamus*" = Sanscrit बुध्येमहि *bhudyêmahi*, "*sciamus*,"* here the exceedingly broad termination, which in the lithographed Codex is even separated from the preceding part of the word by a point, may have the effect of a distinct word; and thus it may be observed, that in the final sound, also, the diphthong *ôi* is admissible, and in this position is especially favoured by a preceding *y*: hence *yôi*, "which" (*οἵ*) = ये *yê*, *maidhyôi*, "*in medio*" (§. 196) = मध्ये *madhyê*; but also *môi*, "to me," *tôi* and *thwôi*, "to thee," *hôi*, "to him," with *mê*, *tê*, *thwê*, *hê*. I would, therefore, not deduce from *bûidhyôimaidhê* forms like *barôimaidhê*, still less an active *barôima*; for in both forms the *y*, which favours the *ôi*, is deficient, and in the latter, also, the breadth of termination giving the appearance of a separate word, for which reason, in the third person singular, not *bûidhyôita* but *bûidhyaêta* answers to the *bûidhyôimaidhê* which has been mentioned (Vend. S. p. 45.).

700. In the third person plural the old *a* of the original diphthong *ai* has been retained unaltered, but the *i* has, on account of the following vowel of the termination, passed into its corresponding semivowel *y*; and thus, *barayĕn* answers to the Greek *φέροιεν*; and thus, for the one *οι* of the Greek optative in Zend, we have, according to the quality of the termination following, three forms, viz. *ôi*, *aê*, and *ay*. Frequently, however, as the third person plural in the mood under discussion of the first active form can be quoted, the first person singular is,

* Vend. S p. 45, twice; once, erroneously, *bûidhiôimaidhê*; and once, *bûidhyôimaidê*.

on the contrary, of extremely rare occurrence, though it ought properly to be our point of starting. It must excite our curiosity to learn whether it resembles more the φέροιν which is to be pre-supposed in Greek, and which, §. 689, we have found supported by τρέφοιν, or rather Latin forms like *amem*, or Sanscrit as *bharê-y-am* (§. 43.). As in the third person plural *barayĕn* answers to the Sanscrit *bharê-y-us* (from *bharê-y-ant*), so in the first person singular *bara-y-ĕm* might be expected for *bharêyam*. As, however, in Zend, if a *y* precedes the termination *ĕm*, the *ĕ* is regularly suppressed, after which the semivowel becomes a vowel, so might *baraêm* * or *barôim* be anticipated: neither of these forms, however, occurs, but one with the personal character suppressed, and otherwise corresponding to the second person *barôis*, and to the third *barôiṭ*, if the *nĕmôi*, which twice occurs Vendidad Sade p. 359. is the correct reading; and there *kaṅm nĕmôi zaṅm* (which Anquetil translates "*quelle terre invoquerai-je*") really means literally (in all probability) "*qualem invocem terram?*" † After this follows *kuthrâ nĕmôi ayêni*, &c., according to Anquetil, "*quelle prière choisirai-je*," perhaps literally, "whither shall I go (*ayêni* = अयानि *ayâni*), that I may adore?" We look with eagerness for the light which may be thrown on this passage by the aid of Neriosengh's Sanscrit translation. Among the other potentials of the first conjugation which occur in the Vend. S., we may here further mention the frequently-occurring *upa-zôit*, "he may beat," from the root *zan* = Sanscrit हन्

* According to the analogy of *vaêm*, "we," for the Sanscrit *vayam*; for after rejecting the *a* preceding the *m* the preceding *ay* must be melted down to *ê*, and, according to §. 28, an *a* must be prefixed to the *ê*.

† Compare with *nĕmôi* the Sanscrit *namas*, "adoration," from the root

han, which, after rejecting the *n* of the preceding radical vowel, is treated as though it were the annexed vowel of the first class; in which respect may be observed what has been before remarked regarding the Sanscrit root स्था *sthâ* (§. 508.). And *stĕrĕnaêta*, "he may strew" (Vend. S. p. 377) deserves special notice, since in this word the class syllable *nâ* (ninth class), after abbreviating the *â*, follows the analogy of the short *a* of the four classes of the first conjugation; and thus, in this respect, *stĕrĕnaêta*, after withdrawing the middle final *a*, becomes similar to the Latin future *sternet* (§. 496.).

701. In the second conjugation the Zend answers in its potential tolerably well to the Sanscrit, with the exception of the third person plural, in which the termination mentioned in §. 462. does not occur; and also in the middle the somewhat enigmatical termination *ran* (§. 613.) is represented by a form which corresponds better to the general principle for the designation of the person, regarding which we shall treat hereafter. In the first person singular of the active, according to §. 61., *yanm* corresponds to the Sanscrit *yâm* and Greek *ιην*; i.e. the *daidhyanm*, "I may place, make," already mentioned above (§. 442. 5.) corresponds to the Sanscrit दध्याम् *dadhyâm* and Greek *τιθείην*. In the second person, according to §. 56[a], is found *yâo* for यास् *yâs*, *ιης*; e.g. *fra-mruyâo* "*dicas*" = प्रब्रूयास् *pra-brûyâs* (Vend. S. p. 451.); and in the third, *yât* = यात् *yât*, *ιη(τ)*, e.g. *kĕrĕnuyât* "*faciat*" (Vend. S. p. 457) = कृणुयात् *krinuyât* of the Veda dialect (p. 117). I am unable to quote the plural in the proper potential, though I can do so in the precative, which has completely the same signification, and which occurs far more frequently in Zend than in Sanscrit, and is distinguished from the potential only by the removal of the class characteristics, so that the form of the potential

may be safely inferred from the precative. In the first person plural *yâma* stands for the Sanscrit *yâsma* and Greek *ιημεν*, *e.g.* 𐬠𐬎𐬌𐬌𐬁𐬨𐬀 *buyâma* * = Sanscrit *bhûyâsma* (Vend. S. p. 312.); and hence I deduce the potential *daidhyâma* from the above-mentioned *daidhyaṅm*. In the second person, *yata* (with the vowel of the modal character shortened) stands for the Sanscrit *yâsta* and Greek *ιητε*; *e.g.* 𐬠𐬎𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬙𐬀 *buyata*, "*sitis*" † = भूयास्त *bhûyâsta*; 𐬛𐬁𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬙𐬀 *dâyata* "*detis*" ‡ = देयास्त *dê-yâsta*, δοίητε. Hence I deduce in the potential, the form *daidhyata* = Sanscrit *dadhyâta*, Greek διδοίητε. Here the shortening of the syllable *yâ* is remarkable in comparison with the length of quantity preserved before the termination *ma* of the first person; and as this contrast can hardly be fortuitous, we must perhaps assume that the termination *ta*, on account of the mute with which it begins, is sustained with more difficulty by the language than the termination *ma*, which begins with the lightest consonants; and hence occasion has arisen for weakening the preceding syllable, in the sense of §. 480.

702. In the third person plural the combination of the modal syllable *yâ* with the personal termination *ĕn*, originally *an*, produces the form *yaṅn* for *yân*, according to the analogy of the first person singular in *yaṅm* for *yâm*. Before the final nasal, therefore, the latter half of the long *â* = *a* + *a* has been weakened to the nasal sound of the Sanscrit Anusvâra. We may take as an example 𐬥𐬌𐬛𐬌𐬚𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬯𐬥 *nidithyaṅn*, "they may lay down" (Vend. S. pp. 203, 204), for which I should have anticipated *nidaithyaṅn*, as, in the third person singular

* The root *bû* shortens its vowel in the precative, compare Burnouf's Yaçna, Note S., p. 152.

† Vend. S., pp. 115, 457, 459, and, according to Burnouf's Yaçna, Note S. p. 152, in the still unedited part, p. 556.

‡ According to Burnouf, l. c., in the still unedited part of the Vend. S., pp. 542, 543, 548.

of the middle, ܐܡܕܐ paiti ni-daithîta, "he may lay down" (Vend. S. p. 282, ZZ. 2, 7, 12, 17), is found from the root dath, from dâ extended by the addition of a th (see p. 112), which, through the influence of the y following, has received the addition of an i, which in ni-dithyaṅn above has remained alone. From the root dâ, "to give," we should anticipate dâyaṅn, or perhaps, with the radical vowel shortened, dayaṅn, which comes very near to the Greek δοῖεν, while the Sanscrit dêyâsus (from dêyâsant) agrees more with δοίησαν. The Sanscrit annexes, as has been already remarked, in its precative the verb substantive to the root, with the exception of the second and third person singular of the active, in which properly dêyâss, dêyast, would be required, which, in the present state of the language, according to a strict law of sound (§. 94.), is impossible, and the language has therefore preferred rather to drop the auxiliary verb than the personal character; thus, dêyâs, dêyât, answering to the Zend dâyâo, dâyâṭ. It is, however, very worthy of remark, that the Zend abstains entirely from employing the verb substantive, and thus sides completely with the Greek, only that the latter agrees in δοίησαν with the Sanscrit, and in δοῖεν with the Zend.

703. In the middle voice, also, the Zend precative abstains from annexing the verb substantive; and on the contrary, according to the principle which the Sanscrit follows in the potential (§. 673.), contracts the syllable yâ to î, and in the plural, at least in the third person, to short i. While, therefore, the Sanscrit and Lithuanian make common cause through forms like dâ-sî-dhvam, dû-ki-te ("detis," "date"), the previously-mentioned Zend form paiti-nidaithîta ranks with the Greek θεῖτο, since in both a simple i sound is combined with the root. I view the form yaôsh-daithîta,* which

* The last portion of this verb is radically identical with the just-mentioned paiti ni-daithîta: see §. 637.

often occurs in the Eighth Fargard, as of more importance: it is everywhere regarded by Anquetil as singular, and we should be the more easily led to suppose him in the right, as the Sanscrit gives us no direct information regarding this form; and, in fact, it has more the appearance of a singular than a plural, and if once recognised as a precative would rather lead us to the Greek *θεῖτο* than to *θεῖντο*. The Sanscrit supplies us with no direct information regarding the form [illegible] *yaôshdaithita*; for, according to the theory of Sanscrit, we must have expected, instead of the termination *itha*, *hîran* (from *sîran*), and for the abovementioned singular *îta*; *hîsta*. But as the Zend precative, in the active, renounces the verb substantive, we may be prepared for the like in the middle; and as, in the third person singular in the potential, *îta* is formed from *yât*, a similar *îta* in the precative cannot surprise us. It is clear, however, that *daithîta* is a precative, and not a potential,* since the root *dath*, which is extended from *dâ*, in its conjugation follows the first class, and not the second, and therefore, in the potential, forms *dathaêta*, and not *daithîta*. The third person plural, *daithita*, however, answers neither to the Sanscrit potentials middle like *dadhîran*, *τιθεῖντο*, nor to the precatives like *dhâsîran*, *θεῖντο*; but perhaps to the universal principle of formation of the third person plural middle, and, in particular, to that form which, according to §. 459., rejects the *n*, which belongs to the plural. Thus, [illegible] *daithita*, "they should lay," agrees with the Sanscrit forms like *dadhata*, "they lay," and Ionic like *διδόαται*, *τιθέαται*. As this rejection of the *n* in the Sanscrit middle special tenses has become the rule of the whole class of the second conjugation, and the precative agrees with the potential of the second

* I retain the terms derived from the Sanscrit, though it is unsuitable to distinguish various forms of one and the same mood, as if they were of different moods.

class, we are the less surprised at finding the Zend *daithita* deficient in the *n*. This *daithita*, however, appears to me to be a contraction of *daith-yata*, since the modal element, which we have seen above (§. 702.), in the singular *daithîta*, in the form of an *î*, must in the plural become *y* before the termination *ata*, which the Sanscrit requires in the secondary forms: from *yata*, however, by casting out the *a*, would easily be formed *ita* (Compare p. 760.). But if the termination of the third person plural had always been *ita*, we should be unable to perceive any reason why the modal vowel should be long in the singular and short in the plural before the same termination.

"Remark.—It remains further to be shewn that the word [illegible] *yaôsh-daithita*, which has hitherto appeared isolated, but which occurs perhaps seven times in the Eighth Fargard of the Vendidad, is (in spite of Anquetil's or his Parsí teacher's opinion that it is a singular) actually a plural. We read in Vendidad Sade pp. 266, &c., [illegible] *kaṭ tâ narâ yaôshdayaṅn aṇhĕn . . . yâ naśâ (naśvâ?) avu bĕrĕta śûnô vâ parq-iristahê mashyêhê vâ âaṭ mraôṭ ahurô mazdâo yaôshdayaṅn aṇhĕn . . . kava (kvu?) yêva yêzi aêsha nasus âiwighnicta śûnô vâ kĕrĕfs-kharô vayô vâ kĕrĕfs-kharô âaṭ hvaṅm tanûm pairi-yaôshdaithita geus maêsmana âpâcha paiti avatha yaôshdayaṅn.* According to Anquetil (II. p. 336), "L'homme sur le quel on a porté quelque chose du cadavre d'un chien ou de celui d'un homme, est il pur? Ormuzd repondit, il est pur; comment? Lorsque (le mort) a été regardé par le chien qui mange les corps, ou par l'oiseau

qui mange les corps. Il se lavera ensuite le corps avec de l'urine de boeuf, avec de l'eau, et il sera pur." So much is certain, that mention is here made, not of one man, but of several (*tâ nara yâ*, "those men who," see §. 231.), and that *yaôsh-dayann anhĕn* signifies, not "he will be pure," but "they are purified," or "they become purified."* Hence, it is self-evident that *yaôshdaithita*, also, must be a plural. I translate verbatim, "How do those men become (are) purified who are touched by the carcase † either of a dead dog or of a man? To this Ormuzd said, They become purified where, or how (by what means? so that *yêva* would stand for *yâ-vâ* = Sanscrit येन वा *yêna vâ*)? If that carcase touches them (?), either that of a body-devouring dog or of a body-devouring bird, then they (those men) should purify their bodies with cow urine and with water: so (*avatha*)

* It may here be added to what has been remarked in §. 637. regarding the expression *yaôshdayann*, that it might also be the third person plural of the precative, the *â* of the root *dâ*, "to make," being shortened, and the analogy of *buyann*, "they may be," being followed (see §. 702. and Burnouf's Yaçna, Note S., p. 152). The placing together of two verbs in the third person plural would consequently rest on a syntactical peculiarity, and *yaôshdayann anhĕn*, "they are purified," would literally signify "they are (that) they purify." The passive signification would be expressed by a periphrasis, in which the verb substantive would be combined with the active expression of the attributive verb. To this opinion I give the preference above that delivered in §. 637.; and I remind the reader, that, in Arabic, the imperfect is expressed by a circumlocution, in which the preterite of the verb substantive is prefixed to the present of the attributive verb, without the intervention of a conjunction; *e.g.* كَانَ يَجْلِسُ *kâna yajlisu*, "he sate," properly "he was he sits," for "he was that he sits." At the end of the passage quoted above [Zend script] *yaôshdayann* (to which the preposition *paiti* = Sanscrit *prati*, belongs) is indisputably the precative.

† I will not affirm that *ava-bĕrĕta* (from *bĕrĕta*, "borne," in combination with the preposition *ava*) here signifies "touched"; but hitherto I have not discovered any more suitable meaning for the whole sense.

must they purify them. At pp. 268, L. 9, &c., we read [illegible] *âat hvanm tanûm pairi-yaôshdaithita âpô* (?) *nôiṭ maêsmana zaśta hê* spaôirîm fraśnâdhayĕn· âat yat hê zaśta nôiṭ fraśnâta âat viśpaňm hvanm tanûm ayaôshdaithita kĕrĕnôita, i. e.* "Then they should purify their bodies with water, not with urine: they should first purify their hands, for if their hands are not purified, then they make impure their whole bodies." Here it is plain, from the palpable plural *fraśnâdhayĕn*, that *yaôshdaithita* also is no other than a plural, [illegible] *ayaôshdaithita* is likewise the third person plural of the precative in combination with the negative particle *a*. But as above, in a peculiar construction (*yaôsh dayaňn anhĕn*, see p. 944, Rem. *) we saw the passive expressed by a circumlocution of an active expression in combination with the verb substantive, so in [illegible] [illegible] *ayaôshdaithita kĕrĕnôita* we see the active expressed by means of the auxiliary verb "to make." *Ayaôshdaithita kĕrĕnôita*, "they make impure, they make" (properly *contaminent faciant*) should signify nothing else than "they make impure," and is the opposite to the abovementioned passive *yaôshdayaňn anhĕn*, where *anhĕn* (= आसन् *âsan*, "they were,") has a modal function, and replaces the potential (see §. 520.). The present *henti* would scarcely be admissible here, though we could exchange *anhĕn* for the present indicative. In *ayaoshdaithita kĕrĕnôita* both verbs are in the

* From this *hê*, "*sui*," we see that the Zend reflexive, like the kindred Latin, German, Lithuanian, and Sclavonic, unites with the form of the singular the meanings of the plural numbers.

same mood, as the precative and potential have the same relation to one another, that, in Greek, the aorist and the present optative have. As regards the form *kĕrĕnôita*, if the reading is correct we should perhaps consider the *ô* to be the Guna of the class syllable; then the remaining *ita* would rest on the same principle as the termination of *yaôshdaithita*. We might, however, explain *kerenuôita* also in this way, that the *u* of the class syllable *nu* is replaced by *a*, and the verb in this way brought into the first conjugation: but I see less probability in this view of the matter; for then the frequently-occurring *barayĕn*, "they may carry," must, in the middle, be *barôita*, which, as long as such forms are not traced back with certainty, I do not believe, as I should rather conjecture *barayanta*. In respect to syntax, the use of the precative and potential in the passage in question is to be noticed in a conditional conclusion; while, according to the method of other languages, the indicative would be looked for. With regard to syntax I will here further mention, that in another passage of the Vendidad (in Olshausen, p. 1.) the potential follows *yêdhi* if in the sense of the pluperfect of the subjunctive—*yêdhi nôit daidhyaňm*, "If I had not made:" on the other hand, the present after *yêzi* is generally expressed by the mood called Lêt, which corresponds to the Greek subjunctive. It need not surprise us that each individual language, in the syntactical application of its moods, follows its own course in certain points: the grammatical identity of forms in the different languages is not, however, destroyed by such syntactical discrepancy.

704. In a still unedited portion of the Zend-Avesta occurs the form *dayadhwĕm*, "ye may give," which Burnouf (Yaçna, Note D. p. 38), as it appears, regards as an imperative, and renders by *donnez*. In order, however, to regard *dayadhwĕm* as the imperative, we must be able to prove that the root *dá*, in Zend, is inflected according to the fourth class, of which I entertain

doubts. I look upon [Zend script] *dayadhwĕm* as the second person plural of the precative middle, and, as such, there is nothing surprising in it (after our having already seen that the Zend precative, in both active forms, abstains from annexing the verb substantive), except that the modal character *yâ* is not contracted, as in the third person singular middle, and in all persons in the Sanscrit, to *î*, but has merely shortened its *â*, as in the corresponding person of the active, to which Burnouf has shewn the form *dâyata* belongs. The middle *dayadhwĕm* has shortened the vowel of the root, on account, as it appears, of the greater weight of the termination; and in this respect, therefore, *da-ya-dhwĕm* has the same relation to *dâ-ya-ta*, that, in Greek, δίδομαι has to δίδωμι.

705. In the Sanscrit and Zend potential there is no distinction of tenses, except that, as has been before observed, the precative stands in the same relation to it that, in Greek, the optative of the second aorist does to that of the present. *Dê-yâs*, *dê-yât*, for *dâ-yâs*, *dâ-yât*, has the same relation to *adâs*, *adât*, that, in Greek, δοίης, δοίη (for δωίης, δωίη), have to ἔδως, ἔδω. For precatives like *budhyâs*, *budhyât*, there are no corresponding indicative forms, as the fifth formation of the Sanscrit aorist is limited to roots terminating with a vowel (see §. 573.): it may, however, originally have occurred also in roots ending with a consonant; so that there would have existed multiform preterites like *abudh-am*, *abhut* (for *abhut-s*), *abhut* (for *abhut-t*), *abudhma*, &c., to which belong precatives like *budh-yâsam*. Vêda forms like *vidêyam* "*sciam*," *śakêyam*, "*possim*," *gamêyam*, "*eam*" *vôchêma*, "*dicamus*" (Pânini, III. 1. 86.), do not need to be regarded as potentials of the first class, to which the roots of these forms do not belong; but they are, as it were, the prototypes of Greek aorists of the optative mood, like τύποιμι, and must be regarded as derivatives of the aorists of the sixth formation (*avidam*,

aśakam, agamam, avôcham), the conjunctive vowel of which has combined with the modal vowel *i*; just as the Greek *o* of τύποιμι has united the conjunctive vowel of ἔτυπ-ο-ν (which is interchanged in the indicative with ε) with the modal vowel. In proof of the correctness of this opinion may be particularly adduced the abovementioned *vôchêma*, "*dicamus*"; for there is no other root *vôch*, which, if it existed, could be assigned to the first class, from which might be formed *vôchêma*, according to the analogy of *tarpêma*, τέρποιμεν; there is, indeed, an aorist *avôcham*, which we have explained above as a reduplicate form from *a-va-ucham* (for *a-vavacham*).

706. In the Vêda dialect also exist traces of modal forms, which exhibit the construction of the Greek optative of the first aorist. For example, *tarushêma*, according to the sense = तरेम *tarêma*, "*transgrediamur*" (Pânini, III. 1. 85.), but, according to form, a derivative from an indicative aorist like *adik-sham*, ἔδειξα (§. 555.), only not with the direct adjunction of the auxiliary verb, but with the insertion of a conjunctive vowel *u*. But this तरुषेम *tarushêma* can hardly be an isolated attempt of the language at a modal formation, which now appears to us abnormal; but it is probable, rather, that, in an earlier state of the language, which has in this point been transmitted to us more correctly by the Greek, these forms extended to all aorists of the second formation (§. 551.). We may suppose, therefore, that, in an earlier period of the language, a precative of *adiksham* existed, *dik-shêyam*, plural *dik-shêma* = δείξαιμι, δείξαιμεν, in which the modal element *yâ*, contracted to *i*, became a diphthong with the preceding vowel, in the same manner as above in *bhar-ê-y-am, bhar-ê-ma*, φέρ-οι-μι, φέρ-οι-μεν.

707. In Latin, the imperfects of the subjunctive admit of comparison with the principle of formation of Greek aorists like δείξαιμεν, and Sanscrit like the presupposed

dik-shaîma, and the Vêda *tarushêma.* In fact, *sta-rêmus* is surprisingly similar to the Greek *στήσαιμεν,* in so far as its *r,* like that of *eram,* is a corruption of *s,* and its *ê,* like that of *amêmus, legêmus,* a contraction of *ai.* As, however, *sta-bam* is a new compound, I cannot but recognise in its subjunctive, also, a new formation; and in this respect I adhere to the opinion, which I have already expressed in my System of Conjugation (p. 98). A subjunctive *sta-bem* from *sta-baim* would be in conformity with the indicative *sta-bam,* and *sta-ram* from *sta-eram* would be analogous as an indicative to *sta-rem.* The language, however, divides the two roots of *to be* at its disposal between the indicative and subjunctive, and thus brings *sta-bam* and *sta-rem* into a certain degree of false relation, where it appears as if the *r* of *starem* had a share in the expression of the modal relation, which is nevertheless confined to the *i* alone that is contained in the diphthong *ê.* It will be readily admitted that *possem* (from *potsem*) contains the combination of the verb substantive with *pot,* just as much as *pos-sum* and *pot-eram.* But if *pos-sem* is a new and genuine Latin formation, the *es-sem,* "I ate," which is analogous to it, from *ed-sem,* is so also; and with this agrees, too, the obsolete *fac-sem,* which, in form at least, is an imperfect, as *fac-sim* is a present; for if these forms had arisen from the perfect *feci,* they would be *fexem, fexim.* While, then, after consonants, the old *s* is either retained or assimilated to a preceding *r* or *l* (*fer-rem, vel-lem*), between two vowels it has passed into *r*; and this is usually the case, as the imperfect preserves the class-syllable; thus, *leg-e-rem, dic-e-rem* (from *leg-i-rem, dic-i-rem,* see §. 554.). But if the imperfect subjunctive were, in its origin, connected with the Greek optative aorist, then for *dic-e-rem* we should anticipate *dixem*=*δείξαιμι.* The forms *es-sem* ("I ate") and *fer-rem* are established by the circumstance that these verbs, as is shewn by their affinity with the Sanscrit, dis-

tinctly belong to the conjugation without the conjunctive vowel; so that *es-sem* agrees with *ê-s, es-t, es-tis* = Sanscrit *at-si, at-ti, at-tha*; *fer-rem* with *fer-s, fer-t, fer-tis* = Sanscrit *bibhar-shi, bibhar-ti, bibhri-tha*. Hence we see that it is in no way admissible to derive *fer-rem* from *fer-e-rem*, by rejecting an *e*. We should rather be compelled to explain *fer-e-rem*, if this form existed, by including it in the principal conjugation with the conjunctive vowel, as from *es-sem* has been developed *ed-e-rem*.

708. But how stands it with *es-sem*, "I would be," for which we should have conjectured *erem*, corresponding with the indicative *eram*? But *eram* stands for *esam* = Sanscrit *âsam* (§. 532.); and from this primitive form *esam* has arisen the form *esem* (from *esêm*), through the commixture of the modal *i*, which is contracted with *a* to *ê*, according to the same principle by which *amem* has been formed from the theme *ama*. If *esem* had once been formed from *esam*, then, in the course of time, the indicative parent form may have followed its disposition to change the *s*, on account of its position between two vowels, into *r*, without there being hence a necessity that the derivative form *esem*, also, should follow this impulse; for it is not a general rule in Latin that every *s* between two vowels must be changed into *r*. Through the firm retention, therefore, by the subjunctive, of the old, and subsequently doubled sibilant, *eram* and *esem, essem*, stand in the same opposition as, conversely, in Old High German, *was*, "I was," does to *wâri*, "I would be," in which the weakening of the *s* to *r* has its foundation in the increase of syllables (see §. 612.). The doubling of the *s* in *essem* I believe may be explained according to the same principle by which, in Greek, in the epic language, the weakest consonants (the liquids and σ)—occasionally, and under certain circumstances, ρ—are, in the common dialect, regularly doubled. The Sanscrit doubles a final *n*

after a short vowel, in case the word following begins with a vowel. If, then, which I believe to be the case, the doubling of the *s* in the Latin *essem*, and in the infinitive *esse*, is likewise purely of a euphonic nature, it may be compared especially with Greek aorists like ἐτέλεσσα, since the σσ of these tenses likewise belong to the verb substantive: observe, also, the Lithuanian *essie*, "he may be" (§. 474.). Regarding ἔσσομαι, see §. 655. But should the double *s* in *essem* have its foundation in etymology, which I do not believe, then it must be assumed, that when the *esem*, which arose from *esam*, had firmly attached itself to attributive verbs in the abbreviated form of *sem*, or, more generally, *rem*, and in this position was recognised as nothing else than it really is, so that the whole *sê*, *rê*, was considered as the modal exponent, then the root *es* combined with itself; according to which, *essem* would properly mean "I would be," in analogy with *es-sem*, "I would eat," and *pos-sem*, "I would be able." And the analogy of *es-sem*, "I ate," and *possem*, "I could," as also that of *ferrem* and *vellem*, might have so far operated on *essem*, "I would be," that, according to their example, without the languages furnishing any particular reason for it, the consonant preceding the *e* was doubled. Be this as it may, *essem*, and the *esem* preceding it, remain in so far a new formation, as in the Sanscrit no mood whatever proceeds from the imperfect, any more than in Greek. The Latin subjunctive, therefore, of the imperfect meets with its nearest point of comparison only in the Greek optative aorist; since *esem* (*erem*) is produced from *esam*, just as τύψαιμι from ἔτυψα.

709. No trace of the production of moods can be shewn to attach to the Sanscrit reduplicate preterite or perfect.*

* I do not agree with Westergaard in regarding Veda forms like *sasrijyât*

As, however, the potential of the second and sixth aorist formation in the Vêda dialect is, as it were in its moment of extinction, still to be met with in its remnants as *turushêna, gamêyam, sôchêyam* (§. 705.), it might be assumed that the extirpation of the moods, which have arisen from the reduplicate preterite, only made its appearance somewhat earlier, or that the relics of them, which have remained to the period when the Vêdas were composed, may be lost to us, together with the memorials in which they occurred. But if there existed a potential of the perfect, it is a question whether the conjunctive vowel *a* (see §. 614.) was retained before the modal element or not? In the former case, forms like *tu-tupêy-am, tutupê-s, tutupê-t,* would have arisen, to which would correspond the Greek τετύφοιμι (from τετύφοιν, see §. 689.), τετύφοις, τετύφοι (whence might be expected, also, τετύφοιμι, &c.): in the latter case, forms like *tutupyâm* would have existed, as prototypes of the Gothic subjunctives of the preterite like *haihaityau,* "I might be called," or with the loss of reduplication, as *bundyau,* "I might bind," which would lead us to expect Greek forms like τετυφίην, which must afterwards have been introduced into the ω conjugation. The close coincidence of the Greek and German forms makes the origin of such modal forms in the time of the unity of language very

sasrijyât as potentials of the perfect, but of the intensive (comp. §. 515.), which, in the Vêda dialect, presents several deviations from the classical language, and in roots with middle *ri* (from *ar*) exhibits in the syllable of repetetition *a*, more frequently *â*, and also, in conformity with the common dialect, *ar*: thus *vâvarishâti* (Rig V. 33. 1.) is the *Lêt* of the intensive, and *vâvridhasva* (Rig V. 31. 18.) its imperfect middle. Westergaard also refers the participle present middle *târtrishâna*, "thirsting," (Rig V. 31. 7.), to the intensive, though it might be ascribed to the perfect with the same justice as *sasrijyât* and *vâvridhasva*.

probable; the Gothic forms, also, like *haihaityau*, are too classical in their appearance to allow of our ascribing to them a comparatively recent origin. But if, nevertheless, they are specially German, and the Greek, as is known of a few like τετύφοιμι, specially Greek, then the two sister languages have, in fortuitous coincidence, only accorded a wider extension to a principle of modal production, which already existed in the period of their unity with the Sanscrit and Zend.

710. Latin perfect subjunctives like *amave-rim*, from *ama-vi-sim*, are nevertheless new productions, viz. the combination of the base of the perfect with *sim*, "I may be," the *s* of which, in its position between two vowels, has been corrupted to *r*; and, on account of this *r*, the *i* of *amavi*, *amavi-sti*, has been corrupted to *e* (compare p. 967.). We might also, if necessitated, divide thus, *amav-erim*,* as *sim* stands for *esim*, like *sum* for *esum*. But in composition there was still more reason to withdraw the *e* of *esim*, than in the uncompounded state; and the corruption of the *i* to *e* before an *r* is too much in rule not to admit of it here.

711. We here give a general view of the points of comparison, which have been obtained in treating of the Sanscrit and Zend potential and precative, and of the moods corresponding to them of the European sister languages.

SINGULAR.

SANSCRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN	LITH.	OLD SCLAV.
dadyâm[1],	*daidhyaṅm*[2],	διδοίην,	*duim*[3],	....	.....
dadyâs,	*daidhyâo*,	διδοίης,	*duis*,	....	*dashdy*.[4]
dadyât,	*daidhyâṭ*	διδοίη,	*duit*,	*dûdia*[5]	*dashdy*.[5]
dadîta[6],	*daidîta*[7],	διδοῖτο,	.....	....	

* So in my System of Conjugation, p. 100.

DUAL.

SANSCRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	LITH.	OLD SCLAV.
dadyâva,	....	....	....	....	*dashdyva.*
dadyâtam,	....	*διδοίητον*,	....	....	*dashdyta.*
dadyâtâm,	....	*διδοιήτην*,	....	....	*dashdyta.*

PLURAL.

dadyâma,	*daidhyâma*,	*διδοίημεν*,	*duimus*,	....	*dashdymy.*
dadyâta,	*daidhyata*[8],	*διδοίητε*,	*duitis*,	....	*dashdyte.*
dadyus[9],	*daidhyann*[10],	*διδοῖεν*,	*duint*[11]	....	like 2d p.
dadîran[12]	*daidita*[13],	*διδοῖντο*,	....	....	.....

¹ For *dadâyâm*, see §. 672. ² §. 442., Remark 5, and §. 701. ³ §. 674. ⁴ §. 677. ⁵ §. 684. ⁶ I give only the third person singular and plural of the middle, and for the rest I refer the reader to the doctrine of middle terminations, §§. 466. &c., and to the conjugation of *adîya*. ⁷ §. 702. ⁸ §. 701. ⁹ § 462. ¹⁰ §. 702. ¹¹ §. 470. ¹² §. 613. ¹³ §. 703.

SINGULAR.

SANSCRIT.		LATIN.	GOTHIC.	O. H. G.	OLD SCLAV.
adyâm, act.	*adîya*, mid.[1]	*edim*,[2]	*êtyau*,[3]	*âzi*,	....
adyâs, act.	*adîthâs*, mid.	*edîs*,	*êteis*,	*âzîs*,	*yashdy.*[4]
adyât, act.	*adîta*, mid.	*edit*,	*êti*,	*âzi*,	*yashdy.*

DUAL.

adyâva, act.	*adîvahi*, mid.	...	*êteiva*,	...	*yashdyva.*
adyâtam, act.	*adîyâthâm*, mid.	...	*êteits*,	...	*yashdyta.*
adyâtâm, act.	*adîyâtâm*, mid.	...	...	...	*yashdyta.*

PLURAL.

adyâma, act.	*adîmahi*, mid.	*edîmus*,	*êteima*,	*âzîmês*,	*yashdymy.*
adyâta, act.	*adîdhvam*, mid.	*edîtis*,	*êteith*,	*âzît*,	*yashdyte.*
adyus, act.	*adîran*, mid.	*edint*,	*êteina*,	*âzîn*,	like 2d p.

¹ The middle of *ad* is not used in the present state of the language, which, however, does not prevent us from annexing it here on account of the theory. ² §. 674. ³ §§. 675. 676. ⁴ §. 677.

SINGULAR.			DUAL.	
SANSCRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	SANSCRIT.	GREEK.
déyâsam,[1]	*dâyanm*,[2]	*δοίην.*	*déyâsva*,	. . . .
déyâs,[3]	*dâyâo*,	*δοίης.*	*déyâstâm*,	*δοίητον.*
déyât,[3]	*dâyât*,	*δοίη*,	*déyâstâm*.	*δοιήτην.*

PLURAL.

SANSCRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.
déyâsma,	*dâyâma*,	*δοίημεν.*
déyâsta,	*dâyata*,[4]	*δοίητε.*
déyâsus,	*dâyan*,	*δοῖεν, δοίησαν.*

[1] For *dâyâsam*, see §. 680.

[2] I believe I am right in giving this form instead of the *dyanm* mentioned in §. 680.

[3] §. 703., conclusion.

[4] For *dâyâta*, see §. 701.

SINGULAR.		DUAL.	
SANSCRIT.	LITH.	SANSCRIT.	LITH.
dâsî-y-a,	. . .	*dâsî-vahi*,	*dûki-wa.*[1]
dâsî-shthâs,[2]	*dûki.*	*dâsî-y-âsthâm*,[2]	*dûki-ta.*
dâsî-shtha,[2]	. . .	*dâsî-y-âstâm*,[2]	. . . . .

PLURAL.

SANSCRIT.	LITH.
dâsî-mahi,	*dûki-me.*
dâsî-dhvam,	*dûki-te.*
dâsî-ran,	. . . .

[1] See §§. 699. 680. [2] §. 549.

SINGULAR.

SANSCRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	GOTHIC.	O. H. G.
bharê-y-am,[1]	*barôi,*[2]	(φέροι-ν,)	*feram,*[4]	*baira-u,*[5]	*bëre,*[6]
bharê-s,	*barôi-s,*[7]	φέροι-ς,	*ferê-s,*[4] / *ferâ-s,*	*bairai-s,*	*bërê-s,*
bharê-t,	*barôi-t,*	φέροι-(τ),	*fere-t,* / *fera-t,*	*bairai,*	*bëre,*[6]
bharê-ta,	*baraê-ta,*	φέροι-το,	.....	*bairai-dau,*[8]	....

DUAL.

bharê-va,	.....	.....	.....	*bairai-va,*	
bharê-tam,	.....	φέροι-τον,	.....	*bairai-ts,*	
bharê-tâm,	.....	φέροι-την,	.....	.....	

PLURAL.

bharê-ma,	*baraê-ma,*[9]	φέροι-μεν,	*ferê-mus,* / *ferâ-mus,*	*bairai-ma,*	*bërê-mês,*
bharê-ta,	*baraê-ta,*[9]	φέροι-τε,	*ferê-tis,* / *ferâ-tis,*	*bairai-th,*	*bërê-t,*
bharê-y-us,	*baray-ĕn,*	φέροι-εν,	*fere-nt,* / *fera-nt,*	*bairai-na,*	*bërê-n,*
bharê-ran,	*baray-anta?*	φέροι-ντο,	.....	*bairai-ndau,*[8]	....

SINGULAR.

SANSCRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	GOTH.	OLD SCLAV
vahê-y-am,[1]	*vazôi,*[2]	(*ἔχοι-ν,*)[3]	*veham,*[4]	*viga-u,*[5]	....
vahê-s,	*vazôi-s,*[7]	*ἔχοι-ς,*	{ *vehê-s,*[4] / *vehâ-s,* }	*vigai-s,*	*veʒi,*[10]
vahê-t,	*vazôi-ţ*	*ἔχοι,*	{ *vehe-t,* / *veha-t,* }	*vigai,*	*veʒi,*[10]
vahê-ta,	*vazaê-ta,*	*ἔχοι-το,*	....	*vigai-dau,*[8]	....

DUAL.

SANSCRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	GOTH.	OLD SCLAV
vahê-va,	....	..		*vigai-va,*	*veʒye-va.*
vahê-tam,	....	*ἔχοι-τον,*	....	*vigai-ts,*	*veʒye-ta.*
vahê-tâm,	....	*ἐχοί-την,*	....	....	*veʒye-ta.*

PLURAL.

SANSCRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	GOTH.	OLD SCLAV
vahê-ma,	*vazaê-ma,*[9]	*ἔχοι-μεν,*	{ *vehê-mus,* / *vehâ-mus,* }	*vigai-ma,*	*veʒye-m,*[11]
vahê-ta,	*vazaê-ta,*[9]	*ἔχοι-τε,*	{ *vehê-tis,* / *vehâ-tis,* }	*vigai-th,*	*veʒye-te,*
vahê-y-us,	*vazay-ĕn,*	*ἔχοι-εν,*	*vehe-nt,*	*vigai-na,*	like 2d p.
vahê-ran,	*vazay-anta?*	*ἔχοι-ντο,*	....	*vigain-dau,*[8]	....

[1] §§. 688. 689. [2] §. 700. [3] §. 689. [4] §§. 691. 692. 693. [5] §. 694. [6] §. 694. conclusion. [7] §. 699. [8] §. 468. [9] §. 706. [10] §. 696. [11] §. 696., in which we ought to read ВЕЗѢМ *veʒyem* for ВЕЗѢМЫ *veʒyemy.*

SINGULAR.		PLURAL.	
SANSCRIT.	LATIN.	SANSCRIT.	LATIN.
tishthe-y-am,	*ste-m,*	*tishthê-ma,*	*stê-mus.*
tishthê-s,	*stê-s.*	*tishthe-ta,*	*stê-tis.*
tishthê-t,	*ste-t.*	*tishthê-y-us,*	*ste-nt.*

SINGULAR.

PRESENT.		POTENTIAL IMPERFECT.	
Sanscrit.	*Carniolan.*	*Sanscrit.*	*Carniolan.*
smayâ-mi,[1]	*smèya-m,*	*smayai-y-am,*[2]	*smèyay-(m).*[3]
smaya-si,	*smèya-sh,*	*smayai-s,*	*smèyay(s).*
smaya-ti,	*smèya-(t),*	*smayai-t,*	*smèyay(t).*

DUAL.

smayâ-vas,	*smèya-va,*	*smayai-va,*	*smèyay-va.*[4]
smaya-thas,	*smèya-ta.*	*smayai-tam,*	*smèyay-ta.*
smaya-tas,	*smèya-ta.*	*smayai-tâm,*	

PLURAL.

smayâ-mas,	*smèya-mo,*	*smayai-ma,*	*smèyay-mo.*
smaya-tha,	*smèya-te,*	*smayai-ta,*	*smèyay-te.*
smaya-nti,	*smèyay-o,*[5]	*smayai-y-us,*	

[1] The active of *smi*, "to laugh," which, by Guna, forms *smê*, and hence, with *a* the class vowel, *smaya*, is not used in the present state of the language, and stands here only on account of the surprising resemblance between *smayâmi* (=*smayâmi*) and the Carniolan word of the same meaning, *smèyam* (see, however, N. [5]), as also between the potential *smayêyam* =*smaiyaiyam* and the Carniolan imperative *smèyay(m)*, &c.

[2] I here express the Sanscrit diphthong *ê*, according to its etymological value, by *ai*, in order to exhibit the more clearly the remarkable analogy of the Sanscrit potential to the Carniolan imperative (see §. 697.)

[3] The diphthong *ai* is expressed in Carniolan by *ay*. Regarding the loss of the personal terminations and the similarity of the three persons singular which proceeds from it, see §. 697.

[4] Is expressed by a periphrasis formed of the present indicative with the particle *nay*.

[5] Regarding the *y* preceding the termination *o* see §. 698.; but if the *y* of *smèyay-o* is connected with *aya*, the characterstic of the Sanscrit tenth class, as is usually the case in verbs in *am*, then *smèy-am* is properly based, not on *smayâmi* of the first class, but on *smâyayâmi* of the tenth; according to which *smi*, also, is inflected (also in the middle only), and *smèya-yo* is therefore =*smâyayanti*. But if this is really the case, as I believe it is, then for our present object—viz. in order to place in a clear light the analogy of the Carniolan imperative to the Sanscrit potential in a verb of

kindred root, it would be better to contrast with the Carniolan *smèyam* the word *smayâmi*, which is more similar to it than *smâyayâmi*, though the affinity of the latter is greater. For the rest, the Carniolan in the third person plural present extends the termination *yo*, by an abuse, even to verbs which have not the *y*; e.g. most verbs of Kopitar's third example correspond to Dobrowsky's third conjugation in Old Sclavonic, and therefore to the Sanscrit first class. The third person plural, therefore, should not be *griseyo* but *griso* = Sanscrit *gras-a-nti*; and, in fact, many verbs of this class may, in the third person plural, employ *ò* instead of *eyo* (Kopitar, p. 337); as *nesò*, "they carry", (for *nèseyo* or *nesèyo*) = Old Sclavonic *nesûty* from *nes-o-nty* (see §. 255. *g*.). The *y* of forms like *griseyo* may also be regarded as a euphonic insertion to avoid a hiatus, as, in Sanscrit, *bharê-y-am*, "I may carry" (§. 689.); but even with this explanation, which I prefer, *griseyo*, "they bite," remains an unorganic form, since then the conjunctive vowel of the Sanscrit first class remains contained in it doubled, once as *e*, as in *gris-e-te*, "ye bite,"=*gras-a-tha*, and next as *o*, which, in Carniolan, appears as the termination of the third person plural, but ought properly only to be the supporter of the dropped termination, and which corresponds to the Greek *ο* of λέγ-ο-ντι, while the *e* of *gris-e-te* coincides with the Greek *ε* of λέγ-ε-τε. In both languages the nasal of the termination, retained or dropped, exerts an influence on the colouring of the conjunctive vowel (see §. 255. *g*.). We must further notice here the Carniolan verb *dam*, "I give," since it is clear that in the third person plural *dáyo* (or *dayò*) the *y* is a euphonic insertion, which is dropped in the more genuine *dadò* (=Sanscrit *dadati* for *dadanti*, "they give"), since, in this word, the *d* prevents the meeting of the *a* and *o*, and thus the insertion of a foreign letter is rendered unnecessary. In *das-te*, "ye give," *das-ta*, "ye two give," "they two give," we have forms exactly coinciding with the Sanscrit *dat-tha*, *dat-thas*, *dat-tas* (see §. 436.). With the form *das-te*, "ye give," may be compared, in Zend, the form *das-ta*, which perhaps does not occur, but may be safely conjectured to have existed (see §. 102.).

712. It remains to be remarked, with respect to the Gothic subjunctive, that those weak verbs which have contracted the Sanscrit class character *aya* to *ô* (=*a*+*a*)

Grizem, "I bite," is perhaps akin to the Sanscrit *gras*, "to devour"; therefore *gris-e-m*, *gris-e-sh*, =*gras-â-mi*, *gras-a-si*.

(see §. 109[a]. 6.), are incapable of formally denoting the modal relation, since *i* in Gothic does not combine with an *ô* preceding it, but where *ôi* would occur, the *i* is swallowed up by the *ô*;* hence *friyôs* means both *amas* and, *ames*, and, in the latter case, stands for *friyôis*;* so in the plural *friyôth* means both *amatis* and *ametis*. In the third person singular *friyô*, "*amet*" (for *friyôith*) is only unorganically distinguished from *friyôth*, since the subjunctive, according to §. 432., has lost the personal character. The Old High German subjunctives like *salbôe*, *salbôês*, *salbôêmes*, are unorganic, since the *ê* of *salbôês* &c. (which is shortened in the *auslaut*) is a contraction of *ai* (see §. 78.), of which the *a* must belong to the class character. But in the *ô*, therefore, which is equivalent to *a* + *a*, the whole of the primitive form अय *aya* is contained, with the exception of the rejection of the semi-vowel: there does not, therefore, remain any other *a*, which might, had it existed, have been contracted with the modal-vowel *i* to *ê*. Hence we must assume that the *e* has found its way into this class of verbs only through a mal-introduction from those verbs where it has a legitimate ground for entering, at a time when the language was no longer conscious that the last half of the *ê* = *ai* belongs to the modal designation, but the former half to the derivation. Such is the case, for example, with forms like *habêês* "*habeas*," *habêêmês*, "*habeamus*," in which the first *ê* contains the two first elements of the class syllable अय *aya* (which are alone represented in the indicative *hab-ê-m*, *hab-ê-s*, see p. 110);

* I am not of opinion that in the indicative, also, we should derive *salbôs* from *salbois*, and, in the first person, *salbô* from *salbôa*; for as in *vig-a-'*, *vig-i-s*, *vig-i-th* (see §. 507, Table), the *a* and *i* belong, not to the personal sign, but to the derivation or class syllable, so in *salb ô-'*, *salb-ô-s*, *salbô-th*, the *ô* only represents the *a* of the strong conjugation, which is interchanged with *i*: the personal terminations, however, are as complete as in the strong conjugation.

but the second *ê* contains the last *a* in contraction with the modal vowel *i*; so that, therefore, in *var-manêês* the second *ê* coincides with the Sanscrit *ê* of *mânayês* and the Latin *â* of *monês* (from *moneais*, see §. 691.), and the first, *ê* with the Latin *e* and Sanscrit *ay*, which we have seen above (p. 110) also, in the Prakrit *mânêmi*, contracted to *ê*. The Gothic does not admit the diphthong *ai* twice together uninterruptedly; hence *habais*, "*habeâs*," stands in disadvantageous contrast with the Old High German *hâbêês*, and is not distinguishable from its indicative.

713. The Vêda dialect possesses a mood which is wanting in the classic Sanscrit, and which occurs in the Vêdas even only in a few scanty remnants: it is called, by the Indian Grammarians, *Lêt*, and is rightly identified by Lassen with the Greek subjunctive. For as λέγ-ω-μεν, λέγ-η-τε, λέγ-ω-μαι, λέγ-η-ται, λέγ-ω-νται, are distinguished from the corresponding indicative forms λέγ-ο-μεν, λέγ-ε-τε, λέγ-ο-μαι, λέγ-ε-ται, λεγ-ο-ντι, only by the lengthening of the vowel of the class-syllable, so, in the Vêda dialect, *pat-â-ti*, "*cadat*," is in like manner distinguished from *pat-a-ti*, "*cadit*"; *grihyâ-nt-âi*, "*capiantur*," from *grih-ya-ntê*, "*capiuntur*"; only that in the latter form the tendency of the mood under discussion to the utmost possible fulness of form is manifested in this also, that the final diphthong *ê* (=*ai*) is augmented to *âi*, in agreement with the first person imperative, which in general accords more with the mood *Lêt* than with the other persons of the imperative, since the person of the imperative which corresponds to the first person plural middle *bibhrimahê*, "we carry," is *bibharâmahâi*.

714. In Greek, neither the subjunctive nor any other mood is derived from the imperfect, but in Vêdic Sanscrit the mood *Lêt* comes from it; as also in Zend, which uses this mood very commonly, and, indeed, principally in the imperfect tense, but with the meaning of the

subjunctive present; as, *char-â-t*, "eat," from *char-a-t*, "ibat"; *van-â-t*, "destruant," from *van-a-t*, "destruebat"; *pat-an-n*, "volent" (for *pat-â-n*, see §. 702.), *bar-ân-n*, "ferant," from *pat-ĕ-n*, *bar-ĕ-n*, or rather from their primitive forms *pat-a-n*, *bar-a-n*. Thus, in the Vêda dialect, *pat-â-m*, "cadam," from *apat-a-m*, "cadebam"; *prachôdayât*, "incitet," from *prâchôd-aya-t*, "incitabat."

715. I am of opinion that the Sanscrit potential and precative, and the moods in the kindred languages which may be classed with them, are connected with the principle of formation of the *Lêt*, or Greek subjunctive, in so far as the auxiliary verb contained therein, which these moods share with the future (see §. 670.), has a long *â* as the connecting vowel, while the future has a short *a*. Consequently the Sanscrit *dad-yât* and *dê-yât*, the Zend *daidh-yât* and *dâ-yât*, the Greek *διδο-ίη* and *δο-ίη*, would properly signify, "he would give," and thus this mood would be only a more polite form of the *Lêt*, or subjunctive, as our expression, "*Ich bitte, mir dies gestatten zu wollen*," "I pray you to be willing to allow me this," is more polite than the abrupt "*mir dies zu gestatten*," "to allow me this." On the other hand, the future *dâ-s-yati* signifies "he will give," or, literally, "he will be giving;" and the "willing" is here not an expression of politeness, but the symbol of the time not being the present; or it denies the present in a less decided manner than is the case in the augmented preterites by the *a* of negation.

END OF PART II.

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